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SEMBOLİK BİLGİNİN TURİZM ÜZERİNE ETKİSİ: ANTALYA'DA RUS TURİSTLERİN VE KENDİNE ÖZGÜ MEKANLARIN BİRLİKTE-(D)EVRİMİ[1]

Öz

Çalışma Türkiye'de iyi bilinen turistik bir destinasyon olan Antalya bölgesinde teknik-olmayan inovasyon ve sembolik bilginin ortaya çıkışı ve evrimini araştırmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çabanın arkasında, 1990'lardan bu yana gelen turist profilinin Alman-İngiliz'den zengin Rus turist şeklinde radikal biçimde değişimi sonucunda son dönemde bilgi talebinin değişimi ve bölgenin ve yerel firmaların bilgi birikimleri üzerinde güçlü etkileri olan Kendine Özgü Mekanlar ve lüks deneyiminin ortaya çıkışı yatmaktadır. Sonuçlar, bu değişimin literatürdeki coğrafi yakınlığın tersi olacak şekilde bölge-dışı uzaktan bilgi mobilitesi doğurduğunu göstermektedir. Bu durum, turizm sektöründeki değişimlere ayak uydurmak için çok-yerelli, çok-aktörlü ve çok-ölçekli ilişkilere ihtiyaç olduğunu göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla diğer bölgelerden ve kaynaklardan bilgi elde etmek ve bölge içerisindeki yeniden-dağılımını sağlamak için bilgi mobilitesi önem arz etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Bilgi çapalama ve mobilite, Sembolik bilgi, Kendine Özgü Mekanlar (KÖM), Turizm sektörü, Antalya

THE IMPACT OF SYMBOLIC KNOWLEDGE ON TOURISM: CO-(R)EVOLUTION OF RUSSIAN TOURISTS AND HIGHLY INDIVIDUAL PLACES (HIP) IN ANTALYA[2]

Abstract

This paper tries to investigate the emergence and evolution of particular non-technical innovations and symbolic knowledge in a well-known touristic destination in Turkey, namely Antalya region. The leitmotiv behind this case representation is the recent knowledge demand derived from huge manoeuvre in incoming tourists profile from German-Briton towards wealthy Russian since the 1990s and the consequent emergence of luxurious experience of Highly Individual Places which have strong impacts on the knowledge base of the region and local firms. The findings confirm that this manoeuvre generates extra-regional distance knowledge mobility in contrast to proximity literature. This, in turn, exposes the need for multi-local, multi-actor and multi-scalar relationships in order to adopt changes in tourism sector. Thus knowledge mobility matters for the knowledge to be acquired from other regions or sources and re-circulate it within the region.

Keywords: Knowledge anchoring and mobility, Symbolic knowledge, Highly individual places (HIP), Tourism sector, Antalya

JEL CODES: R10, R12, R58, O31

[1] Makale Avrupa Komisyonu 6. Çerçeve Projesi EURODITE'nin beşinci ve altıncı çalışma paketleri kapsamında yapılan oturumlarında kısmen sunulmuştur.

[2] Article was partially presented under the fifth and sixth work packages of European Commission 6th Framework Project: EURODITE.

1. INTRODUCTION

The search for understanding how regions can grow has been an eternal question for regional scientists (Frank, 2011; 272). During the past two decades researchers have tried to identify innovation-based-models and modes of regional development as illustrated and summarized in the studies of Moulaert and Sekia (2003), Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2005), Benneworth and Rutten (2011), Simmie (2005) and Lagendijk (2006). Until recently the mainstream discussions seemed to be focused on Territorial Innovation Models (TIMs) through conceptualizations like proximity, governance, capitalistic relations, knowledge and innovation systems, externality, spillovers, and mostly on relational (and soft) assets which include wide range of activities ranging from networking to untraded dependencies. Obviously this richness of theoretical approaches sometimes harbours complexities and unifications which rise further questions for investigations. Likewise, the unfolding regime of knowledge economy has a kaleidoscopic character which shows us how complementary and even competing theories could be employed to explain the role of knowledge in regional economic development. These theories are on the interactions between various actors and contexts that accelerate knowledge spillovers, flows and transfers in / between the firms and in the region through knowledge production, diffusion and use, including distant and close knowledge interactions and networks. Therefore the (knowledge or mobility) actors may differ from individuals to firms, local to global units. For that reason, for example, knowledge interactions may cause knowledge re-contextualization (with reproduction) within a firm or a locality via knowledge dispersion, or may only lead to knowledge use (without reproduction) without having worthwhile impact on firm or locality. By and large, each regional trajectory in knowledge economy pertains although its focus may differ from using to generating knowledge in a multi-scalar context.

The focus and the purpose of the study is to answer the questions where and by whom knowledge is generated, transferred or exploited by referring to a touristic destination, namely Antalya in Turkey. One may identify at least three rationales for such an attempt in terms of changing nature of knowledge. First, knowledge activities have been highly mobilized and knowledge has become central issue for regional development. This preposition enables distant knowledge interactions as well as close knowledge spillovers. Correspondingly the ways and means of capturing mobile knowledge has become as crucial as generating the knowledge itself. In this regard it is both interesting and challenging to look closer to a region (Antalya) that has a low science base in symbolic knowledge but high rates of knowledge demand due to huge manoeuvres in tourism sector. Thus regions should seek not only to attract knowledge generating activities but also the activities which knowledge may stay, articulate, be learned and regenerated in a territory. Second, policy makers have begun to focus on knowledge economy. This political concern, of course, closely related to the idea that regional competitiveness can be achieved through a strong knowledge base in a particular territory. Thirdly, a rise in the importance of non-technical innovation and knowledge activities in service sector is observed although scholars' major interests have been on the hard type innovation and knowledge. Tourism sector could be a fruitful area to discuss where and by whom questions to understand these aspects of knowledge.

This paper explores non-technical innovation processes and the evolution of symbolic knowledge about Russian tourists and luxury Highly Individual Places (HIP) in particular to a Mediterranean destination, Antalya. As discussed in the following sections, the emergence of HIP concept hotels in Antalya is bilaterally related with the tourism demand rising from new markets. HIP assumes experience as a key element. Contrary to the question of 'how the destination is' that traditional tourists look for, new generation of tourists search for totally different question: 'what kind of an experience'. For that reason design, interiors, arts, music and entertainment should reflect independence and individuality along with prestige, authenticity, comfort and fulfilment under the HIP concept (Freund De Klumbis, 2002: 58-76, YPMA, 2003, Gilmore and Pine, 1999). Parallel to this, in Antalya the massive shift in the profile of incoming tourists from Europe towards CEECs and Russia enforced the firms (with a loose response from regional authorities, public universities and NGOs) to take necessary precautions in order to adapt the knowledge most of which consisted of symbolic knowledge, and the rise of HIP hotels in the region reflects another shift: wealthier Russian tourists demand uniqueness contrary to middle-class Europeans preferring all-included package in a Mediterranean destination[1].

The paper employs biography methodology and narrative explanation to investigate emerging knowledge in tourism sector in Antalya. Knowledge biography approach[2] is used to identify knowledge flows in and around the innovative activities of firms and it is a useful way to characterize observable types of firms' knowledge activities. Actually in order to monitor the location, actors, contexts and interactions of knowledge deeply the biography approach fits well among others, hence the major concern is not about indicators and results of innovation but instead the process of knowledge. In-depth-interviews are preferred in the investigation of knowledge flows within / between firms and other actors. It must be noted that knowledge biographies include not only firms but also other organizations in the regional context. Along with various media analysis, 41 interviews were performed with relevant individuals, institutions and organisations located in Antalya region

between August 2008 and March 2013. In the interviews semi-structured surveys were utilised and egocentric network analysis was chosen to make the various connections within and around the innovating firm visible. Besides, mapping of the time-space-event path of knowledge interactions is a means of visualizing the trail of knowledge. Additionally in order to understand the process in the region, a detailed research of numerous local publications were undertaken.

The paper is organized as follows: in the next section, symbolic knowledge is discussed referring to tourism sector to crystallise the theoretical background. In the second section, apart from introducing the region, the evolution of the tourism sector in Antalya is emphasized. Based on the findings of the biography the third section explains the development of symbolic knowledge flourished in Antalya region via time-space-event relationship and actors. The fourth section evaluates the types of knowledge and the transmission channels including the distance knowledge interaction processes and knowledge capturing mechanisms in the region. The last section concludes.

2. SYMBOLIC KNOWLEDGE AND TOURISM SECTOR

Among many other definitions, knowledge may be defined as a cognitive process of human brains and that is generated and used in personal and collective interactions in various contexts. Although the concept is explained with an open-ended definition it encompasses quite wide knowledge types, contexts and in fact discussions. The type of knowledge that tourism sector depends on is the symbolic knowledge which deals with the creation and communication of cultural meanings, symbols, ethics and aesthetics. It is worthy to mention that analytical knowledge, constitutes SAS (Synthetic-Analytical-Symbolic) model together with symbolic and synthetic knowledge (Asheim and Coenen, 2005; Asheim et al., 2007; Asheim, 2007; Asheim, Coenen and Vang, 2007). Analytical knowledge is fundamentally scientific and is used to understand and explain features of the natural and social world.

The three SAS knowledge types are defined by processes through which knowledge is developed and by the criteria for evaluating its usefulness / purpose; functionality criteria for synthetic knowledge (via learning by doing and interaction), codified explanation and evidence for analytical (via formal and scientific processes including social and humanistic sciences) and meaning criteria for symbolic (via open-ended creative and artistic thinking, performance and interaction). Symbolic knowledge is tacit as it depends on the social and cultural contexts and is often not directly transferable in geographical space.

Among these three SAS knowledge types, the lowest number of studies belongs to symbolic knowledge (Halkier et al., 2010). Compared to technical innovation, in spite of a sufficient number of studies there is no one complete theory about non-technical innovation including the development of symbolic knowledge. Yet, studies on non-technical innovation currently soar (Schmidt and Rammer, 2007). In this regard tourism sector can serve for the exploration of non-technical innovation and hence symbolic knowledge.

The most important features of tourism products are that they are multi-faceted and they encompass many different services which necessitate a central role in symbolic knowledge. There are three crucial points at the exploration of the basic features of production chain in tourism sector. Firstly, in tourism sector intangible products cannot be tested at the environment of a laboratory before the products (service) are produced. Secondly, tourism products are produced and consumed simultaneously. Thirdly, the services that form tourism products are heterogeneous (Halkier, 2005).

In understanding knowledge one of the critical departure points is the increase in mobility. Knowledge is now more mobile, not limited to boundaries of certain territories, more systematic and also depends on distant learning and interaction. Technological developments reinforce the combination of different knowledge from various sectors and spaces. Again the increase in the mobility of labour and capital facilitates distant learning and the combination of different knowledge from different regions. This transformation of knowledge into a multi-local and multi-scalar structure transcends the traditional concepts of time and space. Although it has not been quoted explicitly most of the innovations involve socio-cultural dynamics besides technological.

Two key concepts are important to visualize knowledge interaction: knowledge mobility and knowledge anchoring. While knowledge mobility is self-explanatory, knowledge anchoring necessitates further explanation. Knowledge anchoring means the sinking of knowledge that comes from another region in a region and its re-circulation within the region. The re-circulation means the utilisation of knowledge not only by the firm that find or adopt the knowledge from an external resource but also by other firms and institutions in the region (Crevoisier and Jeannerat, 2008, 2009).

Contemporary literature claims that knowledge anchoring emerges with various different ways that combine mobile and regional knowledge dynamics. There are various actors, institutions and processes in the anchoring process. These mechanisms that ensure the anchoring of knowledge may be summarised under four

anchoring channels: events, job-related mobility, acquisition of codified knowledge and interactions between firms. The inflow of knowledge to the region and its re-circulation within the region may be ensured with a certain mechanism and may re-circulate in the region with the same or with a different mechanism.

Lastly, as anchoring of symbolic knowledge is less codified and more embedded in labour compared to the other types of knowledge, it is less institutional.

3. MEDITERRANEAN WAY OF TOURISM: ANTALYA AND KNOWLEDGE NEEDS

Antalya, also known as 'Turkish Riviera' has been the leading tourism destination both for domestic and international tourists. Bearing in mind that Turkey stands at the 6th place in world's top ten destinations list according to UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organisation) in 2013, 11.1 million of 34.9 million incoming tourists to Turkey visited Antalya. (Republic of Turkeyi 2014). Although 32% of tourists who visited Turkey preferred Antalya, it is estimated that 60% of the tourism revenue is generated in Antalya yet tourists visiting Antalya have stayed longer compared to other parts of Turkey due to all inclusive system. Actually the number of 5-star-hotels and resorts in Antalya are larger than the same figure for the whole Spain. Naturally the region receives 60% of tourism investments and accommodates 40% of the bed capacity of the country.

Historically Antalya has not always been a tourism destination. As the figures confirm, in the region half of the labour force is employed by the agricultural sector (IGD, 2010). Therefore being a traditional agricultural area until the 1980s, Antalya has never had a chance to test the impacts of industrialization. Thus, it is not satisfactory to analyse the region from the perspective of either 'old-fashioned' industrial districts (Fordist) or the TIMs of the 1990s (Post-Fordist). The mixture of service and agriculture sectors in the economy created dynamic relations among regional actors and it is rather difficult to follow stable connections.

Tourism sector, having its initial beginnings during the 1960s, gathered pace during the 1980s, when the country accepted a liberal economy that necessitated a policy focus on the foreign exchange generating economic activities such as export, and tourism was not an exception (Cimrin, 2010). The accommodation generation was purely the result of financial incentives given to large scale investors, the resorts and 5-star-hotels following the liberalisation. The tourism market was not developed solely by Turkish tourism agents, but the supply was definitely generated by Turkish firms and by Antalya itself. Enormous increases in the number of incoming tourists have turned Antalya not only into a rapidly growing (national) province but also into a dynamically transforming (global) region. However there are clear distinctions between Antalya and its counterparts. First, Antalya has joined lately to mass tourism compared to Portugal, Greece and Spain. Second, up to very recently the tourism facilities in the region have been trying to be price competitive. Finally, the urban characteristics of Antalya have been premature compared to Barcelona or Athens due to strong 3S tourism and never been able to substitute the image of Istanbul as a representative of Turkey in terms of Ottoman culture, Turkish authenticity etc.

On the other hand, as a recipient country, Turkish citizens have merely benefited tourism compared to other Mediterranean destinations (such as Spain and Italy) in terms of income generation (UNWTO, 2011). Particularly this is the result of un-proportionality. The market structure of tourism sector in Antalya displays an irony: domestic tour operators and hotels are generally bounded to international operators through an asymmetrical relation. Knowledge (about customers and market research) is generated somewhere else (generally in Europe) but exploited locally (in Antalya). Domestic companies do not have the ability to control and direct the market; instead it becomes a must for them to accept the demand which is directed to them due to dominance of huge European tourism companies. However, this does not mean that no knowledge is generated locally. Since the local companies do not acquire or obtain precise knowledge from international 'masters' and from regional and national knowledge institutions, they generate and use related knowledge by themselves through labour mobility, participating in fairs/exhibitions, formal and informal local/intra knowledge exchanges or informal interactions with the customers. Then, it could be claimed that intraregional knowledge exchange employs (open) channels but international knowledge exchange remains (or have to remain) in the (limits of closed) knowledge pipelines.

The tourism sector in Antalya has been traditionally oriented to European markets, and not only the hotels and tour operators in the region but also local SMEs related to tourism have structured their facilities and business models accordingly. Knowledge related to the tourists' behaviours (like reservation types, languages, animation activities, food and beverages, disco music, restaurant services, hotel room designs, consumer satisfaction, market research, even hotel architecture), have developed correspondingly for the European tourists, particularly for Germans, Dutch and Britons. However the number of Russian incoming tourists to Antalya increased by 527.47% in the 2002-2013 period (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism).

There are a couple of alternative rationales behind this huge increase. Firstly, before the 2000s Russians preferred Spain, but the *acquis* (the EU regulations) enforced Spanish authorities to adapt new procedures and standards for aviation. The airplanes used by Russian companies could not meet environmental standards of the EU and created noise pollution that raised a negative public opinion. This enforced Russian aviation and tour operator companies to cancel Spanish reservations and redirect the demand to Antalya. For example, in 2009 and 2010 nearly one fourth of the airplanes landed in Antalya airport were from Russia. Secondly, the low level of public pressure on daily life, very elastic service supply and the 'all inclusive'[3] system has fostered the Russian concern to Antalya. Thirdly, political preferences of the government of Russia: after the end of cold-war the affairs between Russia and Turkey, two neighbour countries, has become closer. Finally, sex tourism to some extend has been effective on the orientation of Russian tourists, particularly women, towards Turkey. The high level of commitment of Turkish men to their lovers, fiancées and wives attracted many Russian girls' passion and holiday preferences towards Antalya (Kınıklıoğlu, 2006).

The radical increases in the number of Russian incoming tourists forced the emergence of customer oriented tourism services and this has substantially changed traditional tourism services. Hence tourism sector, due to its complicated and interrelated nature, includes horizontal and vertical relations, and various actors and services, it is rather difficult to define or isolate a single knowledge process that has an impact on the rest of the sector. However, the market driven knowledge shift necessitates a vast amount of knowledge activities which could not be acquired solely by the Antalya region itself. This situation has produced the necessity to establish local and distant interactions and the transfer of new symbolic knowledge from outside of the region. In this context, in the following section, the main actors, events, milestones and knowledge types which have played an important role in transformation of the region is discussed.

4. THE TIME-ACTOR-EVENT-SPACE RELATIONS OF SYMBOLIC KNOWLEDGE

Having valuable *gifts* for 3S tourism along with historical inheritances and natural endowments, Antalya has a strong competitive advantage in tourism. On the other hand the huge bed capacity (Deloitte, 2010) of 4 to 5 star resorts and hotels, and all inclusive packages have caused tourists to stay at hotels throughout their vacations even without seeing the city centre. This situation was mainly the result of middle income European tourist profile (whom has a certain budget for their vacation). However the rise of the number of incoming Russian tourists paved way to search alternative policy solutions that could increase tourism income of the region. The emergence of HIP concept and Russian tourists, in this context, not only led to income generation but also to extensive knowledge needs and this section tries to figure out actors/events and geographies (whom and where questions) that deeply effect knowledge base.

As mentioned before the sudden change in the target markets (from German-Briton to Russian and CEEC tourists) seemingly depends on a series of simple events and actors but if its knowledge dimension is concerned then it depends on various actors, processes, events and spaces that have played different roles. In this process, both knowledge flows into the region and knowledge interactions within the region took place that contains multi-local and multi-scalar dimensions of the knowledge. In this context, the events playing crucial roles regarding knowledge are presented in time loop and the basic actors, processes and the knowledge types acquired for each event are given in detail in Figure 1. But first, concerning the transformation, the existence of macro level actors should be reminded besides the individual micro actors that were living in Antalya. In the macro level the policy and government contexts are examined while in the micro level the contexts of firms and networks are analysed. Of course, in addition to individual attempts, there have also been crucial central government initiatives for shaping the tourism structure of the region, especially in terms of legal amendments concerning tourism sector.

The very first event that has caused to the development of mass tourism in Antalya is the *Law of the Promotion of Tourism and the Liberalisation of Economy*, no. 2634 enacted in 1982 (Republic of Turkey, 1982). This macro policy initiative led to increases in tourism investments in the region (hotel constructions during the 1980s with the support of the financial incentive law) and created a cooperation opportunity between local and national investors and other foreign economic actors. The policy is crucial in terms of the initiation of both (firm level) tourism-related investments and (regional) development of international collaborative relations.

Following the inurement of the Law, first steps of Russian tourism were taken by an entrepreneur called Mr. F. He made his first tourism sector investment in Antalya in 1985 with a carpet trade store in Kemer (a district in Antalya Province). Later on, he initiated his jewellery business in Kemer in the mid-1990s that turned into a chain store located both in Antalya and Russia. Because of his chain store in Russia, Mr. F. had several visits to Russia and had the opportunity to learn more about Russian culture; life-style, business life and language (see Table 1). As an entrepreneur Mr. F. had the opportunity to acquire lots of inside information about the preferences of Russian tourists. Therefore he learned where the wealthy Russians go, what they spent money on and what they like doing, in general symbolic knowledge of Russia life-style. If he had not stayed in Russia,

he would have not made the same experience elsewhere. Therefore his jewellery store in Russia shaped his future and his prospective knowledge search considerably (Dulupçu et.al., 2009).

Table 1 shows some certain knowledge types related to Russian culture, life-style and language, and locations and actors who took part in the flow of these particular knowledge types. The need for Russian native speaking workers first created some enterprises in the sector that employ Russians and/or Kazakhs. The employment of foreigners created a knowledge transfer in terms of not only language knowledge but also culture and life-style. Further, teaching Russian has turned into a sector in Antalya. Some language schools have been established and Russian and/or Kazakh teachers were employed. Therefore the ability of the region to train domestics increased. Consequently, initial firm level knowledge has turned into regional knowledge as it turned into a sector in the region. On the other hand Russian culture and life-style were able to turn into businesses and departments in the hotels such as the language teaching schools. On the other hand, Russian culture and life-style has not been dominant among SMEs and local tourism facilities in the region including restaurants and sightseeing attractions such as rafting or historical place visits.

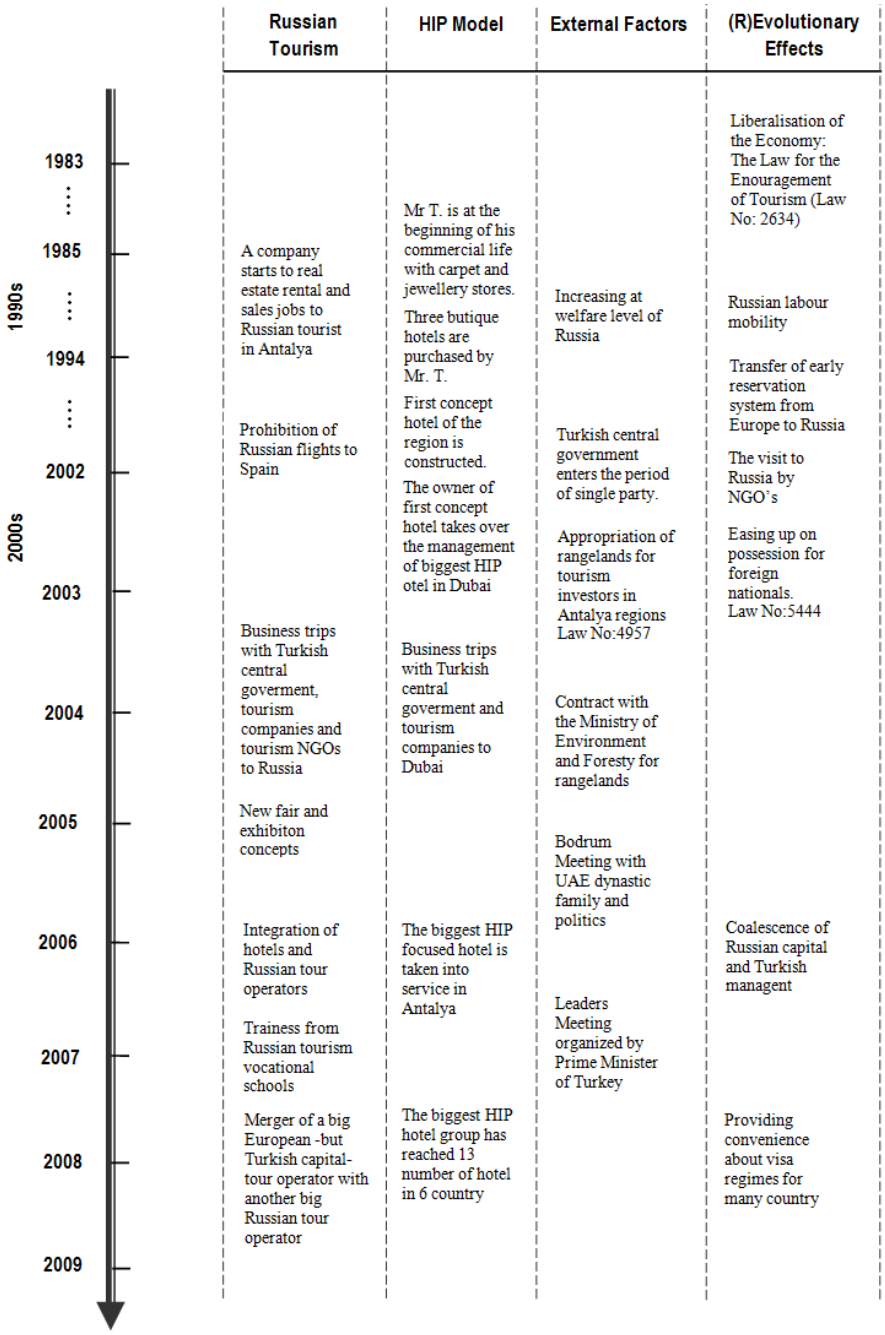
Table 1. Symbolic Knowledge: Related Knowledge Types, Actors and Locations

Knowledge Type	**Main Actors**	**Origin**	**Relevance**	
			Firm Level	**Regional**
Linguistics	Russian Labour + Vocational Schools	Russia	•	•
Culture and lifestyle	Russian Labour + immigrants + Turkish entrepreneurs	Russia	•	
Cuisine and Meal	Mr F. and chief cooks from Istanbul	Russia / İstanbul	•	
Animation	Euro Turks and Russian Labour	Germany, Russia	•	•
Child care / Nursery	Ukrainian labour	Ukraine	•	
Fashion	Hotel Managers	France, Italy	•	
Architecture	Hotel Managers	Dubai	•	•
Theme - Concept	Mr F.	Dubai	•	•
SPA	Hotel Managers + Far Eastern Labour	Far East	•	•
Authenticity	Mr F.	Dubai	•	•
Education and Training	Vocational School + University	Russia		•

During the 1990s and 2000s, a gradual wealth increase in Russia was witnessed with the regime shift and this gave Russians the freedom of travelling in the 1990s. Thanks to this wealth increase and other reasons aforementioned, Russian tourists started to prefer having holidays in Turkey more and more. Then Mr. F. undertook management of three boutique hotels. As a manager he had the opportunity to utilise Russian symbolic knowledge through Russian labour recruitment in Turkey and more importantly through his knowledge on Russian culture and life-style.

In this process another contribution to the employment of Russian labour was made by construction and real estate companies that perform real estate rentals, sales and villa-residence rehabilitations in the region. The real estate sector focusing on Russian customers would be a revolutionary step towards Russian market as it would provide the permanent settlement of Russian labour by mediating house sales to Russians. The knowledge inflow and more importantly the anchoring and diffusion of this Russian symbolic knowledge into the region was realised through these settlements (Dulupçu et. al., 2007).

Figure 1: Firm-Level and Regional Knowledge: Time and Event Map



The Russian tourism trend was initiated by Mr. F. and has been continued with the new investments of Russian investors in Antalya till 1995. Among the reasons of Russian capital to channel into Turkey were; the increased Russian wealth and conspicuous-imposing consumption, desire to differentiate, the increasing volume of tourism, the formation of a Russian concept aiming solely Russian tourists, the geographical proximity of Turkey to Russia and the similarity of Turkish and Russian ways of business[4] (i.e. a golden key can open any door). Consequently, these investments created the first HIP hotel construction (the Sungate Port Royal Hotel) that has been managed solely by 'Turkish managers' (the first HIP hotel was later purchased by Turks in 2009). The first HIP hotel necessitated diverse services such as various cuisines and meals, animation, child-care and nursery and the decoration of hotels in vogue and the construction of them with the latest technology and themes. The diversification of cuisine and meal with distinct cuisines was made in the hotels but this trend did not prevail in the region (see Table 1 above). Nonetheless, during second half of the 2000s some restaurants were opened offering Chinese, Japanese, and Italian etc. cuisine but the reason of such a trend was the increase in local income, instead of an effect of tourism on the region.

On the other hand tourism related animation differs from cuisine as animation education has turned into a sector in the region. There opened some training centres offering animation education that further effect the region in terms of knowledge. Child care and nursery, and fashion, on the other hand, could not turn into businesses in the region, therefore they do not have territorial effects. The construction of hotels with out-standing architecture and themes initially concerns the related construction firms due to their central role in building images of HIP concept. However, although there is no clear finding it is estimated that it has had inspirational effects on regional/territorial thematic architecture and construction. Regional construction companies currently lead the way for unusual projects such as aquarium constructions and thematic parks and commercial complexes. It is important to underline that the firms in the region do not have any science, education and university related networks and actions. The primary reason of such a case is the inherent characteristics of the sector. In other words, the knowledge necessitated in tourism is symbolic, therefore, learning and education is solely based on entrepreneurial spirit. The formation of a structured education system in all sections of tourism has failed. The individual education and training centres did pop-up with brave attempts of entrepreneurs while vocational schools were founded by some idealist lecturers. Consequently, in the region it is difficult to claim that the education and training system have direct and decisive role in tourism sector. Hence, education is one of the weakest parts of tourism related knowledge in the region (Dulupçu et.al., 2009).

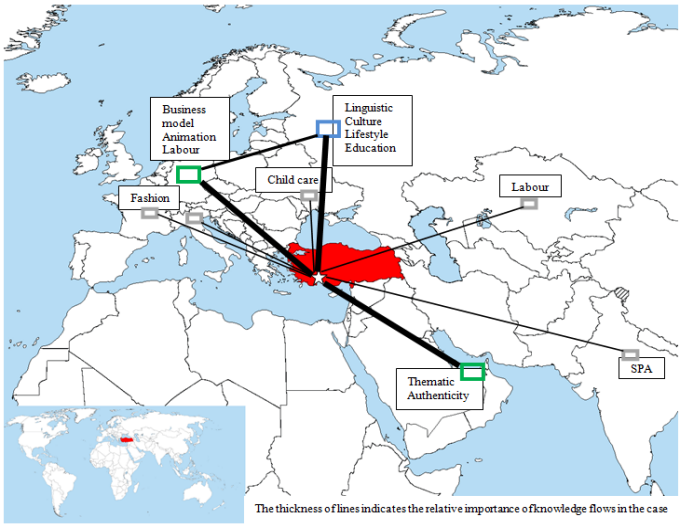
One of the underlying reasons of the rapid rise of Russian tourism and HIP model in the region is the single-party government after November 3rd, 2002. Instead of a coalition (as used to be in Turkey for approximately 5 decades) single-party government has assured stability in terms of economy and policy. In terms of economy, successful steps taken by the central government provided not only high economic growth rates but also amity with Islamic countries such as United Arab Emirates (UAE), in particular with Dubai. The affiliation between two countries encouraged central government to take NGOs such as AKTOB (Union of Mediterranean Touristic Hotels) and POYD (Professional Hotel Managers Society) to Russia and Dubai during its visits, i.e. it opened up opportunities for NGOs to establish business networks, to introduce the region and to invite foreign investment to Antalya region. The meeting of Turkish entrepreneurs with the HIP hotels in Dubai through these joint visits enabled them to grasp HIP-model knowledge and Mr. F. to become manager in one of these hotels[5].

The success of Turkish businessmen in terms of both gains of HIP-model knowledge and Mr. F.'s management in a HIP hotel impressed the central government and channel it to amend the Law, no.4957 for the appropriation of idle terrains to tourism investments and the Law, no. 5444 for the simplification of real estate acquisitions of foreigners in Turkey (Deloitte, 2010). Here it is necessary not to forget that this type of radical legal amendments may only be managed by a single-party government.

These developments aforementioned generated the coalescence of Russian capital and Turkish managers and the integration of hotels and Russian tour operators (e.g. between Tez Tour and Coralia Hotels, Mirax Group and Sun Gate) (Deloitte, 2010) and mergers between European, Russian and Turkish tour operators (e.g. between TUI and Oger) (Yılmaz and Altınaş, 2007).

In addition to the knowledge types explained above there are also other knowledge types which were transferred from abroad, for instance, architectural knowledge from Dubai, the knowledge on the SPAs from Far East, knowledge on fashion from Paris. They are all cases for distant knowledge interactions. Nursery and child care knowledge was transferred through teachers previously employed in a hotel in Ukraine while the knowledge of animation and entertainment-style was through the children of the first generation who migrated to Germany from Turkey following the 2nd World War (conceptualised as *Euro Turks*).

Figure 2: The Geographical Dimension of Knowledge Flows



Source: Adapted from Larsson, (2010).

As may be followed from the chronologic course of action described throughout the section, all the knowledge transfer to the region is summarised in Table 1. Almost all the knowledge types given in the table have been attained from abroad. In turn this means that there is strong distant learning in terms of knowledge types, reflecting the multi-local characteristics of aforementioned knowledge. Contrary to TIMs explaining learning mostly through proximity, close interactions and agglomerations, all the findings concerning the tourism case in Antalya relate to distant learning. The main source of learning in the region is the inflow of symbolic knowledge to the region from where it exists but there is still the issue of its recirculation within the region to be discussed. Hence next section focuses on capturing mechanism and a discussion on whether anchoring of knowledge in the region exists.

5. CAPTURING MOBILE KNOWLEDGE

Due to the symbolic and composite nature of tourism sector, knowledge of various touristic activities should be captured from external and/or previously unfamiliar sources or actors. That is to say, either Russian tourism or HIP concept as a new market for Antalya necessitates new knowledge that is previously absent in the region. Hence the lack of accumulated knowledge regarding new markets particularly raises the question of capturing mobile knowledge and then anchors it in the region. Capturing mobile knowledge through anchoring includes either generating new knowledge or (for certain knowledge types) transferring external knowledge from different countries/regions and recombining it with existing knowledge within the region. The main hypothesis related with anchoring is that the better the capability of anchoring mobile knowledge, the greater the knowledge dynamics/capacities of a region will be. In this context, the main research questions to be answered are: "Does mobile knowledge anchor within the firm/region?", if yes, then "What is the main anchoring channel to capture mobile knowledge?", "Is the mobile knowledge re-contextualized?" and if yes, "With what context is the mobile knowledge recombined?". All the research questions above are asked for each knowledge type and the replies are evaluated in terms of the knowledge mobility and recirculation channels which explained by James et. al. (2010).

Figure 3: Labour Mobility and Their Impact on Jobs

Euro-Turks	Early salesmen at operator firms, then animators at hotels and finally waiters at restaurants
Kazakhs	Receptionists, housekeepers and waiters at hotels
Russians	Receptionists, housekeepers and animators at hotels, waiters, salesmen at operator firms
Eastern Europe	Receptionists at hotels
Far East	SPA masseurs at hotels
Turks	Salesmen at Russian tour operators, accountants, purchasing department personnel and cookers, waiters, cleaners and security staff at hotels.

Starting with job related mobility, as seen in Figure 3, expatriation of foreign labour from Russia, CEEC and CIS countries to Turkey is the main anchoring channel to capture and transfer distant knowledge to the region. In the case, it is observed that work- or job-related mobility is the most important mechanism ensuring the inflow of knowledge to Antalya region. It is the fundamental mechanism that provides the

knowledge flow. Labour, enabling Russian tourist-related-knowledge has caused Russian tourism to foster in the region. For example, the mobility of Kazakhs, Russians and Eastern Europeans via Russian tour operators who were employed as receptionists, housekeepers and waiters at hotels, has also caused to transfer of Russian cultural characteristics knowledge to the region. Besides the labour mobility furnished through hotels and tour operators there were also other labour mobility actions caused by new knowledge needs. For example together with the Russian demand, the demand for Russian language training has risen and consequently private vocational schools in Antalya have initiated language trainings with the lecturers they imported from Russia. This labour mobility has also provided the knowledge flow about Russian culture and life-style.

At this point, an important question may come into minds such as 'Is the knowledge brought by migrants really transferred locally or is there really anchoring?'. If eastern migrants decided not to come to Antalya (or decided to leave) would local people be able to provide the services? The answers to these questions would be partially yes and partially no. The continual increase in the number of Russian population settled in the region has provided the anchoring of Russian culture and life-style knowledge. In the region many Russian language schools have been opened and hence the region can now meet its Russian linguistic demand. For the education of labour speaking Turkish, there are public universities and vocational schools in the region. Besides, it is seen that HIP hotels establish their own academies. Through animation schools, cooking schools, tourism and hotel management schools, universities, education/training programmes and courses for domestic workers in addition to language schools, cuisine, animation and other Russian-related knowledge can now be created in the region. In this context, it is possible to claim that distant knowledge transferred from abroad interacted and re-combined with regional education system/base. Therefore, the region acquired the capability to learn Russian culture and life-style. Hence in terms of Russian culture and life-style the region does not need continuous distant knowledge anymore and so even if there would be a cut in labour mobility from Russian the region would not have any difficulties in terms of culture and life-style. On the other hand, the reverse prevails for child care and nursery knowledge, i.e. the region always needs mobile-distant knowledge transfer. In sum, the region necessitates dense external knowledge inflow of knowledge types concerned and strongly relies on foreign workforce and requires labour mobility; local capacity still could not produce these knowledge types and anchoring is out of question.

Another knowledge type in which job-related mobility plays crucial roles is the SPA knowledge. The labour from Far East played crucial roles in terms of the inflow of this knowledge type to the region. If one examines whether SPA knowledge has been re-contextualized and re-combined in the region it may be claimed that the region has re-combined the SPA knowledge transferred from abroad with Traditional Turkish Bath (Hamam) knowledge. All the same, it is observed that there is a re-circulation in terms of SPA knowledge in the region. It is also found that most of the hotels in the region learn from each other and outsource some of the services to other hotels. In this context, it may be claimed that knowledge has been transferred to the region through labour mobility but diffused within the region through firm-level-interactions.

Regarding with events, such as MITT (Moscow International Travel & Tourism Exhibition) fair held in Moscow, Fashion Fair held in Paris and Milano, also Leaders Meeting organized in Turkey and Dubai Meeting are crucial mechanisms to use distant knowledge. These mechanisms playing crucial roles for the development of Russian tourism- and HIP concept-related knowledge are quite important for the construction of new networks as 'temporary clusters' (as stated in Maskell et. al., 2005). However, there is an important point which should not be forgotten. Anchoring is not only related with capturing the mobile knowledge in various ways but also related with combination and re-circulation of this knowledge with local context. When considered from this respect, abovementioned events allowed to the emergence of tourist- and HIP-related knowledge and capturing related knowledge, but it is hard to say that there is anchoring process related with these events. In this context, this channel can be seen as a mechanism which allows to the flow of mobile knowledge to the region, but it is not a mechanism which allows to the re-circulation and capturing of this knowledge.

As discussed before, the third mechanism which allows the knowledge flow is the acquisition of codified knowledge. However, in Antalya case, there is no example regarding this channel. As underlined before, these types of knowledge are mainly combinatorial and are based on symbolic knowledge. The reason of this situation is that most innovations in tourism sector have mainly non-technical basis and these innovations cannot subject to any patents, licences, etc. But still through some channels such as desk-research, internet and sectoral magazines some knowledge about new trends in Russian culture and tourism sector is attained.

Lastly, another important anchoring channel is the firm-level interactions. This channel has provided the transfer of Russian culture and lifestyle, fashion, architecture and HIP concept knowledge. That is, the HIP concept has formed and developed through supplier-client relations and other collaborative relations of the HIP hotels established in Antalya with the tour operators in Europe and Russia, the hotels in Dubai and the fashion companies in France and Italy. Therefore, this channel, by supporting job related mobility, has played important

direct and indirect roles in the transfer of knowledge. For example, as an important firm level interaction the mergers between European, Russian and Turkish tour operators, have also indirectly caused knowledge inflows by the bilateral labour mobility and hence knowledge flow between the parties. In addition, collaboration between tour operators and the hotels is also important anchoring channel in this process. Moreover, in the case, the previous networks of Mr. F. and the new collaborative networks and firm-level interactions he formed through 'knowing the right persons' (as stated by Vale, 2010) played crucial roles at the flow of HIP concept related ideas. In this context, Mr. F. uses traditional Near East and Ottoman architecture knowledge he acquired in Dubai in his hotel constructions and designs. Antalya already has the knowledge of Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. In the hotels local authentic knowledge and the transferred Near East authenticity were combined. In this context the hotels inclined to learning through short distance labour mobility and transferred labour having the knowledge of court kitchen cuisine and at the least architecture from Istanbul.

Consequently, it is possible to claim that contextualization of external knowledge remains quite crucial for knowledge base. Antalya region has been successful in terms of the transfer of existing mobile knowledge in other regions. However there are differences among knowledge types in terms of the re-combination of them with local contexts. That is, while for some knowledge types, the external knowledge has been transferred to the region and utilised without any change, for some types of knowledge mobile-distant knowledge has been successfully recombined with the regional knowledge context.

6. CONCLUSION

At the abstract level, the paper is about how knowledge flows and shapes firms and regions referring to tourism sector and symbolic knowledge. In knowledge based economy, innovation is not solely an activity of local actors, but instead the flow of knowledge among actors and territories may be more crucial than the origin of knowledge generation or the locality of actors as proximity based regional development theories suggest.

Empirically the determination of knowledge in tourism sector in Antalya differs from hard type innovations yet the case particularly concentrates on symbolic knowledge and symbolic knowledge has a greater impact on space hence it includes artistic and human related values and norms, in other words it has a powerful cultural dimension. Correspondingly, concerning symbolic knowledge, time diffusion may be quicker and space coverage may be wider compared to other knowledge types. Similar to the shortness of learning time-span, the adaptation should be rapid in order to respond market changes. As the time-span is short, formal educational institutions, particularly public education institutions are not able to organize themselves accordingly, that means ineffectiveness of public institutions in responding symbolic knowledge changes. Instead, private education institutions have some capabilities to tackle with the pace and time. For example in this case some hotels have established their own training centres and some private schools have started to offer Russian language courses. So one may argue that a powerful science base is not a must for a region to develop, instead capturing mobile knowledge and gathering various knowledge domains-institutions-targets together are a more efficient way regarding the symbolic knowledge.

Unlike patents or intellectual property rights, it is difficult to protect organizational knowledge and culturally embedded knowledge. In this vein, although the market for it may be competitive, the firms cannot avoid knowledge spillovers. Regarding general regional context it can be argued that the accumulated knowledge in mass tourism which has given rise to high calibre services is transferred and adapted in another type of tourism activity.

In this case symbolic knowledge learning process mostly depends on the imitation of knowledge created outside the firms and even extra-regionally. There are a couple of reasons for such an absence of symbolic knowledge (base) in the region and in the firms. Firstly, artistic and creative capabilities are relatively undervalued both in the firms and in the region. This is the result of national structure. Public policies prioritized hard infrastructures according to the socio-economic development level of the country and the region as in the case of investment promotion laws. Parallel to this, centralized education and science systems are sometimes unable to see regional and local opportunities, and when they see or be aware of opportunities their response to them is too late. Secondly, symbolic knowledge displays composite or combinatorial features in which knowledge accumulation only partially supports further knowledge generation. Therefore the support of science and education system is limited. It is observed that education system is crucial in sustaining and developing symbolic knowledge but in Antalya this support is clearly not sufficient to catch up the training demands originated from the firms. The dynamism of tourism sector is difficult to follow up for a traditional (centralized) education system like the one in Turkey. For the sustainability of symbolic knowledge tourism sector needs more open, multi-linguistic, warm, cheerful and strong communicative skills for the workforce. Third, the national business environment should be kept in mind although globalization and sometimes knowledge economy tell us not to do so. Clientelism or political networking may be utilized for knowledge flows in Turkey.

Thus firms may find investments in symbolic knowledge unnecessary. Political networking is found to be as a tool that can be used for capturing symbolic knowledge, as in case of Mr. F.

Whatever the type of knowledge, knowledge activities always have direct connections with people even though emerging technologies lessen the role of human being. Symbolic knowledge covers wide range of knowledge domains but one can easily find creativity, knowledge of social sciences, imitation, image building in most of the symbolic knowledge. In this research, it is found that firms do not perceive abstract categories of knowledge and there is a tendency among firms to see knowledge as a complex and science related activity. In fact as can be seen from the case, symbolic knowledge in tourism sector is vital for the sustainability of companies both in the short and long run.

7. NOTES

1. That's why Turkey stands out among European destination with her largest package.

2. Innovation biography methodology will not be discussed within the scope of this paper. For more information about this method see Larsson and Widmaier (2006), Butzin and Widmaier (2010), Lehr (2011). Dahlström and Hedin (2010).

3. All inclusive system is a package that involves accommodation, food and beverages and other amenities and this package is sold from fixed price (Ciftci et al., 2007; Ozdemir et al., 2011).

4. The early reservation system is a well-known and widely applied business model in Europe. It was captured by Turkey in the late 1990s through German – Briton tourism. The system that profoundly affected the sector in Turkey is now being applied in Russia as Russia captured the model through reciprocal visits and mainly through firm-level interactions and mergers and acquisitions (see Figure 1).

5. The HIP-model was first initiated by Dubai, Far East and the United States of America.

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