

HOW TO CAPTURE MOBILE KNOWLEDGE IN TOURISM SECTOR? CO-(R)EVOLUTION OF RUSSIAN TOURISTS AND HIGHLY INDIVIDUAL PLACES (HIP) IN ANTALYA

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Abstract

In this paper the conceptual framework of knowledge dynamics is examined through the lenses of a case study, namely Antalya region - a well-known touristic destination in Turkey. Tourism sector encloses knowledge intensive activities most of which represent informal, relational, unrecorded, and people embedded characteristics, and are not dependent on formal education, science and learning processes (Halkier, 2005, 2006).

The recent transformation of tourism sector in Antalya is related to the differentiation of 'tourist profile' since 1990s and the consequent emergence of luxurious (HIP) hotels. Following the 1989 Revolution, the income growth in former Soviet Countries, particularly in Russia, has radically changed the incoming tourists; hence instead of classic German-Britons the leading nationality has turned to be Russians. The rapid transformation has caused the exploitation of knowledge without any knowledge generation. Besides, the dominance of symbolic knowledge (Asheim and Coenen, 2005) in tourism pushes exploration phase to the background compared to technical innovations (Crevoisier and Jeannerat, 2008). This rapid transformation has been faster than public policy regulations and has been implemented by private actors. Following the emergence of luxurious hotels, stemming from the demand of wealthy Russian tourist instead of middle-class German-Briton tourists, through the support of central government by land allocation a new diffusion and growth strategy in which the construction, management and operation of hotels by an individual or a group has developed in the form of becoming widespread. With the new business strategy, the HIP hotels that are transferred through political relations and that have principle roles in this process, constitute a customer oriented structure that combines different types of knowledge such as child-care, animation, cuisine, SPA, all of which simultaneously appear with the rapid rise of Russian tourists. However when fundamental dynamics are concerned, not only the political actors but also extra-regional (even extra-national) actors play crucial roles in this transformation. Correspondingly this generates extra-regional distance knowledge mobility (Crevoisier and Jeannerat, 2008). This, in turn, confirms the need for multi-local, multi-actor and multi-scalar relationship in order to create a difference (differentiation policy) in tourism sector (Doz, Santos and Williamson, 2004).

Consequently, this study examining the knowledge dynamics in tourism sector in Antalya region presents some striking findings about the types (Asheim and Isaksen, 2008) and phases (Cooke, 2006) of knowledge dynamics and knowledge mobility. There are three fundamental non-technical knowledge dynamics: business models, customer service-related knowledge, and on-site-services. Therefore, these knowledge dynamics encompass various actors from separate countries and depend on reciprocal exchange and/or bilateral transfers of symbolic knowledge. Hence face-to-face relations are very important in this knowledge dynamic since the symbolic knowledge depends on actors rather than the knowledge itself. It can be claimed that successful organizations in this knowledge dynamic are the ones who can rapidly reach symbolic knowledge via labour mobility. In connection with knowledge processes, it may be argued that the defined knowledge processes (Halkier, 2006) function but exploration and examination phases are very short, occasionally almost absent.

Introduction

While there is a growing consensus on the importance of knowledge activities in economic development in regional studies, most of the literature heavily concentrates on proto-type spaces leaving less developed regions relatively unexplored (Rutten and Bookema, 2007; Asheim et al, 2007; Cooke and Piccaluga, 2005; Saxenian, 1990; 1994; Piore and Sabel, 1984). It is helpful to enrich theoretical insights by examining some extra proto-type regions. This paper, in this regard, has a dual purpose of combining knowledge dynamics and tourism sector through the developing region. By doing so sectoral-spatial nexus will serve us as a base to understand the impact of knowledge dynamics that has been central issue to EURODITE project.

The interpretation of the role of knowledge in capitalistic development has been both confusing and enlightening. It has been confusing since every attempt to theorize referred to different assumptions which had led to horizontal dissolutions although there have been some vertical paradigms like neo-classical or evolutionary economics (Andersen, 1994; Nelson and Winter, 1982; Lorenzen, 2001). On the other hand, it has been enlightening by showing how knowledge can be economized in various ways and contexts. EURODITE project continues to follow this tradition: finding some new answers to some existing problems while raising some new questions to existing answers.

European perspective, particularly taking the Lisbon Agenda (and also Lisbon 2020) into consideration, suggests a strong commitment towards a knowledge-based society while theoretical developments reinforce policy makers and researchers to think about a world which exhibits multi-scalar, multi-local, and multi-actor characters in the knowledge processes. The search for the exploration of knowledge-based form of all societal processes, correspondingly, points a departure from certain boundaries of traditional economic activities. One of the ideas behind the EURODITE research program is that we witness a transformation from the rhetoric of knowledge economy towards the reality (and realization) of it. In this line, it would not be an exaggeration, if we argued that the knowledge activities are more visible and measurable than ever with accompanying complex relations among various spaces, levels and actors but we observe an agglomeration of research on technical side, leaving non-technical innovations relatively unexplored. However, one of the clear key features of knowledge-based society is overwhelming role of service sector which is generally subject to non-technical innovations. Tourism sector, traditionally assumed to be a low skilled economic function, but subject to soft knowledge activities due to huge mobilization of people thanks to improvements in transportation technologies and infrastructures. Thus, tourism sector has been targeted by both developed and developing economies. Particularly developing regions found tourism sector more attractive since it highly depends on natural endowments and low skilled labour with some exceptions and of course generates income for local people. Clearly it is worthwhile to study knowledge dimension of tourism sector in regional development.

This paper aims to examine knowledge interactions and flows which have been emerged from significant shifts of incoming tourists' profile in Antalya region. Every change necessitates knowledge flows but the demand and the supply of knowledge do not response in a similar manner particularly when there is a massive and rapid change. In this line, Turkey and the case of Antalya exhibit some characteristics which would probably transcend

uniqueness that could be considered as exceptional in the field research of the EURODITE project. *First*, the selection of Antalya partly fulfils Halkier's (2007) idea that we need a Mediterranean geographical context in the research for knowledge dynamics in the EURODITE project. *Second*, in terms of sectoral context, Antalya is one of the fastest growing Mediterranean destinations¹ attracting tourists mainly from Europe, ICWC (Independent Common Wealth Countries), Russia and CEEC. *Third*, ironically this 'heaven' of tourism is left alone without a proper education and science supporting system. That is to say, in the province, the only higher education institution, namely Akdeniz (Mediterranean) University is relatively weak in both tourism sector and regional development studies, and the vocational and regular education is only oriented towards training intermediate level workforce such as barmen, receptionist, waitress/waiter etc. That means the forerunner of knowledge economy, namely higher education and research is unable to respond new knowledge needs. *Fourth*, the market structure of tourism sector in Antalya displays another irony: generally, the domestic tour operators and hotels are bounded to international operators through an asymmetrical relation. Knowledge (about customers, market research) is generated somewhere else but exploited locally. Domestic companies do not have the ability to control and direct the market; instead they have to accept (stand for!) the demand which is directed to them. However, as we will see in the following sections, this does not mean that no knowledge is generated locally. The nuance is that there exist a visible difference between locally produced knowledge and internationally given and utilized knowledge, and mostly both of them are developed independently. 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 the related knowledge by themselves through labour mobility, participating in fair/exhibitions, formal and informal local/intra knowledge exchanges. Then, it could be argued that intraregional knowledge exchange employs (open) channels but international knowledge exchange remains (or have to remain) in the (limits of closed) pipelines. As mentioned by both Halkier (2007) and Cooke (2007), 'trial-and-error' as a knowledge and learning activity takes place in such a symbolic knowledge generation, thus 'learning by failing' has a central role in the knowledge processes in the tourism sector in Antalya. *Lastly*, it is worthwhile to underline the structure of relations of regional stakeholders in the province. One of the customized policy approaches of the EU, private-public partnership is missing in the province. For instance, the private sector usually claims (from the public sector) 'don't bother me; that's all I ask of you'. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that there is no interaction between the private actors and the state, but the general understanding of the state is related to its bureaucratic nature.

The paper is organized as follows: in the first section, the nature of tourism sector and knowledge dynamics in the service sector is explored. In the second section, the regional knowledge dynamics experienced at the tourism sector in Antalya is examined. In this context the efforts to transcend traditional tourism in Antalya and the innovative product/service differentiation and emerging spatial knowledge dynamics are analysed. In the third section the methodology of the study is explained and knowledge biography approach is discussed. The fourth section explains the development of regional knowledge dynamics flourished in Antalya Region via time-space relationship, actors, type of knowledge and transmission channels. In the fifth and sixth sections, the distance learning processes

¹ Actually 'the destination' feature of Antalya is discussable since the tourism sector Antalya fits in the description of 'package tours' by Halkier (2005, 2007).

that emerged in knowledge dynamics in Antalya and the importance of respective knowledge dynamics of mobile knowledge are examined. The paper concludes with policy implications and suggestions.

1. Unfolding Knowledge Dynamics in Tourism Sector

1.1. The Nature and the Importance of Tourism Sector

It is rather difficult to identify either a single tourism or a pure sectoral definition. The usual definition that states staying away than the usual environment (generally the home) hides the complexity and heterogeneity behind tourism which really constitutes a combination of elements separated in time and space and also actors and partners (Maskell et al., 2006). Differing from the usual management and economic theory tourism is a product where customers have to go by themselves to consume the product (Aldebert et al. 2008).

Through the economic and social value added created by so called tourisms, the tourism sector as whole is extremely important in the world. According to World Tourism Organisation, in 2009, with its 852 billion dollars capacity, tourism is one of the largest industries and the largest for the services sector (UNWTO, 2011). Approximately 6% of the total world trade and 40% of total services trade is comes from tourism sector (UNWTO, 2008: 2-3).

Tourism sector has become the centre of innovative activities as a result of recent developments in particular. However, as going to be explained in detail in the following sections, the innovation in tourism sector differs from the one in manufacturing sector and largely shaped by the application, diffusion and mobilizing processes of current knowledge and as a result of 'try-and-error' process. In recent years due to the serious evolution of knowledge bases the importance of knowledge and innovation in tourism sector has considerably increased. As a result of the emergence of new knowledge bases, new actors, relationships and markets rise in the sector and a transformation is experienced in existing markets and products (Aldebert et al, 2008).

In defining the position of tourism in EURODITE project, Halkier puts forward the role of peripheral areas, the internationalism of customers, and the differentiation of tourism from traditional sectors and its knowledge functions such as traditional manufacturing clusters and lastly policy formulation specific to knowledge needs of tourism sector. The mobility and human interactions are far beyond the horizon of traditional manufacturing sectors and even ICT and KIBs (knowledge intensive business services) sectors. Obviously there is bulk amount of sub-sectors in tourism as stated by Halkier: travel, on-site services and on-site activities.

The most important features of tourism products are that they are multi-faceted and they encompass many different services. There are three crucial points at the exploration of the basic features of production chain at tourism sector. Firstly, at tourism sector, as in other service sectors, intangible products that cannot be tested at the environment of a laboratory before production are produced. Secondly, tourism products are produced and consumed simultaneously. Thirdly, the services that form tourism products are heterogeneous (Halkier, 2005: 7).

1.2. Knowledge Dynamics in Tourism Sector

In order to justify knowledge dynamics more clearly we have to identify knowledge types, stages and processes. In order knowledge types and stages to be grasped there can speak off two conceptual frameworks, namely knowledge taxonomy (the SAS model – synthetic, analytical, symbolic knowledge) and three phases of knowledge development (exploration, examination and exploitation).

The knowledge types encompassed in SAS model are *synthetic knowledge* which is used to produce “engineering” related instrumental, context specific and practice-related solutions to human problems; *analytical knowledge* which is fundamentally scientific and is used to understand and explain features of the natural and social world; and finally *symbolic knowledge* which deals with the creation and communication of cultural meanings, symbols, ethics and aesthetics. These knowledge types are defined by processes through which knowledge is developed and by the criteria for evaluating its usefulness/purpose, codified explanation and evidence for analytical and meaning criteria for symbolic. Synthetic knowledge is mainly tacit and context specific but also has an important codified element. Analytical knowledge is to a large extent mobile and transferable across space. Symbolic knowledge is also tacit as it depends on the social and cultural context and is often not directly transferable in geographical space (Halkier et al., 2010).

The second conceptual framework is related with three phases of knowledge development originally depend on the original model of twin-concept (exploration and exploitation) developed by J. G. March (1991). According to him, exploration is a process of finding new economic opportunities in order to make profit and contain search and discovery activities and risk taking. Knowledge in this phase is limited with some uncertainties and requires dealing with risks, because economic returns are systematically less certain in comparison to knowledge in the exploitation phase. Cooke (2006) suggests examination as the third phase in between exploration and exploitation. The examination phase, including testing, experimentation and validation activities is aimed on improving the knowledge content towards its appropriateness for commercial value added.

Table 1 - Knowledge Phases and Types in Tourism Sector

	Analytical	Synthetic	Symbolic
Exploration	usually absent	usually absent	usually absent
Examination	usually absent	Pre-design Market surveys Conceptual tests	Market surveys Market estimation Conceptual tests
Exploitation	usually absent	Product/service innovation Branding	Product/service innovation Branding

An assessment on the knowledge phases in tourism sector would reveal that unlike the manufacturing sector, it is impossible to talk about the exploration phase in the service sector. Especially when tourism sector is concerned, one may confront first symbolic knowledge that includes design, learning and creativity, and second transcending analytical knowledge – based on fundamental research, and synthetic knowledge – based on

engineering. In tourism services it is possible to add extras to main product and one can develop the service infinitely. The main problem is that examination and exploitation stages are generally overlapped. As we will see in the following sections, in our case, we found that knowledge processes work but exploration and examination stages are very short, sometimes absent. This situation burdens several risks to companies. It is very difficult to test a hotel. For that reason the experiences gained in other firms, in other regions and even in other countries are extremely important.

In addition, in the knowledge dynamics perspective, anchoring-mobility mechanism and proximity-distance learning are also important and investigated through EURODITE project. Knowledge mobility refers to the movement of knowledge from one location to another. On the other hand knowledge anchoring refers to knowledge coming from outside a region, which somehow 'sinks in' and is re-circulated within the region. By this we mean processes by which knowledge is used by other firms/institutions within a region (not just the one that found/adopted the knowledge from an external source). This might include developing the new knowledge, or recombining it with existing knowledge, as well as general diffusion within the region (Halkier et al., 2010: 60).

Unlike the manufacturing sector it is impossible to talk about a tangible product in the service sector. Therefore it is quite difficult to present innovation activities of tourism sector with "output" indicators. In this context the focus is not the outputs of innovation activities but the innovation process itself. The resultant types of knowledge, knowledge phases, actors and the relationships between actors are examined in the knowledge dynamics perspective. 'Knowledge dynamics can be defined as interactions between various actors/agents such as public-private firms, local-regional institutions, intermediary organizations, educational and research organizations. In other words, the knowledge dynamics refers to the knowledge spillovers in the firms, between firms and in the region' (Crevoisier et al, EURODITE Guidelines, 2007). These actors may involve directly or indirectly in the processes of the production, diffusion and the use of knowledge in the innovation process (Kaiser and Liecke, 2006). They may also provide specific resources for the establishment of knowledge stocks and the maintenance of knowledge flows. Shortly knowledge dynamics is the geographical patterns of knowledge exchange, networks and interactions between different actors. Key actors may include firms, higher education institutions, chambers of commerce, local and regional authorities. The geographical focus stresses the importance of the regional level but emphasises that interaction is not constrained to an administrative regional level but multi-scalar and potentially including important interactions at great distances (Halkier et al., 2010: 20).

2. Tourisms in Antalya

Antalya is a well-known tourism destination both by domestic and international tourists. In 2010, 11.6 million (40.55%) of 28.6 million incoming tourists visited Antalya (Republic of Turkey, MOCT, 2011). Tourism sector, had its initial beginnings during the 1960s, gained acceleration 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 (Çimrin, 2010). The accommodation and catering supply/generation was purely a result of financial incentives given to large scale investors, the resorts and 5 star hotels after the liberalization of economy that is during the 1980s. The

tourism market was not developed solely by Turkish tourism agents, but surely the supply was generated by Turkish firms and by Antalya itself. The enormous increases in the number of incoming tourists have made Antalya not only a rapidly growing (national) province but also dynamically transforming (global) region (Begnars and Kebapçioğlu, 2006). One of the uniqueness of our case comes from the economic evolution of the region: Antalya has never been an industrialized region. The societal relations have not the chance to face with industrialization, deindustrialization, extensive knowledge economy and correspondingly any social industrial heritage such as strong unionization; urban design depends on industrial requirements, professional business management, and the social discipline produced by industrialization (Anonim, 2007: 48).

The investment in tourism sector takes the first place. Actually the number of 5 star hotels and resorts in Antalya are higher than the same figure for whole Spain. The Ministry of Tourism has licensed 785 accommodation facilities with a total of 161 thousand rooms and 343 thousand beds as of 2009. In addition to the ministry-licensed touristic facilities, there are municipality-registered hotels and boarding houses. And if these are included, total bed capacity reaches up to 430 thousand. Antalya has 32% of whole Turkey's touristic accommodation capacity and it is calculated that 60% of the tourism revenue is generated in Antalya yet tourists visiting Antalya have stayed longer compared to other parts of Turkey. The rate of increase of this capacity is above Turkey's average (Republic of Turkey, MOCT, 2011).

The rise of Antalya as a popular destination is directly connected to its natural, historical and cultural endowments. However Antalya has been stuck in the context of traditional 4S tourism and regional actors have raised complaints about the limits of 4S and argued that Antalya is not at a status that it actually deserves. This public opinion actually has a market dimension. Relatively lower prices and higher quality in tourism services in Antalya raised questions concerning profit maximization. As the market matures, the hotels and tour operators look for alternative profit-making fields. Additionally the market segmentation of Spain and Greece apparently questioned the market position tourism sector in Antalya. Moreover the fast growing Russian and CIS market initiated new profit maximization areas for the sector. Lastly regional actors wanted to strengthen the destination character through formal branding effort so that Antalya can attain better position in the aforementioned markets.

In Halkier's tourism classification (2007), the sectoral-territorial nexus of our case corresponds to typical mass tourism of Mediterranean destinations. However we have to make a clear distinction 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. Third, the cultural and historical marketing and promotion of the region has been played second string to 4S. Finally, the urban characteristic of Antalya has been premature compared to Barcelona or Athens and never been able to substitute the image of İstanbul.

Although there is an ongoing discussion on mass tourism among various actors in Antalya that somehow the mass tourism imprisons tourists in (all-included) hotels without enough interactions with the surroundings, the number of 5 star hotels is still increasing, and ironically both private and public sectors are now complaining of mass tourism. Beyond the

so called '4S' tourism, the region accommodates natural and historical features and in fact it has a edge cutting competitive advantage compared to other regions in Turkey and even to many Mediterranean rivals. The representatives of both sectors claim that it (mass tourism) does not generate enough income to other regional entities apart from hotels and tour operators. However '5 star' bed capacity has already fostered mass tourism and existing accommodation facilities obviously show that it is impossible to change mass tourism into another type of tourism – at least in the short run. Yet, the efforts to generate diversity in tourism are accelerating by public and private actors.

German tourists have dominated Antalya's market after the year 1980, which period can be regarded as tourism history of Turkey. This process, proceeding in the first years of 20th century, has a turning point approximating the alternation as this: While the number of German people coming to Antalya in 2002 was 348 thousand, it was 2,087 million in 2007. The number of Russian people following the German reached 1,293 million in 2007, from 532 thousand in 2002 (NetHaber, 2007).

Table 2 - Foreigners According to Distribution by Country (x1000 persons)

	Western Europe					Central and Eastern Europe	
	England	Austria	France	Germany	Holland	Bulgaria	Russia & CIS
2009	2.426,7	548,1	932,8	4.488,3	1.127,1	1.406,6	5.480,6**
2008	2.169,9	520,3	885,0	4.415,5	1.141,6	1.255,3	5.713,1**
2007	1.916,0	472,8	768,1	4.149,8	1.053,6	1.239,6	4.824,9
2006	1.678,6	429,7	657,8	3.761,0	997,5	1.177,9	3.773,6
2005	1.758,1	486,1	701,1	4.243,6	1.254,2	1.621,9	3.432,1
2004	1.387,8	455,8	548,8	3.983,9	1.191,3	1.309,8	2.792,1
2003	1.091,2	379,8	470,2	3.327,8	938,7	1.006,3	2.071,6
2002	1037,5	376,9	523,8	3.481	871,6	833,8	1659
2001	845,5	359,9	523,3	2.875	632,2	540,2	1424
2000	915,3	320,5	449,5	2.276	440	381,5	1377
1999	814,8	129,4	270,2	1.389	214	259	1048
1998	996,5	235,1	436,9	2.234	328	244,7	1312
1997	915,3	307,5	333,7	2.339	263	219,3	1514
1996	758	238	261	2.141	216	139	1560
1995	734	181	251	1.656	203	141	1366
1994	568	138	233	994	180	170	1430
1993	441	211	301	1118	216	368	1167
1992	314	204	247	1165	204	818	1241
1991	200	102	117	779	107	943	731
1990	351	196	310	973	150	72	223

** Georgian Parliament voted unanimously (on 14 August 2008) to withdraw from the CIS, following the South Ossetian war in 2008. Georgia's withdrawal came into effect 12 months later, on 18 August 2009. However, in order to show the increase of incoming tourist from this region, Georgia is added to the figure of Russia+CIS category for the years 2008 and 2009 in the table.

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Update: 30.03.2011

There are some striking elements of tourism sector in Antalya in relation to knowledge dynamics. First of all, there is an agglomeration of accommodation in the region (nearly 430 thousand beds). However some aspects of the supply chain are still missing such as processed food supply, hotel furniture and equipment etc. Anyway one can speak off a tourism cluster in Antalya without any policy support. Secondly, the market is controlled by large European tour operators but incoming operators play an important role in the market as well. Thirdly, the investment in the tourism sector has been undertaken in an unplanned way. Due to absence of regional level planning, the choice between being a resort and a destination has not taken intently but accidentally. Additionally science and education system supports medium level skills and do not produce sufficient academic outputs to direct and assist regional development policy. Moreover the existing plans of public bodies do not refer to each other. Although there has been vast amount of infrastructure investments especially after 2002, there is still a gap in the public infrastructure yet it is obviously difficult to meet the demands of annually increasing tourist numbers. Fourthly, hotels and resorts owned by basically four types of origins: (1) national investors (mostly from Istanbul and Ankara) whom worked as contractors of large public investments, (2) foreign investors of tour operators who seek for vertical integration, (3) local investors and finally (4) foreign investors from Russia, Turkic and Slavic origins.

Antalya region has been a traditional tourism destination for many years based on mass tourism. However due to the constraints of mass tourism a transformation has been experienced in the region and new branches of tourism were flourished. Recently different tourism openings that can be seen as parts of emerging tourism fields are experienced in Antalya and they can be examined as spatial knowledge dynamics. For example Antalya region has recently become a crucial football tourism destination and in this field the region rises as an alternative to other destinations (Spain, Greece, etc.). Apart from that, an important set-up that could be named as organised entertainment zone has been constructed in the coast line of Antalya region. The place branding efforts are also remarkable. The aim of these efforts is to create an international brand for Antalya region, so the Golden Orange Film Festival and the Eurasia Film Exhibition have been organised for years. Besides, there occurred a rapid tourist profile transformation in the 1990s and consequently an important transformation was experienced. In this process aiming at Russian tourists, ultra luxurious and highly individual places have become widespread in the hotels area. In the study, among many others, the Russian tourist transformation and related HIP concept is examined as a regional transformation emerged as an alternative to traditional tourism in Antalya region.

3. Methodology

In this paper we have employed knowledge biography methodology to investigate emerging knowledge dynamics in tourism sector in Antalya. Knowledge biography approach is used to identify flows of knowledge in and around the innovative activities of firms. It is a useful way to characterize observable types of firm's knowledge activities. In-depth-interviews are preferred in the investigation of knowledge flows within firms, between firms and other actors. It must be noted that knowledge biography is not the firm biography. Knowledge can flow outside of the firm and innovations emerge out of societal interactions inside the firm and

outside. From this point of view, knowledge biographies include not only firms but also other organizations in the regional context.

As aforementioned, knowledge dynamics focus on innovation processes and the relationships between actors, types of knowledge and knowledge channels emerged as a result of this process, but not on innovation “outputs”. Therefore the knowledge biographies approach and the narrative interviews are important tools for the process to be understood. In this context, in order to analyse firm level and territorial level knowledge dynamics which have born from the huge increases in incoming tourists from Russia and Slavic countries, 41 interviews were made with relevant persons / institutions / organisations in Antalya region between August 2007 and June 2008. In the interviews semi-structured surveys are utilised and questions are prepared in order to explore knowledge dynamics. We found a particular firm as an initiator and accelerator of this so-called Russian tourism. Following the region level interviews, one particular hotel was identified as the main actor and receptor node in the emerging knowledge dynamic in the region. We may say that territorial and firm level knowledge dynamic somehow coincides with this company. After this company has approved cooperation in the research of detailed firm level knowledge biography, in-depth interviews were conducted between February-March 2009. In this process, egocentric network analysis was chosen to make the various connections within and around the innovating firm visible. Besides, mapping of the time-space path of knowledge interactions is a means to visualize the trail of knowledge dynamics (Butzin and Widmaier, 2010).

In these interviews the close and distant interactions caused by rapid change and transformation in tourism sector experienced in Antalya, distance learning and the actors having direct and indirect roles are examined. As a result of the interviews, the crucial knowledge types and phases that play role in the emergence of knowledge dynamics in the Region are determined. Therefore in the next section the HIP and Russian tourist knowledge dynamics in Antalya Region are examined in detail.

4. The Leitmotiv of Knowledge Dynamics: Russian Tourists and HIP in Antalya

The rationale behind the need for the new knowledge in tourism sector is the change of the number and profile of the tourists visiting Antalya after the year of 2000. Although the change was not a result of an innovative activity, the implications of the change have necessitated knowledge activities. The huge manoeuvres have initiated a chain of change that has deep impacts on the rest of region including most of sectors-public or private.

There are several reasons of direction of Russian tourists to Antalya. The orientation of Russian airplanes to Antalya following the new procedures and standards following the year of 2000 was the first reason. For instance Spanish authorities did not allow Russian airplanes to land on due to new standards. Then Russian and CEEC originated tourists diverted their reservations to Antalya, one of the most preferred Mediterranean tourism destinations. Approximately one fourth of airplanes that landed to Antalya airport in the years of 2008 and 2009 were Russian airplanes. The second factor is very elastic service supply and *alles inclusive* system. The third factor is the revolution in Russian political relationships. Following the end of Cold War the relationship between two neighbour countries, namely Turkey and Russia, has become close; this in turn has affected the perception of Russians about Turkey and Turkish people positively.

Between the years 2000 and 2006 the number of tourists coming from Russian Federation and visiting Turkey increased by 20% annually; the same figure is 50% for Slavic countries (ATB, 2006). From the year 2006, the figures are 10% and 5% for Russian and Slavic tourists respectively. It can also be observed that the largest annual increase belongs to Turkic countries, with an annual increase of 20%. In relation to this rapid growth of incoming tourists from Turkic countries, two countries come to the fore: Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan because of (1) linguistic demand (Russian) deriving from hotels and tour operators and (2) the historical and socio-economic relations between the two origins. Moreover, these growing markets have whetted especially Kazakhs' and Russians' appetite, and the acquisitions and new investments in tourism accommodation (5-star and ultra-inclusive hotels and resorts) are taking place by these two origins.

Before this change of tourist profile, the symbolic and synthetic 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 been developed correspondingly for the European tourists, particularly for Germans, Dutch and Britons. The radical increases in the number of incoming tourists originating from Russia and CEECs have caused the re-design of customer oriented tourism services. This market driven knowledge shift has necessitated a vast amount of knowledge activities that cannot be met by Antalya region itself. It is rather difficult to define or isolate a single knowledge process that has an impact on the rest of the sector. As we are talking about customers and markets, the knowledge type that we are dealing should be symbolic, but symbolic knowledge generally does not generate from a single source, contrary to analytic and synthetic. However, in our case we observe two fundamental knowledge processes: first one is business models and strategies, generated from Europe and transported to Russia and matured in Russia. The second is emerging customer oriented tourism services raised from new origins of customers but led to a new understanding of customer services.

While Russia was enjoying a rapid welfare boost, a new hotel management perception was developing in three distinct places in the world: Far East and Arabic Countries, Caribbean Countries and the USA. This new tourism concept creating special places that meet the demands of individuals is the HIP (highly individual places) involving boutique hotels and "alles inclusive" system. In the HIP hotel management perception based on the understanding of 'everything is an output of design', the customers face specific architecture and interior design. For example, one of the first samples in the world has an outer space covered with lights and it has an appearance known as 'illuminated hotel' (Turizmde Bu Sabah, 2002).

From 1980 on, the type of the hotel that has been demanded in Antalya region by European tourists has been boutique hotels which are a part of HIP concept. Boutique hotels are elegant kinds of hotels with few numbers of rooms that provide the comfort letting the elite customers feel them at home. They are small hotels attracting attention with its special interior design and architecture with limited number of rooms, generally less than twenty five. The concept that it holds is like a large mansion or a house rather than a hotel atmosphere. Employee and customer relations generally occur in an informal way; in this respect sincere atmosphere that is aimed to be created work out.

The all or all inclusive system that constitutes the other leg of HIP model and that has been demanded after 1990 both in the domestic market and international market is offered as a package by tourism services. In the all inclusive mechanism tourists only pay when they buy the vacation and never pay again. Plane ticket and some extra activities in the destination are also included in the fee. Moreover, accommodation, catering, all hotel facilities, sea, care and amusement of children for the families with children, health insurance and so forth are all included. In this way, the fact that European tourists know how much and how they spend during their vacations, make the all inclusive system attractive for them. Hence the system completely abolishes –if they toe the line- the economic uncertainty stemming from the vacation.

Hotels in Antalya region holding the experience of these two systems have internalised the HIP model in a very short time by integrating boutique hotel and all inclusive system. The Arabic country and Far East experiences of some businessmen planning to make hotel investments in the region at the beginning of 2000s, their informal and political relations have played crucial roles at the transfer of tacit and symbolic HIP knowledge to Antalya. Diffusion of personalized service concept for Russian tourists, prosperity of whom have increased by the development of Russian market in the territory, happen upon in the same period. Shortly the region experienced the establishment of HIP hotels and enormous increase Russian tourists almost simultaneously.

Table 3 - Knowledge Fastening Through Russian Tourism and HIP Model

	Subject	Actors	(Knowledge) Channels	Examples	Knowledge Types	Time
Russian Tourism	Organizational Culture (food, luxury service, children, animation, security)	Tour operators Special sector firms Educational Institutions	Software knowledge – labour mobility	- Russian cooks from Russia - Turkish cooks from Istanbul (Ottoman) Palaces	- Symbolic - Software	After 2000
	Customers oriented services	Tour operators Educational institutions	Hardware knowledge – training in sector	- Euro-Turks from Germany	- Symbolic - Hardware - Composite	After 1980
HIP	Hotel Management	Fairs, meetings, purchasing	Hardware knowledge – luxury thematic hotels	- Experience of Hotel managers (Dubai)	- Orgware - Symbolic	After 1990
	Tourism capital	Fairs, meetings	Face to face political relations	- Owners of capital and hotels - Tour operators	- Face to face	After 2000
Russian Tourism & HIP	Hotel Management	Labour (Russians, Euro Turks) Educational institutions	Orgware knowledge – Attractions (organizational culture)	- Experience of Hotel managers - Euro Turks	- Cumulative	After 1985
	New business model	Tour operators Hotels	Vertical and horizontal integrations	- Mergers between Europe and Russia	- Cumulative	After 2005

The hand-in-hand and intimate developments in Russian tourism and HIP occurred have caused a set of knowledge movements in the region. The very first knowledge demand was about extracting codified knowledge about Russian history, socio-cultural features and Russian life style for actors involved in tourism sector in order to direct and increase the demand of Russian tourists to Antalya.

As can be seen from the table above, the new hotel management perception has served both to Russian tourism and HIP model as well. Based on the terminology developed by

Halkier three types of knowledge have been utilised separately and simultaneously for the construction of a tourism business model offering ultra luxurious service. (Halkier, 2009) In terms of *hardware* knowledge, the new categories of hotels such as ultra-luxury and the thematic hotels are constructed via either imported foreign or via famous national architects (Crevoisier underlines the rise of luxury sector). (Dulupçu, 2009) Regarding the *software*, the knowledge for language and market networks is generated by labour mobility or by participating knowledge exchange events such as MITT (Moscow International Travel and Tourist Exhibition). Lastly, the *orgware* transformations are taking place by acquisitions, new animation teams or by redesigning of existing attractions (on-site-actions) for Russian tourists.

Change of concept includes the integration *customer oriented services* with all inclusive system in order to underlie the marketing system on HIP model. This marketing method aiming for the quality to make wealthier tourists feel themselves privileged is composed of two intertwined loops. In the outer loop, marketing method aims at justifying the expectations and demands of Russian tourists; in the inner loop, it is aimed to increase the quality for wealthier customers and provide appropriate services for their expectations. In other words the first loop contains the second one however intensive method contains the service provided for wealthier customers.

Figure 1 - Intersection Plane: Russian Tourism and HIP Model



The principal key for the success of service businesses is the *organizational culture*. Organisational culture is composed of the software and symbolic knowledge transferred to the region by tour operators and the employees. The process of rising of HIP concept can be analysed by examining particular firms where one can find micro knowledge dynamics related to regional knowledge dynamics shown in the table below.

Table 4 - Micro Knowledge Dynamics: Overlapping HIP and Russian Tourism

New Services	Local Embedded Knowledge	Acquiring Knowledge	New	Mobilisation	Network	Actors
Cuisine	Production of services	Feedbacks requests customers	and from	Labour Mobility	Istanbul and for Moscow cooks	Wealthy customers
Child Care	Production of services	Following world fashion and trends		Labour Mobility	Trutskavetes for nursery	Subsidiaries of Antalya hotels in Balkans
SPA	Marketing and strategic knowledge	Participation in fairs Feedbacks requests customers	and from	Commodity Purchasing	Milan for skin care Nuremberg and Paris for SPA fairs	Hotel management
Architecture	Production of services and strategic knowledge	Country visits and politic relations		Knowledge transfer	Dubai for traditionalistic	Petro-dollar (Arabic capital) Construction Companies in Dubai Russian capital

Security and Language	Institutional support	Educations, and Russian experiences	Projects, security	Proximity advantage	Antalya and local firms	Regional governments and small firms
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5. Distance Learning and Mobile Knowledge: Labour as a Transporter

The need for new knowledge regarding Russian tourism and HIP is the main diffusion point for the tourism knowledge dynamics in Antalya. Of course this is not to say there are no other major knowledge flows and regional change. However, these two fundamental changes have been decisive on the rest of region.

The Russian market is new and there is no accumulated knowledge related to this new market. The composite knowledge of this type is created by the merge and synthesis of different modules of knowledge such as socio-cultural habits, languages, consumer preferences, shopping styles, hotel room design demands and market structure. The origin of the knowledge of Russian customer-needs is the tour operators and agencies. This knowledge is not only transferred to Antalya by through mergers and acquisitions but also labour mobility is the transporter of the knowledge. Also it is worthwhile to mention the importance of NGOs and business associations which boost the knowledge mobility reciprocally both in Antalya and Moscow.

The labour mobility analyses made in order to understand how knowledge is anchored is a central and retrospective analyses. The formation of symbolic knowledge through labour mobility in Antalya region depends on different phases. The importance of labour mobility was first discovered by businessmen who had participated tourism fair in Berlin during the middle of the 1980s. Turkish immigrants were employed not only for acquiring knowledge but also as a workforce which meet language demand in the region. Anchoring mechanism was first more close to neo-classical allocation problem and then embeddedness and parallelly proximity was the case. We can divide, for example, the process of labour mobility of (Euro) Turkish and related symbolic and combinatorial knowledge generation into 5 phases:

Table 5 - Evolution of Symbolic Knowledge via Labour Mobility

Phases	Geographical Relation	Intraregional Relations
Knowledge transfer through labour mobility: allocation (simple language demand)	Germany	Urban (proximity)
The emergence of combinatorial knowledge: embeddedness (marketing talent and capabilities, developing creative relations with customers)	Germany and other countries where Turkish immigrants live	Urban (embeddedness)
Anchoring: contextualization of knowledge (regional attractiveness combined with sectoral attractiveness, new actions in entertainment teams, new dishes)	Europe	Urban-Rural (hierarchical: market power on the urban side)
De-contextualization: cooks, entertainers begun to work in different countries where international chains (both hotel and operator) have subsidiaries.	Europe	Urban-Rural (transitory)
Re-contextualization: the rise of Russian and CEEC along with the existing European merged at more dynamic combinatorial knowledge (bi-linguistic, dual knowledge of German-Russian cultures, HIP and thematic hotels etc) and employment of Euro-Turks in Russia at tour operator	Adaptation to Russian-German mixture	Urban-Rural (Informal and equal: adventure tourism, sports tourism etc)

companies and employment of Turkic and Slavic workers in Antalya (hyper- and multi-mobility of labour). The result is multi-scalar and multi-local combinatorial knowledge relations.

Obviously the relation of Antalya with other places is parallel to changes in demand, but there have also been supply driven changes which have caused de- and re-contextualization. The demand shapes the labour mobility. For example German tourists' mobilised Euro-Turks and employed Turkish immigrants. The same also applies to Russian tourism: the Russian tourists have caused the mobility of Russian, Kazakh, Azerbaijan and Moldavian labour. More educated Slavic labour mobility has accelerated the development of Russian oriented tourism. And also we can conclude by stating that such a workforce advanced the creative solutions and assisted the re-contextualization of symbolic knowledge via generating both region specific and global oriented combinatorial knowledge.

The movement of knowledge related to Russian customers and markets follows informal pathways and creates informal networks. The relationships are mainly dependent on face-to-face contacts and the market structures in both countries are considerably elastic and do not have certain templates, especially in terms of contracts. One of the critical aspects is that the business models of Turkish firms are more similar to Russian ones compared to Europeans. The face-to-face character of knowledge and the formation of European-Russian-Turkish connection mean that it is mobile and necessitates distance learning at the same time. The mobility of the knowledge is bidirectional. The first is the mobility of quasi-synthetic knowledge including business model from Europe into Russia. The journey of hardware knowledge defined by Halkier initiated with the partnership between an Antalya centred tour operator (Öger Tour) that had the largest portion of the tourism sector in Antalya with a Russian billionaire. The factor mobility of the personnel of this firm, particularly *Euro-Turks* (Turkish people born in Europe) who comprise majority of the personnel, and their importation into Turkish agencies after this acquisition have been realized. The simultaneous cooperation of one of the large operators of Russia (Anex Tour) with the largest tour operator of Europe (Thomas Cook) has accelerated the transfer of early reservation and business model to Russia. Largest European tour operator (Thomas Cook) has already experienced all the development paths in Europe and born witness to the advancement of business model during the increase of human mobility. Therefore, the synthetic knowledge transferred through this partnership is of capital importance in the business model transfer.

Table 6 - Labour Mobility and Their Impact on Jobs: Mobility and Anchoring

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 cooks, waiters, cleaners and security staff at hotels.

In Table 6, it is seen that how knowledge is acquired through labour and how by whom it is transformed into distance learning. It is aforementioned that Kazakhs, Russians and Far Eastern labour is employed in customer oriented services. In the context of business model, Turkish and Russian labour came into prominence.

The evolution of symbolic knowledge is not always linear. However our empirical findings suggest strong willingness to undergo exploitation stage and by-passing the exploration and examination phases of knowledge. This is mainly the result of difficulties in finding concrete and traceable footprints of symbolic yet it is generally embodied in people and people (labour) are more mobile than firms. The anchoring of this symbolic knowledge, mostly depending on labour mobility, depends on the rapid increase of medium and long distance learning in Antalya region.

Symbolic knowledge learning process mostly depends on imitation of the knowledge created outside the firms and even it is extra-regional (long distance). External learning is central to our findings. 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. Secondly, symbolic knowledge shows composite or combinatorial features in which knowledge accumulation only partially supports further knowledge generation. And third, we have to keep national business environment in mind although globalization and sometimes knowledge economy tell us not to do so. Clientalism or political networking may be utilized for knowledge flows in Turkey. Thus firms may find investments in symbolic knowledge unnecessary.

6. Capturing Mechanisms

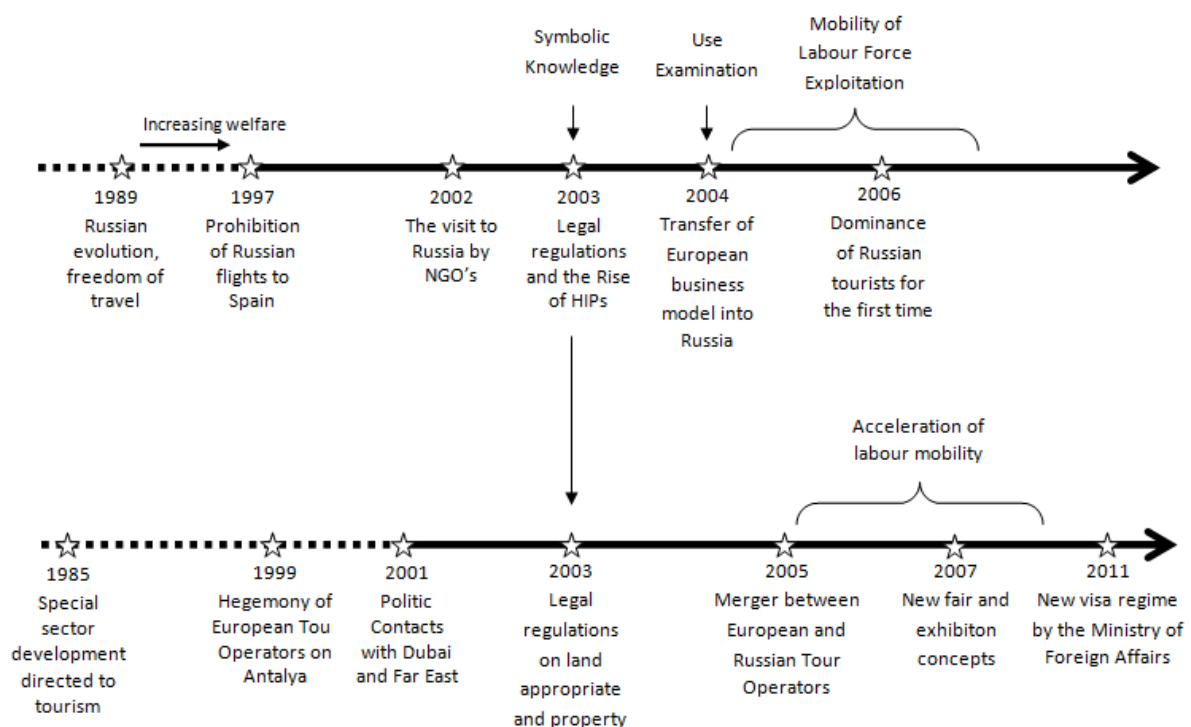
As stated earlier regional policy is one of the weakest chains of policy making in Turkey. This is mainly due to statist and unitarian nature of the country. It is difficult to figure out a clear concentrated regional policy for Russian and HIP knowledge dynamics. These knowledge dynamics politically unexpected and specifically not supported, are developing solely on its

own way. The transformation in the region is unplanned and it is impossible to talk about an integrated policy. However, it is still possible to talk about some capturing mechanisms that are seen in the related knowledge dynamics and that appeared formally or informally. In the region 3 fundamental capturing mechanisms related to Russian and HIP knowledge dynamics are seen. These are:

- Labour mobility
- Politic networks
- Firm interactions

After the 2000s, the dominant position of Russian tour operators in Antalya market following their horizontal integrations with the European ones, has caused the region to be attractive for Russian tourists. Together with the firm level interactions, the European business model based on early reservation system has been harmonised with Russian capital and way of doing business and new concept has developed. The legal regulations and political networks of the single-party-government in Turkey also support this new concept. The Turkish immigrants who were working for European originated tour operators are now serving to Russian tourists through this HIP concept and Antalya has turned to be an attractive place for them to work. Those Turks living in Russia and are familiar with Russian culture, those Russians who get married and still living in Antalya and the Slav originated Slavic labour benefiting the advantage of being Slavic have started to take part in the concept through customer oriented services. This mechanism is a mobility mechanism that accelerates with the simultaneous concentration of Russian tourism and HIP model in 2006 and the reciprocal cancellation of visa requirements among Russian, Slavic and Turkic countries in 2010.

Figure 2 – Common Mechanisms of Russian and HIP Knowledge Dynamics



Fairs and exhibitions are also crucial capturing mechanisms for the creation of a powerful image and labour mobility within the region. Those tour operators attending to the MITT fair organised in Moscow, hotels and NGOs, regional advertisements broadcasted on Russian TV channels, sectoral magazines and the web site of the region are crucial diffusion elements of the mechanism.

7. Conclusions

In terms of structure and characteristics the case of Antalya quite differently situates than other similar Mediterranean destinations Crevosier and Jeannerat's (2008). Argumentation of culturalization of cities and regions echoes quite differently in Antalya. They underline that while Paris, London and New York have always been well aware of culturalization of economic activities, cities having industrial base like Barcelona and Hamburg are trying to join such a context but Antalya has been neither an industrial region nor a cultural city. Antalya province is a rapidly developing region and has its own characteristics which make this locality more open compared to the other parts of the country. Due to the mass tourism in the region, the rise of human interaction in various contexts causes different knowledge interactions and exchanges which fill the gap created by appropriate policy absentness and the weak academic focus to the regional development and tourism sector.

However the knowledge dynamics approach assumes that mobility and anchoring of a certain territory could be affected by other regions. For that reason, territorial relations (even extra-European regions) may play more crucial role than suggested. For instance policies fostering best exploitation of mobile knowledge may be subject to more complicated tools apart from pipelines. The knowledge produced elsewhere or a huge investment in education in other regions can be exploited by the regions capable of mobility and even anchoring.

Whatever the type of knowledge, knowledge activities always have direct connections with people even though emerging technologies lessen the role of persons. 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 our search we 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 we have seen from our case, symbolic knowledge in the tourism sector is vital for company's sustainability both in the short and long run. In our fieldwork we see that none of the firms have a separate R&D department although they take part in the exploration stage of symbolic knowledge.

The cooperation between the university and tourism sector is recommended and supported in all the tourism incentive policies and targeted-programs prepared for Antalya yet no remarkable development has been achieved. There has been no direct contact between the university and tour operators and hotels that are fundamental actors, the parties have just met each other only at the meetings organized by provincial NGOs.

In the case of Antalya in which knowledge resources are exterritorial and firms only have knowledge anchoring roles, it is seen that tourism policies are controlled by central government. Although there are new elasticities obtained in the last ten years, it is quite clear that a governance type where local government and NGOs' roles rise in importance is a milestone for the provision of sustainable tourism. Thus provincial NGOs, on their own

initiatives, have started to take goal oriented steps together with the governorships and municipalities.

Empirical findings of the knowledge dynamic have specific implication for symbolic knowledge:

- The knowledge processes work but exploration and examination stages are very short, sometimes absent. For instance, the huge manoeuvres in markets reinforce both operators and hotels to react so rapidly and they have to by-pass or shorten first two stages. Therefore examination and exploitation stages sometimes merge.
- Labour mobility and embrained knowledge flows are the key to combinatorial knowledge. Combinatorial knowledge implies more than knowledge, it includes competencies which are also embrained like knowledge. We can say that the successful organizations in the territorial knowledge dynamic are the ones who can rapidly reach to the symbolic knowledge via labour mobility.
- In Antalya the combinatorial knowledge is central to knowledge dynamics, but this does not mean unimportance for the cumulative. However we have noticed that the cumulative knowledge cannot solve core problems or create alternatives. For instance, customer satisfaction surveys in the region are sometimes assessed by the researchers from Akdeniz University but these assessments do not provide solutions for the problems.
- We argue that it is good to have education oriented institutions rather than research institutions when the combinatorial knowledge plays central role. Such teaching orientations can response short-term training needs.
- The learning environment of combinatorial knowledge largely differs from cumulative knowledge. As the combinatorial knowledge in tourism sector evolves and changes so rapidly, it is very difficult for the institutionalized bodies to follow up those changes, particularly in Turkey because of highly bureaucratic and centralized structures.

Finally, some critical findings regarding mobility and distance learning are as follows:

- Similar to the shortness of the learning time-span, the adaptation should be rapid in order to response market changes. The learning is generally subject to trial-and-error yet the time-span is insufficient. As the time-span is short, formal educational institutions are not able to organize themselves accordingly, particularly public education institutions. Instead, private education institutions have some capabilities to tackle with the pace and time. In our field of research we found that some hotels have established their own schools. In other words we observe 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 the recent trend for solving the problem of regional development in the context of knowledge economy. That is to say, symbolic knowledge does not favour science and education system, thus tourism firms are less dependent to universities.
- At the territorial level we have found a development based on distance learning. At the firm level we have also observed distant knowledge interactions. However, at the firm level, labour mobility becomes more crucial in terms of knowledge transfers and proximity becomes effective in the learning process. For instance, knowledge flows such as

architectural knowledge from Dubai, the knowledge on the SPAs from Germany, knowledge on fashion from Italy, are the cases for distant knowledge interactions. However, in capturing and learning *nursery* knowledge from Ukraine and *butler training* knowledge from London the recruitment process is decisive thus close local relations are needed in the learning process of very specific knowledge interactions. Architectural knowledge may be learnt at a distance but nursery knowledge is culturally embedded and necessitates face-to-face relations. In this regard we can say that the degree of symbolic knowledge determines the choices between distant-close learning.

- The knowledge biography confirms that composite knowledge can be generated or used through interactions with various resources not only from a single source. Therefore mobility is a kind of a must for the existence of symbolic knowledge if it is combinatorial. In our case mobility has been raised from three fundamental sources. Firstly, as a part of firm's strategy, the mergers and joint ventures act as vehicles for knowledge flows. Secondly, labour mobility, particularly for specific knowledge types, supports the development and sustainability of the HIP concept. Lastly, business partnerships along with fairs and exhibitions also cause knowledge flows.
- Firm level knowledge dynamic was nourished by knowledge activities which were born of different and various territories and this knowledge has been combined at the regional level, in Antalya. Thus the firm's ability to combine knowledge inflows is the most important result of our field research. Unfortunately this ability derived from individual activities and relations. From theoretical point of view it is rather difficult to identify combinatorial capabilities, up to now it seems more talent type.

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