

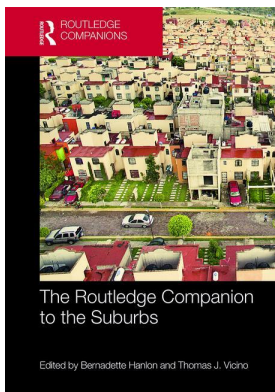
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 11 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

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The Routledge Companion to the Suburbs

Bernadette Hanlon, Thomas J. Vicino

Planning and the cultural landscapes of suburban Turkey

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315266442-26>

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Published online on: 30 Aug 2018

How to cite :- Bahar Durmaz-Drinkwater, Jaap Vos, Asli Ceylan Öner. 30 Aug 2018, *Planning and the cultural landscapes of suburban Turkey from: The Routledge Companion to the Suburbs* Routledge
Accessed on: 11 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315266442-26>

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Planning and the cultural landscapes of suburban Turkey

*Bahar Durmaz-Drinkwater,
Jaap Vos, and Asli Ceylan Öner*

Overview

Urla, once a rural town, has been undergoing several changes since the mid-1990s due to the migration from İzmir, other large cities in Turkey, and also from abroad. During the past 20 years, it attracted economically wealthy groups based on its environmental assets and proximity to İzmir. The construction of the İzmir-Çeşme expressway in the 1990s accelerated the change in Urla, and as Datta and Yucel Young (2007) argued, Urla has become a place of gated communities due to the influx of people mainly migrating from İzmir. In the last decade, Urla has attracted different groups, including daily, seasonal visitors, permanent or temporary residents, and newcomers to Turkey. Focusing on the mid-2000s to present, this chapter discusses how and why Urla became an important destination for the upper- and middle-income groups either living and working in İzmir, or living in Urla, and commuting to İzmir for work. It further aims to reveal the local authorities' role in planning and design decisions in terms of this migration to Urla.

Our research approach is a qualitative method of case study influenced by ethnographic observation and media analysis. Through the case study of Urla, the amenity migration concept sheds light on how different income groups transform rural landscapes, how they alter land use dynamics, and how strategies of local authorities (district- and city-level municipalities) affect this process. In the next section, we provide the concept of amenity migration as a theoretical framework for our analysis. After introducing the case of Urla, we discuss its planning and urban development process, the projects developed both by the community, and local initiatives that support amenity migration. Our aim in this section is to document the assets that made Urla an important amenity migrant destination, and to reveal the changing social and cultural dynamics in the cultural landscape. In the last section, we discuss Urla's case within the framework of amenity migration.

Amenity migration

Amenity migration is defined as the movement of people based on certain pull factors related to natural and cultural amenities, which might result in significant changes and possible conflicts in the ownership, use, and governance of rural lands and communities (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011;

Walker and Fortmann, 2003). As Gosnell and Abrams (2011) argue, amenity migration has been discussed in literature in a diffused manner, with academic research published in urban geography, natural studies, rural studies, aging, mountain research, and tourism-related journals (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). The existing studies mostly focus on upper- or middle-class migration to a rural community for a different lifestyle as “newcomers,” either staying seasonally in second homes (Kondo et al., 2012), or permanently (Smith and Krannich, 2000; Loeffler and Stenicke, 2007; Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Bryson and Wyckoff, 2010).

The groups of people that “migrate” to an amenity-rich area are those that aspire to experience the lifestyles offered, as well as investors and entrepreneurs that see the place’s potential (Woods, 2011). Most of the amenity migration areas are attractive because their rural rustic charm offers a refuge from the chaos of large cities. In this sense, rural landscapes have transformed into a new social space with both long-term residents and recent amenity migrants (Öner and Vos, 2015). Most often, once these places become popular destinations for new, permanent, and seasonal residents, they also become tourist attractions. Thus, these once-quiet towns are slowly transformed by different interests – the permanent newcomers, seasonal newcomers, tourists, and the local community – pulling in many directions.

In the end, places of amenity migration and their land use patterns may become contested sites based on the conflicting demands of locals, lifestylers, and entrepreneurs (Öner and Vos, 2015). Planners and policymakers in local governments usually end up dealing with problems such as land use planning eroding the existing sense of place identity, gentrification, environmental degradation distribution, and exploitation of resources (Crot, 2006; Woods, 2011). Kondo et al. (2012) demonstrate through their case study how even though second homeowners in two counties of Washington State desire privacy and isolation, certain conflicts over land use can arise between long-time residents and newcomers. Locals might push for stricter land use decisions, and they can be more reluctant regarding further change, preferring to keep the area as it was when they first decided to purchase property there. Affluent new residents might perceive that “they are better able to protect natural resources than the long-term residents who have participated in traditional resource extraction economies” (Kondo et al., 2012, p. 175). This might also be connected to the notion that affluent groups typically have more legal power compared to the long-term local residents (Hay and Muller, 2012).

In addition to the established trends of amenity migration, Woods (2011) points to its changing dynamics as a result of globalization. He states, “recent observations have pointed to a new feature within amenity migration: not only is amenity migration booming, but it is becoming increasingly global in character” (Woods, 2011, p. 365). As the flow of capital and people increase in the era of globalization, multiple residency-based amenity migrations by the global elite are also shaping local land uses and property dynamics (Cadieux and Hurley, 2011), engaging these local areas in global networks and producing cultural hybridization (Woods, 2011). A few existing studies on the global elite’s amenity migration examine why they are attracted to rural areas under the concept of “globalizing the rural countryside, hybrid countryside” (McCarthy, 2008; Woods, 2011; Woods, 2007). Thus, elite groups’ amenity migration is also associated with aspirational ruralism (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Cadieux and Hurley, 2011).

In this context, the chapter analyzes Urla’s evolution, which turned a once-small resort and rural town into a major amenity migration destination. The discussion aims to reveal which of Urla’s characteristics attracted people from outside of the community and the landscapes created to cater to the affluent’s expectations.

Suburban Turkey: the case of Urla

Urla is a coastal town, one of İzmir's 30 administrative districts, located outside the boundaries of İzmir Greater Metropolitan Municipality, on İzmir's western corridor, approximately 40 kilometers away from the city center. According to the 2016 census, Urla's population is 62,439 and has increased 20 percent since 2008; those residents are spread over 704 square kilometers (Nufusmobi, 2017; İzmir Kültür Turizm, 2017a).

Urla consists of administrative neighborhoods called "*mahalle*," the smallest administrative boundary in the Turkish system. Some of these neighborhoods are located in the city center and some by the coastline. The coastal neighborhoods, such as Çeşmealtı, İskele, and Zeytinalanı, are where seasonal second homes are mostly located. The local population predominantly lives inland, around the town center. Small-scale industrial establishments, including agriculture, green housing, florists, trade, and tourism have been the traditional primary sources of income for Urla's residents.

Urla is surrounded by islands that also attract tourists. In the summer there are ferries from İzmir to some of these islands such as Yassıca Island. The other one, Quarentina Island, the most well-known, is connected to the mainland via a bridge. It was built in 1865 to prevent the spread of fatal diseases like cholera, plague, typhoid, typhus, and yellow fever, and lasted for 150 years, later accommodating the Government Hospital of Orthopedics (Milliyet, 2015).

The planning and urban development process

Urla was connected to İzmir as one of its districts in 1867 and became a district municipality in 1890 (İzmir Kültür Turizm, 2017a). Velibeyoğlu (2004) argued that the metropolitan planning process for İzmir started in 1968, which partially influenced Urla. The İzmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau prepared a plan for all the coastal areas of İzmir, including Urla. Furthermore, in 1976, Urla was included in the İzmir Tourism and Recreation Master Plan, which was approved in 1981 and accelerated Urla's urban development. With rapid development and increasing demand for secondary dwellings, a new development plan was approved in 1984, which widened the municipal borders and the coastal area (Velibeyoğlu, 2004).

Urla's urbanization runs parallel to developments in İzmir's other resort districts on the western axis, on the way to Urla. As these districts developed between the 1950s and 1980s, the population expanded to Urla as well, pushing the fringe areas towards Urla (Sönmez, 2009). By 1980s, Çeşme, the western administrative district of İzmir, became an internationally acclaimed tourist destination, with luxury hotels for the rich and foreign tourists, and a place for summer homes, especially for people living in İzmir and other large Turkish cities. The other coastal districts and towns of the İzmir peninsula followed this trend and became destinations for secondary summer dwellings (Datta and Yucel Young, 2007). In Urla, secondary dwellings increased in the 1980s as well (Velibeyoğlu, 2004). The location of these places on the İzmir Peninsula connects the towns and districts of Urla and İzmir.

Construction of the İzmir-Çeşme expressway in the 1990s accelerated the migration to Urla. In 1992, the Urla section of the expressway project became operational and in 1994 construction up to Çeşme was finished; the huge effect this had on land prices caused land speculations. Datta and Yucel Young (2007) argue that the construction was a strategic decision to develop tourism along İzmir's western axis in towns on the peninsula connected with this expressway. Starting off from Güzelbahçe, another western district of İzmir, the expressway extends to the affluent Çeşme district on the west. The expressway is surrounded by agricultural land, different types of housings, forests, and a variety of rich landscapes.

Mass Housing Legislation, passed in 1984, gave a new direction to housing developments in İzmir, which also affected the coastal fringe areas. While this legislation aimed to develop affordable housing, private groups and developers also benefited, and they built new residences for middle- and upper-middle class residents (i.e., gated apartment blocks and detached villas) located away from the city, which is also associated with the expressway's construction (Datta and Yucel Young, 2007).

After the passing of the Mass Housing Legislation, the number and different types of residential settlements increased with various design typologies and construction organizations. Large cooperative housing projects surrounding central Urla began to develop like “544 Houses” and “1000 Houses” (Velibeyoğlu, 2004). They were not enclaved housings but were located along traditional street patterns with public access. On the other hand, low-density single-family housing estates, defined by Datta and Yucel Young (2007) as “gated, luxury, single-family detached houses,” began developing in the middle of agricultural land and forests. Some of these single-family estates were constructed as cooperative houses, some by individual developers, or by large construction firms (i.e., collaboration between the landowner and the construction firm). Almost all of the estates were private enclaves in the form of gated communities. Velibeyoğlu (2004) argued that an uncontrolled and poorly planned urban sprawl process caused these estates, and that people preferred living in them for several reasons: the houses had gardens and provided access to nature; were close to summer homes in Çeşme; friends and relatives were also living in these estates; and the houses came with security, prestige, maintenance, and other services. Velibeyoğlu (2004) reported that there were around 38 single housing estates in Urla by 2003 (gated enclaves with ten units or more).

As discussed by Datta and Yucel Young (2007) and Velibeyoğlu (2004), housing demand in Urla increased after the 1980s and 1990s; hence, local government suggested revising previous planning decisions to respond to growth pressures. A new *lejang* called “special yield zone” was denominated in the revised plans, which made construction on the agricultural lands and forests around the expressway possible. The aim of these plans was also to preserve agricultural land while providing space for low-density housing such as farmhouses. Velibeyoğlu (2004) argued that the “special yield zone” accelerated development. Unfortunately, as Datta and Yucel Young (2007) argue, the plans did not reach fruition due to problems in practice and implementation. Instead of farmhouses, gated luxury enclaves were built for the “urban elite.”

In addition to these planning decisions and the construction of the expressway, Urla's geographic conditions increased its appeal to upper-income groups. Urla has a mild Mediterranean climate, slightly colder than İzmir due to the exposure to the northern winds, which influences people's choice of Urla as their second home during the summer days. Furthermore, people from İzmir visit Urla year-round due to its amenities. Urla has also become a permanent home for those who work in İzmir and commute every day.

Diversity of population

There are different groups living in and visiting Urla. The first group comprises the affluent suburban residents who live in the gated communities. Some of them commute to work in İzmir. The second group is made of wealthy seasonal residents with secondary summer dwellings in Urla, spending time there during the summer and sometimes visiting on weekends during the winter. The third group is the local population, which has been living in Urla's individual houses or apartment buildings, and both lives and works there. The fourth group comprises the daily or weekend visitors attracted to Urla for its amenities, as discussed next.

Not only do people from İzmir migrate to Urla, but the area also attracts people from İstanbul (Bakiler, 2017; Çakırcan, 2016). This context overlaps with the framework of the aforementioned groups contributing to amenity migration, including the permanent newcomers, seasonal newcomers, and tourists. Recently, residential developments, gated communities, the İzmir-Çeşme expressway, sociocultural, historic, and touristic amenities, as explained in detail as follows, and the existence of universities that attract the student population (İzmir Institute of Technology, Aegean University Faculty of Fishing and Eylül University Vocational School of Marine Management) have all contributed to population growth. In the next section, Urla's historic, geographical, sociocultural, and spatial characteristics, and the local government's initiatives promoting Urla are explained in detail.

Amenities in Urla

We have divided this section into two types of amenities. First are the amenities that have been embedded into the Urla community for years or developed by the locals and newcomers, forming local attraction points. We call this part "organic amenities." The other amenities are the projects initiated by the municipality for strategic development.

Organic amenities of Urla

İskele Mahallesi

İskele Mahallesi, one of the mahalles of Urla, has important historic potential. In the nineteenth century, export and import ran with the port of İskele's help. The İskele area included shops and stores for the export of products. In this area, economic activity was quite strong. İskele Mahallesi accommodates important historic sites and archeological excavation areas. Liman Tepe, Antique Olive Press, 360 History Research Association, and an ancient shipyard are all located in İskele Mahallesi. They attract a certain type of daily visitor, and the fish restaurants and cafes serve the needs of both locals and visitors (see Figure 25.1). People from İzmir, visit Iskele for leisure and coastal activities.

Liman Tepe archeological site

Urla Limantepe Mound, located in İskele Mahallesi, dates back to 3000 B.C. as one of the Ancient Klazomenai City's harbors and one of the Aegean's most important harbor cities (Ankusam, 2017). Painted vessels, rounded one-room or narrow-cornered homes with ovens, cook and mine molds, ceramic tools and animal sculptures, and a 6-meter city wall were excavated in Liman Tepe. Liman Tepe was first discovered in 1950, and the excavations started in the 1980s and still continue (İzmir Kültür Turizm, 2017b). The other historic site located in İskele Mahallesi is the olive oil press, which is known as the oldest olive oil press located in Anatolia, dating back to sixth century B.C. It served for 2,600 years. This oil factory was found during the excavation between 1992 and 1998 (Klazomeniaka, 2017), and it is now open to visitors as a touristic/archeological landmark.

360 History Research Association and ancient shipyard

The association was established in Urla-İskele in 2004, near Liman Tepe, by historians, archeologists, engineers, and sea lovers based in a shipyard, near the Liman Tepe excavation site. The association conducts research about maritime history, organizes exhibitions, symposiums,



Figure 25.1 Liman Tepe, Antique Olive Press, Ancient Shipyard

Source: Gaye Bezirciođlu

reconstructions, and re-animations of the historic sunken ships such as Kybele and Uluburun, and historic İzmir little boats called kayık. There are other projects such as the Phokaia-Marsillia Historic Sea-Journey Project, the Kaş Underwater Archeology Center, and the Mordoğan Artificial Reef Arkeopark Project (360 Derece, 2017; Urla Egemen Haber, 2016a). The Association collaborates with the Ankara University Mustafa Vehbi Koç Marine Archeology Research Center, which was established in Urla, Çeşmealtı in 2006 (Ankusam, 2017).

Urla town center

There have been several mosques, Turkish baths, mausoleums, and countless fountains located in Urla town center. The oldest mosques that have endured are Fatih Bey Mosque, dating back to the fourteenth century, and Kamanlı Külliyesi, dating back to the fifteenth century, both located in the Urla Town Center. Urla was one of the first towns in the Ottoman times, and the current municipality organization dates back to 1866. *The Old Urla Municipality Building* is located in the town center. *The gaswork building*, which was used as a kerosene storehouse around 1903, has been restored by the Urla Municipality and currently hosts art-related events, exhibitions, and courses for the community (Hürriyet, 2007). The building hosts different photographers every month to create a living and cultural activity space. In addition to this rich heritage, there are also examples of contemporary architectural design, such as the town center square. The project was initiated in 2007 and construction finished in 2011. The town center is a place of celebrations and social gatherings (see Figure 25.2).



Figure 25.2 Urla Town Center and the Square

Source: Lale Başarır



Figure 25.3 Arasta and Malgaca Bazaar

Source: Filiz Keyder Özkan

Malgaca Bazaar and Arasta, located in the Urla Town Center, is a little bazaar with narrow streets connected to a small square surrounded by various shops such as butchers, grocers, tailors, shoemakers, barbers, coffee houses, and small kiosks and markets. It is a good place for shopping and hanging out. There are small gourmet restaurants where people from İzmir also come for lunch (Urla Egemen Haber, 2016b) (see Figure 25.3).

These historic sites make Urla an important place to visit for those interested in history and archeology. Besides these historic assets, there are other amenities that attract people to Urla.

Famous people who lived in Urla and associated places

Urla has been home to many famous residents, including poets, singers, novelists, and important characters. Those famous people have left significant traces. They contributed to Urla's cultural landscape,

i.e., one of the factors that made Urla an amenity-rich destination. There is a public park named after Turkish singer Tanju Okan, with a sculpture of him in the middle; the house where Greek poet Seferis lived has been converted to a hotel named after him that also accommodates an art gallery. Turkish writer Necati Cumalı's house was restored by the Urla Municipality in 2001 and is now the Necati Cumalı Culture and Memory House (DHA, 2014). Turkish sculptor, Mehmet Şadi Çalık, the pioneer of modern sculpture, has a street named after him by the Urla Municipality.

Breakfast places and fish restaurants

Urla and İskele Mahallesi are locations for daily activities, more over the weekends, when they are visited by middle-income residents from İzmir. People visit Urla for long Sunday brunches or to go to the fish restaurants located along İskele port. This has become a ritual or way of living for people in İzmir. Even in the winter days, people visit Urla on the weekends for the fish restaurants and various breakfast places. Due to these activities, the population of Urla increases during summers and weekends.

Art spaces and creative entrepreneur-led developments

In recent years, there have been several initiatives related to art and culture. These are mainly focused on young entrepreneurs who opened art spaces, galleries, different sorts of themed restaurants and cafes, and ateliers of individual artists, as listed in Table 25.1. In addition, there is a street devoted to art, called Urla Art Street, which accommodates different types of restaurants, cafes, and design stores mainly managed or established by people who migrated from İstanbul (Çakırcan, 2016). As Urla provides an alternative to urban living, this newly emerged art scene attracts other like-minded people, creating a snowball effect that forms another community, of which newcomers enjoy being part (Figure 25.4). In addition to these spaces, the event scene has grown richer and more diverse, not only due to the festivals organized by the local authorities, but also due to the individual initiatives that color the lives of both Urla's residents and those who just visit for a specific event.

These art spaces are not only located in the town center or the best-known seaside place, İskele, but also in nearby villages such as Barboros, Kuşçular, and Bademler Villages. Bademler Village is known as the art village, accommodating the very first village theater and library. Recently a Montessori School opened, offering an alternative method of primary and secondary

Table 25.1 Art spaces located in Urla

Ayerya Organic Product shop and café
Fırın Vourla
Onart Urla Art House
Çivit Mavi Atelier
Yıldızca Ceramic and Design Atelier
Karma Atelier
Nüans Art Gallery
Atelier Kırmızı
Urla Sanatsal Çevreler Art Gallery
Toprak Stage Art Performance Center
Necati Cumalı Culture House
Yorgo Seferis Art Gallery



Figure 25.4 A ceramic gallery used by local artists

Source: Filiz Keyder Özkan

school education (İzmir Dergisi, 2017). Young couples living in İzmir do consider these alternative lifestyles; Urla will be their way out from the standardized and hugely controlled education system in Turkey.

Urla design library

Another project initiated by a creative-entrepreneur and academic is the Urla Design Library. Restored from a sixteenth-century Ottoman School, the building was purchased by Professor of Architecture Tevfik Balcıoğlu in 2005 and converted into a library with a private collection of books. The building has been open for use since October 2017. As the first in Urla, this design library has the potential to attract researchers, students, and academics that might contribute to the town's changing cultural landscape.

Projects initiated by the municipality: strategic developments

Urla was the first district in Turkey that developed a *Local Agenda 21* in compliance with the 1992 Rio Summit's agreements to promote sustainable development. Agenda 21 is a program supported by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Global Environment Facility-Small Scale Projects Program (GEF-SGF) (Datta and Yucel Young, 2007). The current local municipality and İzmir Greater Municipality are keen on preserving Urla's local assets and aim to develop projects creating sustainable local development. One of them is The Peninsula Project.

The Peninsula Project

The İzmir Peninsula includes administrative suburban districts such as Urla, Karaburun, Çeşme, Seferihisar, Urla, and Güzelbahçe; with an area of approximately 171,000 hectares, this is Turkey's largest peninsula, which also has easy access to the Greek Islands, such as Chios, and Lesbos (see Figure 25.1).

The Peninsula Project was initiated by the Greater Municipality of İzmir in 2008 with the Idea Competition "Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula Idea Competition." The winner's visions and strategies directed the planning of the area for the Peninsula's *asset-based sustainable local economic* development (Velibeyoğlu, 2004). "İzmir Peninsula Sustainable Development Strategy" aims to develop the region and its natural, cultural, economic, and historic assets and amenities. The Project contributes to the local economy by helping people living in the region with their businesses, agriculture, and economic activities in order to sustain the peninsula's natural, cultural, and historic potential and contribute to İzmir's sociocultural and economic development. The strategies support local production, introduce vocational schools teaching basket weaving, wood burning, pension, and hotel management, fishnet weaving, ceramics, stone wall lining, cookery, baking, jam, and pickle making. Furthermore, the Project introduces newly designated thematic tour routes invested in the historic, gastronomic, and local assets of the region, such as the Ephesus-Mimas Route (which includes paths for walking and cycling), the Olive Grove Route, the Vineyard Route, and the Blue Route. As well as these routes, enhancing the peninsula's existing thematic bazaars, festivals, and carnivals is another goal of the project. All of these routes pass through Urla, making the town an important anchor point. Many of the events and some of the bazaars are located in Urla as well (Yarımadaİzmir, 2015). These routes are explained in turn.

Ephesus-Mimas Route

An ancient Iconic Cities Routes project was initiated as part of İzmir Greater Municipality's Peninsula Project (Yarımadaİzmir, 2015). The thematic route passes through six iconic ancient cities, such as Ephesus, Kolophon, Lenedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Ertyhrai. The route includes informative road signs and signposts to direct travelers. Five of the 12 Iconic cities – Erythrai (İldırı-Çeşme), Klazomenai (İskele-Urla), Teos (Sığacık-Seferihisar), Lebedos (Gümüldür-Seferihisar), Kolophon (Değirmendere-Menderes) – are located on the peninsula (Yarımadaİzmir, 2015).

Urla Wine/Vineyard Route

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Urla has been famous for its grapes and olive oil production, which have become important economic assets. The old port, İskele, used to welcome lots of ships, mainly from overseas, to import and export olives, grapes, and wine. In conjunction with the Peninsula Project, Urla Vineyard Tour Route reveals and sustains the wine production embedded in Urla's history. With the motto "There is history in every step/Her adımda tarih var," the vineyard route creates an alternative tourism movement. The outcome of an initiative led by the head of the Urla Wine Producers and Vinegrowers association, Can Ortabaş, the project takes inspiration from the gastro-tourist centers of Toscana, Bordeaux, Napa Valley and aims to brand Urla as an agricultural, gastronomy-based livable and sustainable town, "Toscana of İzmir" (Uras, 2016).

The wine route includes seven different wineries and vineyards such as Urlice Vineyards, USCA Winery (established in 2003, wine production in 2012), MMG Winery, Mozaik Winery (2006), Liman Tepe Vineyard, Urla Bağevi, and Urla Şarapçılık (Urla Bağ Yolu, 2017). Some of these have restaurants, cafes, and small boutique hotels as well as wine cellars open to visitors. Their contribution to Urla is not only economic and agricultural, but the design of some of these wineries comes from their contemporary architectural style. It is expected that the wine routes

and the ancient cities routes project will increase the number of visitors. For example, last year, the wineries hosted 80,000 people, and this trend is expected to double in future years (Uras, 2016).

Olive Grove Route

As well as wine, olive production is one of Urla’s strongest economic activities. The first modern olive oil production atelier is located in ancient Klazomenai city, in İskele. Historic sites and landscape elements located along this route include monumental olive trees, olive oil workshops, water springs, olive oil factories, observation terraces, olive press locations, rocks used for olive oil production, camping sites, wells, windmills, and watermills. The route’s map is marked with the works of the Delice Olive Association, another example of the collaboration between the municipality and NGOs. This route is also connected to the “Delice Network of World Gourmet Cities” (Yarımada İzmir, 2015; İzmirbel, 2015).

Blue Route

Blue Route involves the beaches, camping sites, fisherman shelters (balıkçı barınağı), and the waterfront areas where people fish. It aims to create an artificial reef project and support fishing, biological diversity, and diving. It plans to map these locations and prepare an inventory of the beaches with blue flags. Furthermore, the project aims to integrate Blue Route with the municipality’s urban sea-transportation network (Yarımada İzmir, 2015).

Thematic markets and festivals

Most of the thematic markets and festivals have grown organically; however, recently they have also been promoted by the municipality. These markets are located in different districts/towns and set up at different times of year, either periodically, seasonally, weekly, monthly or for specific occasions. There are open food markets, food bazaars, art markets, night markets, a women producers’ market, farmers’ market, fish market and auctions, or organic food markets. Local government, producers, and consumers come together at these markets (Yarımada İzmir, 2015) and the various festivals as well. Most of the festivals take place in Urla’s public spaces and venues. Table 25.2 displays a list of the festivals.

Table 25.2 Festivals in Urla

Traditional Herb Fest	March
International Urla Artichoke Fest	May
Hidirellez Fest	May
International Village Theater Fest	August
Vintage Fest	August
Literature Week	September
Nohutalan Melon Fest	September
Sardine Fest	September
Urla Independence Day	September
Barbaros Village Scarecrow Festival	May
Urla Grape Harvest Festival	August
Open-air movie screenings	August

Source: Urla Etkinlikleri (2017)

Amenity migration in the (sub)urban context

Amenity migration is the movement of people based on certain pull factors related to natural and cultural amenities (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Walker and Fortmann, 2003). The people attracted to the area can be permanent residents, seasonal newcomers, and tourists. This can create land-related conflicts or synergy with the local community. In the end, gentrification is a very likely trend (Crot, 2006; Woods, 2011). On the other hand, this amenity migration-based gentrification has a rather interesting dynamic; the newcomers might resist any change of local character because they want to preserve the place to which they moved (Kondo et al., 2012). Conflicts between newcomers and locals are possible, although these are not the only groups that might fall into conflict. The permanent and seasonal newcomers might also have some conflicts of interest.

In this case study, we examined Urla's transformation. Once a small rural town of İzmir, today it is a more affluent locality. Although Urla is an administrative district with its own municipality, after the construction of the expressway in the 1990s, it has embraced the character of the new suburbia, based on multiple-housing communities (Datta and Yucel Young, 2007). This new character is perceived as a physical manifestation of modernity identified by Taylor (1999) as "consumer modernity" (Datta and Yucel Young, 2007). With the İzmir-Cesme expressway, the commuting patterns diversified, and people became attracted to Urla. There is ample land, opportunity to live in single-family homes, pleasant weather, and peace from chaotic city life. In this regard, Urla has become a residential suburb of İzmir since the 1990s.

Datta and Yucel Young (2007) surveyed Urla between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s, focusing on the developing residential patterns in what was once an agricultural community. A suburban perception of Urla is quite evident as the town transformed from a residential suburb to a multiple amenity-based destination. Urla does not rely on a single amenity but offers multiple amenities including design, art, gastro-tourism, organic agriculture, history, and the coastline's natural amenities.

Since the mid-2000s, the community-led organic amenities flourished as did government-led initiatives. The organic developments and strategic interventions have been parallel movements in the case of Urla, which could be a positive factor in preserving the place's locality. Both of them sprouted around the same time period, mid-2000s. Neither one led the other. Thus, by the mid-2000s, Urla as a suburban location experienced another transformation, from a healthy suburb to a multiple amenity-based destination, with the contribution of both organic and government-led strategic initiatives.

By June 2017, the data revealed the average square meter price increase in the İzmir metropolitan municipality was double the national average at 13 percent. Urla and its vicinity played an important role in this (Ticaret Gazetesi, 2017). In parallel to Woods's (2011) comment about amenity migration becoming more global in character, international capital has also made its way to Urla through international construction companies. Recent projects like Village Urla and Q205 Villa Projects were undertaken by a large-scale construction firm with a multinational board. There are other gated communities constructed by large multinational Turkish firms. Recently, it was speculated that Hollywood stars Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt had acquired a 10,000 square meter property in Urla for 2.7 million dollars. This was the ultimate confirmation that Urla has become an important amenity migration area not only known nationally, but internationally as well (Dailysabah, 2015).

A transformation of this scale might result in conflicts between different interests; however, for now Urla seems to be managing well. As one artist demonstrated, many people came to Urla from the United States, Europe, and Istanbul with the hope of experiencing a more peaceful lifestyle. According to this artist, the local community did not oppose these incoming migrants; she

said this might be because the locals are also educated and well cultured. After 2009, the arts really flourished in Urla, with Art Street housing many independent artists' studios. These changes are still very recent, and while for now Urla seems to be a place where locals and newcomers have created a cultural hybrid, it is important to see what the future holds. In this regard, the local and metropolitan municipalities need to balance the clear strategic plans and visions for Urla's future with organic developments while carefully monitoring future change.

Based on the numbers below, it is possible to argue that Urla is not yet as touristic as the nearby affluent town of Çeşme. The number of the hotels located in each town could be taken as an indicator for comparison. According to a simple search on the travel search engine Trivago, there are 397 hotels in Çeşme compared to 49 in Urla. Besides, according to the 2016 census, Urla's population is 62,439 whereas Çeşme's population is 40,312, which could mean there are more permanent residences living in Urla and fewer overnight visitors. Urla could consider being less "touristic" than Çeşme as an asset to protect.

The sprawl toward Urla, coupled with tourism and amenity migration, could be a future threat on its locality and environmental assets. Hence, the decisions toward any development or investment should be taken into consideration seriously in balancing different interests and responding to conflicts. It is important to maintain the balance between preserving the locality and assets of the place while also responding to the demands of tourism.

Guide to further reading

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