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**The Effects of Global Dynamics to Urban Hierarchy:
Compromising Cities Instead of Competitive Cities**

Elif Örnek Özden, Assistant Professor Doctor

Ebru Seckin, Research Assistant, Senem Kozaman, Research Assistant

Yildiz Technical University, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Istanbul, Turkey

INTRODUCTION

The process of restructuring which has occurred as a result of globalization and technological developments of the last 20 years of the world has shown itself in both economic and physical space. This restructuring process has been occurring in regional, national or international levels spatially. Information and communication technology have created new possibilities for the organization of business and site selection, also face-to-face relationships have lost their importance with the increasing automation system. As a result of this technological development, business firms have begun to become decentralized and network-oriented (Begg,2005). Globally-integrated production chains increased, international trade, investments and capital flows have been important (Benner,2002). This situation has developed the system of networks which have been formed by the nodes that are specialized on various topics in different geographies. This network is constantly in motion, flexible and also renews itself according to the changing conditions of the market (Breathnach,2000). This process of change which has been experienced also changed the criteria of the urban hierarchy and so the concept of relationship networks has begun to come forward.

Another effect of the globalization process is making the definition of the region according to the limits which have been determined by the relationship networks. In the classical definition; a region is units that are formed as a result of the spatial integrity of the local units which came side by side, and also under the control of the nation-state but close to the off-state, with drawn boundaries. In the global understanding; a region is units that are defined by

a relationship networks and formed by the local units which have not any problem in terms of spatial continuity and also open to the international relations with variable boundaries. The quality and the intensity of the relationship networks determine the development level of locality and regions. (Serin,2006).

Developments such as the increase of the inter-regional relations with localization notwithstanding the geographical boundaries and also the globalization can be indicated as the main reason of the conceptual change of region. All the definitions of the concept of region that have been made so far, lost their meaning because of the understanding of region of the 21th century. The region has not been sufficient to identify an area by itself. Thus, the necessity of using new concepts with region has emerged to identify a space. The concepts such as the new regionalism, regional development agencies, governance, innovation, competition and learning regions, which are newly involved in the science of regional planning, are the outcomes of this understanding of today (Serin,2006). In other words, regionalism is the economic integration movement between the settlements, which are adjacent geographically to each other or which have close boundaries with each other.

In particular, in our country, where investments are led/managed/served by cities that are fundamental because of the geopolitical and geographical conditions, this structure has been observed more distinctively. In Turkey, where the regional imbalances have been experienced, it has been seen that competition and the neo-liberal approaches, which are anticipated by the new regionalism, does not respond the expectation of amending the inequalities (Evren, İnal Çekiç, 2004). This inequality has been increasing day after day with the intensive migration to the cities, where the sectoral development level is high, capital and business opportunities are accumulated and many of the services are provided. In this process, cities wishing to take part in the relationship networks in order to ensure the development in economic space have begun to reveal their potentials. This competition between cities has become apparent. Cities, which cannot compete or renew themselves, have become doomed to lose.

In the context of the specified issues, Kuşadası and Söke, which are mid-sized settlements in the Province of Aydın, have been examined in the scope of this paper. Aydın is located in the Aegean Region, which is a developed region in the western Turkey. Kuşadası and Söke are two settlements which have very different economic structures. Kuşadası is growing rapidly in recent years with the pressure of tourism sector. The settlement of Söke, which is near the settlement of Kuşadası, has begun to lose the

competitiveness because of this situation. The economic mobility and the capital flows of Kuşadası cause the young population to withdraw from agricultural activities and to detach from the settlement especially in rural parts. Within the scope of this paper the research question is stated as; is it possible for these two similar-sized settlements, which are in the same geographical region and close to each other, to sustain their presences without losing their original identities providing an economic integration when they become mutually living settlements, instead of competing with each other? In this context, after the introduction, in the second section, revealing the pattern of the urban hierarchy of the entire Province of Aydın, in the general situation, the positions of Söke and Kuşadası have been indicated. In the third section, the relationship network between Söke and Kuşadası has been described. In the conclusion, suggestions were made for these two middle-sized settlements to develop without constituting a threat to each other.

2. THE URBAN HIERARCHY SYSTEM IN TURKEY

The system of central places and the hierarchy of centers of Turkey were made by State Planning Organization (1982) in the years 1973-1974. In this study, examining all the centers of provinces and districts also the centers of villages and townships, the facilities for the production of goods and services in these settlements and the qualities of these facilities have been identified.

The model of central places of Christaller has been determined as the basis of this study and 7 levels have been indicated in terms of the hierarchy of the settlements in Turkey. Two separate chains of relations are in the question which define these 7 levels (considering the level numbered 0, it is 8 levels) of this system. Usually, the current relations, which arise from rural settlements, end at the level 4 and rarely reach to the level 5 or 6 for the advanced needs (such as specialized hospitals or institutions of higher education) (Zeyneloğlu, Dökmeci, 2010). Urban settlements generally include the centers at the level 3 and over and these centers have direct relations with centers at the different levels and Istanbul as the only center at level 7, especially in terms of wholesale trade.

The important thing in identifying the levels of the hierarchy and hinterlands is the sequence of the settlements which are utilized before Istanbul for various needs by the other settlements (Zeyneloğlu, Dökmeci, 2010). The centers, which service to the other settlements that are at the lower levels, will appeal to the centers (the nearest one) which are at the one level higher than them, for the goods and services that they do not supply (together with all the centers at

the lower levels that they serve). This layout ends at the top level, which include the centers that supply all the goods and the services of an urban system.

3. TWO MID-SIZED SETTLEMENTS: SÖKE-KUŞADASI¹

Söke and Kuşadası, which are mid-sized settlements in the Province of Aydın, has been selected to search for an answer to the basic question of this study: is it possible for these two similar-sized settlements, which are in the same geographical region and close to each other, to sustain their presences without losing their original identities providing an economic integration when they become mutually living settlements, instead of competing with each other? Bordering the Aegean Sea, Aydın is a province in the western Turkey (Figure1).

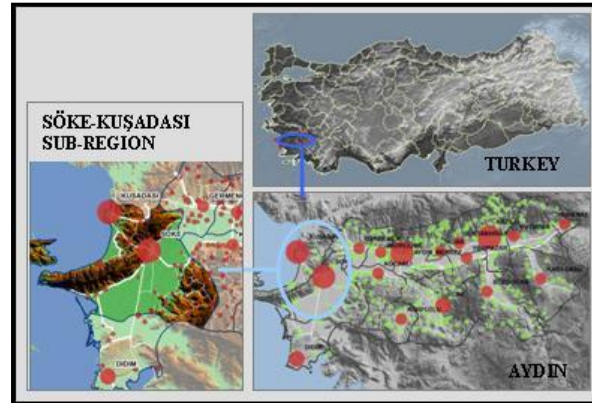


Figure 1: The Location of Aydın Province and Söke, Kuşadası Districts in Turkey

Aydın is located in the NUTS 2 (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) region which includes also the Provinces of Denizli and Muğla. The Province of Aydın is adjacent in the north to İzmir, which is a outstanding province in service sector and one of the first 5 provinces in terms of the development levels of Turkey, in the east to Denizli, where the textile-based industry develops and also in the south to Muğla, which is one of the major tourist centers of Turkey.

Aydın is composed of a total of 17 district centers. In terms of urban population, Center (32%), Nazilli (18.7%), Söke (11.6%), Kuşadası (10.9%) and Didim (7.4%) districts have the greatest shares in the Province-wide. These 5 districts comprise the 80.5% of the total urban population. Examining the positions of these 5 districts, it has been seen that they

¹ The case study cited within the scope of this paper, is based on the data obtained from the process of Planning Studios 4-5 in the years 2010-2011 in Yıldız Technical University, City and Regional Planning Department.

are located around the plain and the main transportation route. The other 12 district centers, which have a total share of the urban population, are located in the east of the province around the edges of the valley where the elevation is high.

Geography is a decisive factor in shaping the settlement. It is possible to observe this in also Aydın. The Büyük Menderes River, which passes the province, separates Aydın into two major parts through the north-south direction. The vast majority of settlements within the boundaries of the province is concentrated in the flat areas along the river. In addition, there are also settlements around the edges of the valley and the mountainous areas even they are few in number and size of the population. There are 521 rural settlements within the province of Aydın. The population size of the 84.2% of these settlements ranges from 1 to 1000 inhabitants. The rural settlements of the Province of Aydın are located around the plain and the edges of the valley like bunch of grapes and around the main transportation route.

Aydın, unlike the surrounding neighbors, is a province dominated by the agricultural sector. Despite the presence of tourism sector in coastal settlements, dominating sector is agriculture in this province. Both the climate and the presence of fertile agricultural land and water resources allow the important agricultural products to be cultivated in Aydın. The outstanding agricultural products are cotton, figs and chestnuts in Aydın. Nazilli and Söke are the two centers where the industrial sector developed. As for that, tourism sector is developed in Kuşadası and Didim, intended for sea-sun-sand tourism. Kuşadası also has a port for the transatlantic cruises.

According to the pattern of the urban hierarchy in terms of the supply of goods and service and the size of the urban population, the Center district is at the level 5 and Nazilli, Söke, Kuşadası settlements are at the level 4. The other 14 settlements are at the level 3 (Figure 2). Which are of the higher level on the urban hierarchy, are concentrated in the coastal areas of Aydın. The number of the centers, which are of the higher level on the urban hierarchy, is less in the east of the province. The most important reason of this is the rapid development which the coastal settlements have been experienced related with their tourism identity. In the east, the population of settlements is lower than the western settlements. However, there is no region which has a problem with the supply of services in the pattern of this hierarchy. The basic problem is in the western regions. The presence of the centers, which are at the level 4, creates the competing cities with each other.

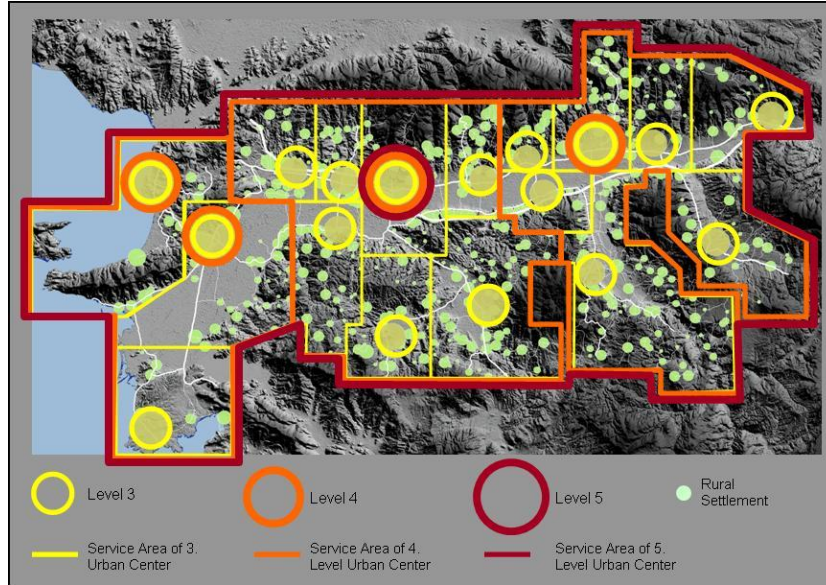


Figure 2: The Urban Hierarchy

Söke is located in the middle of the triangle, which is composed of central Aydın, Kuşadası and Didim. Söke, is located in a very important position in terms of transportation. Passing through the center of the Province of Aydın in the west, the highway reaches Bodrum via İzmir-Çeşme-Kuşadası-Söke-Didim and Milas. Also the İzmir-Torbalı-Selçuk-Ortaklar-Söke-Didim-Milas-Bodrum highway passes through Söke. Ankara-Denizli-Aydın-Ortaklar-Milas-Bodrum and Söke-Kuşadası, Söke-Didim-Ankara highway also passes through Söke.

Kuşadası, especially after 1980, has experienced a rapid growth process with the effect of the National Tourism Promotion Policies. After this period, the urban population has begun to increase rapidly and the settlement has gained an urban character, on the other hand has lost its rural qualities. In Kuşadası, where 77% of the population resides in the city and 23% in the countryside, urbanization, which takes place in a fast process, combined with wry construction, has deteriorated its natural structure. Tourism, being the dominating sector in Kuşadası, causes the employment and the income to be provided mostly by tourism sector. This situation unfurls the dependency of Kuşadası on tourism sector.

Another result of the dependence on the tourism sector is that the diversity of economic activities remains limited with the tourism sector. For example, the trade units for tourists that specialized in specific items like especially carpets, leather, garments and jewelry are located mainly in the center of Kuşadası. The non-simultaneous development of tourism supporting infrastructure and service causes problems related with the urban life while the tourism sector grows.

This rapid growth in Kuşadası, which was in the hinterland of Söke earlier, has had both negative and positive reflections on Söke and its surroundings in terms of the capacity of goods and services. For example, the rapid intensification of tourism investments in Kuşadası, have had a negative impact on economic development and ecological balance of Söke.

In Söke, people who do not want to strive in agriculture, which is a labor focused production type, started to go to Kuşadası seasonally, in order to work in tourism sector. This situation renders the agricultural lands enticing for industrial and housing investments, as well as it weakens the agricultural production. These new investments cause ecologically irreparable damage to the agricultural lands.

Both of these settlements consist of geographical thresholds such as agricultural lands and forests. The fertile agricultural lands in Söke, act as thresholds against expanding borders of the settlement. Similarly, the macroform in Kuşadası, leans to the thresholds geographically.

The Relationship Network between Two Cities

A relationship network emerges related with the mutual commutes for various purposes between Kuşadası and Söke. These are;

For the business purpose: There are daily commutes between Kuşadası and Söke for business purposes. The tendency of inhabitants, who work in Söke, to live in Kuşadası has emerged because of these developments of Kuşadası. This situation defines the relationship networks between these two settlements in terms of workplace and housing. At the same time, also a relationship network can be mentioned due to the fact that many of the young population, who live in rural settlements of Söke, works in Kuşadası in summer.

For the supply of goods and services: In Kuşadası, which is a tourism city that is mainly consists of secondary housing areas, the population is doubled in summer. Kuşadası does not go through any problems in terms of the supply of services besides the tourism season and is able to obtain the goods and services from Söke during the tourism season. One of the most important factors regarding this is reachability and the variance of the goods and services.

In addition, Söke is in the position of a market place of the surrounding settlements with its agriculture identity. The arrivals from Kuşadası to Söke for the supply of food increase during summer with the revival of tourism.

One of the reasons of the daily relations between Söke and Kuşadası is the commutes for the entertainment purposes. In Kuşadası, dining and entertainment units related with the tourism sector are great in number. This situation cause the population that live in Söke to go to Kuşadası for entertainment purposes.

For tourism purposes: The sea-sun-sand tourism, which is related with the coastal property of Kuşadası, is limited by summer. However, there are religious tourism (the house of Virgin Mary, Efes), cultural tourism (Bergama, Selçuk, Efes, Söke) and health tourism areas (Söke) in the surroundings. Besides, there are also potentially available areas for sports tourism (Söke²) and eco-tourism (Söke). Also, the mentioned potentials and the association of Kuşadası and Söke will provide significant opportunities for tourism to be spread over all 12 months.

For the public investment: The new-formed approach of regional development, using the existing natural, economic, cultural and technological resources, is intended to utilize from the local opportunities as much as possible. In order to this end, actors such as local governments, business firms, NGOs, local employment offices, education and training institutions, local politicians and financial circles are working together. This approach generates the core of the “cluster” formation, which is an important tool of the local and regional development strategies. (Özmen, 2008) Solidarity-based formations are in question to solve this problem in also Kuşadası-Söke sub-region, which has been selected as an example. Kuş-Atak Association of Municipalities, which has been established in 2004 by Kuşadası, Söke, Davutlar and Güzelçamlı Municipalities and Special Provincial Administration of Aydın, is one of them. This association aims to produce solutions to the infrastructure problems such as the disposal of solid waste and sewage, the supply of drinking, domestic and irrigation water. Besides bringing these infrastructure projects to life, providing region’s development in terms of tourism by sustaining the coastal and natural resources, making use of the renewable energy sources and performing educational activities are also amongst the most important goals of the association.

² In recent years, Söke has been tried to revive with new investments. One of these investments is the golf field. The golf facility, which has been planned to be constructed in 1990, is located in a 1300 acre area that consists of 535-bed hotel, 325 villas and a golf course.

4. CONCLUSION: THE CONJUNCTION OF TWO SETTLEMENTS WHICH ARE OF THE SAME LEVEL ON THE URBAN HIERARCHY and IN THE SAME GEOGRAPHY

Today, the geographical proximity has lost its importance with globalization. However, there are still opinions advocating that geography is important. According to the geographical point of view; cities of the same scale intensify in the same location, while capital, labor and social life become polarized and clustered in different places and form a relationship network. When the settlements are evaluated according to their characteristics, it could be thought that they may struggle with the pressure of the surrounding settlements, using the positive effect of living together. From this perspective, Söke and Kuşadası, which are the same-sized settlements in the same geography, constitute a region based on this emerging relationship network as specialized settlements in different fields.

Söke and Kuşadası are two settlements which have the tendency to live with each other due to the presence of this mutual relationship network. However, the new investments, which are made in Kuşadası, cause Söke to remain in the shadow of Kuşadası economically. In other words, the rapid development of Kuşadası, generates a threat to the development of Söke. In order to avoid this, the strategies should be developed, providing them to live with each other using the advantage of the proximity. The starting point of this study is that planning these two similar-sized settlements to live together, which are in the same geography with high accessibility, can prevent them from hypertrophy and to be unidentified. At this point, thinking these two settlements together, the role definition should be done in accordance with their potentials.

Söke, due to the plain it was established upon and its climate, has an agricultural settlement identity. Even though the agricultural industry and service sector has developed, the intensity of agriculture should not change. Agricultural identity must prevail also in Kuşadası – Söke sub-region association and it should have a role of supporting the tourism identity of Kuşadası in terms of agriculture.

In order to vary and spread the tourism activity, which is restricted to Kuşadası and summer period, to four seasons, the alternative tourism potentials in Söke must be utilized. At this point, the agricultural structure of Söke also is a potential. The settlement provides an opportunity of creating areas for organizations like collecting agriculture products such as olives and cotton, which might interest the excursion tourists.

It would be wiser to consider these two level 4 settlements that live together as a single city during the planning process. For example, collective planning of the large public investments that these two cities share, such as stadium, university, airport, fair field, specialized hospitals would be a more accurate approach for the large public investments. In terms of accessibility, the strong transportation network is an advantage for reaching these service establishments, but one of the subjects that dealt with is rendering these transportation instruments to have alternatives. With the Kuş-Atak project, the association which is established for the solid waste disposal and water assurance can also be re-planned for social infrastructure as in other infrastructure investments.

As a result, the two settlements that are in the same geography, have a high accessibility and are of the same level on the urban hierarchy, must be planned as they will live together and due to its potentials, Kuşadası must be planned as an accommodation center along Söke, while Söke is rendered the center that submits the goods and services supporting the tourism sector in Kuşadası.

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