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Saying “No” to (the) Oxygen Capital? Amenity migration, counter-territorialization, and uneven rural landscape change in the Kaz Dağları (Ida Mountains) of western Turkey

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Highlights

- This study models an exurban political ecology approach to the coupled processes of conservation and amenity migration associated with reterritorialization.
- This study illustrates the emergence of counter-territorialization dynamics in the case study region of the Kazdağları Mountains of western Turkey
- Findings illustrate the selective engagement by some cultural groups with emerging real estate markets, while others prefer engagement with ecotourism.
- Cultural identity plays a key role in these dynamics and uneven outcomes.

Abstract: Diverse forms of conservation and development are transforming the material landscapes and related livelihoods of communities in rural places around the world. While many studies focus on changing protected area governance and ecotourism efforts associated with nature protection, other studies focus on residential development in areas experiencing amenity migration. We use a comparative political ecology approach that draws on key insights from the political ecology literatures, first, on neoliberal protected area expansion, and, second, on exurbia that highlight the dynamics of competing rural capitalisms and reterritorialization in areas experiencing amenity migration to explore these coupled conservation and development dynamics. Drawing on the case of the Kazdağları (Ida Mountains) along the Bay of Edremit in western Turkey, we examine how changing environmental governance associated with the region’s national park created key conditions for the emergence of new real estate dynamics that supported amenity-related development in some villages. Yet our research also uncovers further uneven rural landscape changes and divergent outcomes associated with this reterritorialization process. Our findings suggest the presence of counter-territorialization dynamics, or the efforts of culturally distinctive villages in rural areas to resist these landscape changes. In the Kazdağları, selective strategies of engagement and non-engagement with the real estate market contribute to these divergent outcomes. To protect their cultural identity, villagers commodify particular landscape features, which enable these counter-territorialization efforts to succeed. These findings hold insights for efforts to understand landscape patterns in rural areas characterized by changing protected area governance, high levels of natural amenity attracting in-migrants, and settlements with distinctive cultural identities.

Keywords: amenity migration, exurban political ecology, reterritorialization, counter-territorialization, Kazdağı National Park

1. Introduction

Sitting in front of the Kaz Dağı National Park Visitor Center in Zeytinli village, a local speaks about the unwillingness of his village to sell land to in-migrants who are seeking to purchase homes and/or land in the hills below the park:

If you can save and secure the villagers and the people, you can save the nature.
That is, if you take the aboriginal away, the white man will destroy the nature.
We're not aboriginals, but the analogy holds. We've been here for a long time and we do not want outsiders taking our village or our land. Do you understand? ... In my village, there are no police, there are no security guards, and there is no crime. It's peaceful and free. We have a different way of life, other than those around us. It's a Turkoman way of life, it's our Alevi culture.

Zeytinli, July 27, 2011

Similar frustrations might have been leveled years earlier, indeed likely were, by others in his village, when in 1993 the nearby state forest reserve was transformed into the national park in an effort to protect the mountains' floral and faunal biodiversity. But *these* complaints were about the arrival of amenity migrants and not the effects of the national park on the villagers and their livelihoods. This response speaks to the critical way that attitudes toward nature conservation efforts in this part of western Turkey may have changed. It also speaks to what has become a newer, associated—and for some—greater threat to continuing the cultural and livelihood traditions of this village and others in the region like it: the emergence of amenity in-migration and an associated real estate markets tied to the region's reputation for good air quality and spectacular mountain landscapes.

Around the globe, efforts to conserve critically important forms of biodiversity and the rise of amenity migration, or the desire of urban people to live in the countryside, increasingly characterize many rural places (Brockington et al., 2008; McCarthy, 2008; Woods, 2007; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Cadieux and Hurley, 2011). Both processes represent efforts to restructure human-environment interactions around changing ideas about nature, frequently in conjunction with new markets. While biodiversity and endemic species are new ways of seeing nature that lead both to the creation of conservation objects and territories that facilitate the commodification of nature through ecotourism, many forested and pastoral landscapes are increasingly being constructed as amenity objects that facilitate the expansion of residential real estate markets for passive consumption of the countryside. In both cases, reterritorialization is often the result (Brogden and Greenberg, 2003).

Conservation interventions undertaken by the state lead to the displacement of natural resource-based livelihoods associated with newly protected resources through foreclosed access to resources by government institutions, while amenity development may result in the displacement of local communities or enclosure of resources through private property dynamics. Rarely, however, do scholars investigate the intersection of state-initiated conservation governance changes (i.e. national park creation) and amenity-related residential development (e.g., second

home markets) together as overlapping or coupled processes (Brogden & Greenberg, 2003). Thus, our research asks: how do these reterritorialization dynamics influence one another in the places where they co-occur? How and when do they become conflicting or complimentary forms of development? And if the construction of nature as particular type of object for economic gain is key to this progression, what role does cultural identity play in these unfolding dynamics?

To answer these questions, we turn toward a comparative political ecology approach developed in research on exurbia in North America (see Taylor and Hurley 2016, Reed 2007). Doing so allows us to integrate findings from studies of protected areas expansion largely in the Global South (Brockington et al., 2008) and on areas experiencing amenity migration in cases largely from the Global North (McKinnon et al., 2017). These insights allow us to examine coupled conservation and amenity development dynamics in the Kazdağları (İda Mountains) along the Bay of Edremit in western Turkey. Our case study examines, first, the impacts of changes to the environmental governance of the region's spectacular mountains park and ongoing residential development associated with tourism and a second home sector along Bay of Edremit coast. We describe the impacts of reterritorialization on local villages from changing conservation governance and national park creation in these mountains. Second, we specifically detail rise in demand for land to build houses by amenity migrants near the border of these protected areas and within nearby villages that are characterized by different cultural identities and livelihood traditions. Here we examine the divergent responses to the creation of the national park and the emergence of real estate dynamics within communities experiencing the new natural amenity-related demand for second, seasonal and weekend homes on the mountainside. By taking a comparative approach, seeking to explain variation among individual study villages within a particular area, we illustrate the divergent outcomes related to these local, regional, national and global processes (Taylor and Hurley, 2016).

Our research reveals the presence of uneven rural landscape changes produced by reterritorialization and the emergence of what we describe as counter-territorialization dynamics, or the divergent strategies of engagement and non-engagement with the commodification of the landscape that accompanies the conservation-natural amenity development transition. While endemic species in higher elevations attract stricter levels of conservation attention, the mountains' reputation for "higher levels of oxygen," or clean air and spectacular views, attract urbanites from nearby and afar. In turn, the responses to these dynamics by people long inhabiting the area are shaped by the cultural identity and their willingness to sell land or commodify particular landscape features. Changes in the area's social make-up and land-use range from villages that feature no second-homes and largely continue traditional agricultural practices persist in surrounding areas to villages that are now characterized entirely by second homes or amenity migrants and where adjacent olive orchards are quickly being subjected to new development pressures.

The Kazdağları case has implications for research on the coupled effects of conservation and amenity migration on landscape change in areas where groups with distinctive cultural identities and livelihood ecologies are present. First, the case illustrates the need to further interrogate differences in livelihood ecologies among villages neighboring parks and how these livelihood

characteristics may create different vulnerabilities to changing conservation governance. Second, greater attention needs to be paid to how cultural identity may engender divergent responses to development of different kinds resulting from amenity migration. Third, future research should consider more closely how particular landscape features—and their commodification (or lack thereof) enables or constrains certain strategies of engagement by groups seeking to maintain particular cultural identities in the face of this transition. These factors interact to produce uneven landscape change in our case. Paying closer attention to these interacting dynamics will help scholars better explain the full range of outcomes in rural landscapes experiencing these dynamics (see e.g., Carr and McCusker, 2009).

2. Toward a Political Ecology of Uneven Rural Land-Use Change: Understanding Coupled Processes

A proliferation of conservation logics has created new protected areas around the globe, often in countries of the Global South where neoliberalism is a driving force. Frequently, these new protected areas draw on conceptualizations of nature, such as biodiversity and disappearing landscapes, to protect rare plants, threatened wildlife, and distinctive ecological features from degradation by human livelihoods using zonation and other territorial strategies (Adams, 2004; Zimmerer, 2006; Brockington et al., 2008). Meanwhile, research on many rural areas around the globe, particularly from the Global North, shows how the in-migration to rural countryside by urban peoples seeking a better quality of life is reworking landscapes and longstanding land-uses. These amenity migrants come from nearby urban areas, from large mega-cities farther afield, and from other countries, among others. Amenity migrants frequently want a closeness to nature, greater peace and quiet, or to benefit from the natural beauty of area landscapes (Moss et al., 2006; McCarthy, 2007; Woods, 2007, 2010; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Cadieux and Hurley, 2011; Taylor and Hurley, 2016). This view of nature, and the residential mobilities that foster it (Milbourne and Kitchen, 2014), result in landscape qualities and features being valorized for their amenity value within real estate markets. Moreover, this new way of seeing landscapes frequently represents a departure from local traditions and interactions with land or ecological features (i.e. natural resources). Thus, nature and landscape protection measures may serve to enhance the natural amenity value of these places (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Walker and Hurley, 2011; Taylor and Hurley, 2016). Taken together, these dynamics reflect—state-initiated landscape-scale conservation efforts (i.e. national park creation) and amenity-related residential development (e.g., second home and exurbia)—that are best viewed as overlapping or coupled processes.

2.1 Protected Areas: Changing Governance, Livelihood Change, and Passively Consuming Nature

Political and cultural ecology have long recognized that the implementation of different forms of environmental governance by the state, including changes in rules associated with control of and access to natural resource that result, frequently displace local peoples and their livelihoods

(Neumann, 1993; Peluso, 1993; Brockington, 2002; Robbins, 2011; Adams, 2004). Studies suggest that these dynamics existed both historically (Peluso, 1992; Neumann, 1993; Adams, 2004; Brockington et al., 2008) and have continued recently through new strategies and tactics (Zimmerer, 2006; Adams and Hutton, 2007; Brockington et al., 2008), with an increasing emphasis on biodiversity and sensitive ecologies playing a key role in this changing conservation governance (Hutton and Adams, 2005; West, 2006; Adams and Hutton, 2007). For example, forest and wildlife reserves have long been associated with state-level conservation interventions around the world (Neumann, 2002; Peluso, 1993; Adams, 2004; Brockington et al., 2008; Robbins, 2011), but among the new forms of conservation territorialization that are the proliferating, national parks and other landscape-level (i.e. large areas or portions of distinctive physiographical features) efforts have been embraced in many countries as part of a global effort to preserve biodiversity (i.e. endemic species) (Adams, 2004; Zimmerer, 2006; Adams and Hutton, 2007; Brockington et al., 2008). Existing conservation territories also have seen their statuses changed, shifting from a focus on resource conservation (or sustainable harvesting) to nature protection (no harvests), with rules changes designed to further enhance the protection of features that have heightened importance beyond the original rationales for an area's designation (Hutton and Adams, 2005; Zimmerer, 2006).

Despite the loss of access to resources with renewed emphasis placed on fences and strict protection strategies, many implementation efforts have also included efforts to engage local communities in resource management and to provide benefits from conservation governance (Adams and Hutton, 2007; Brockington et al., 2008). Here, conservation territories are increasingly leading to the expansion of markets that serve the interests of capital accumulation, both A) in the proliferation of private conservation activities on public and privately owned lands (Reed et al., 2007b; Sandberg et al., 2013; Brockington and Scholfield, 2010; Büscher et al., 2014) and B) in tourism and recreation-oriented land-uses outside of state-owned conservation areas (Zimmerer, 2006; Heynen et al., 2007; Brockington et al., 2008). Frequently, the expansion of these neoliberal nature endeavors intersect with efforts to engage local peoples and those individuals whose livelihoods had been tied to the extraction of the natural resources now under protection. These efforts seek to reduce threats of continued non-sanctioned uses and harvests in conservation territories and also as a mechanism to provide new forms of livelihood and monetary incomes (Adams and Hutton, 2007; Robbins, 2011). While scholars remain relatively split on the efficacy of development efforts associated with ecotourism (Büscher et al., 2014), the rise of real estate markets in settlements where amenities are created by these conservation territories and surrounding landscapes require greater attention.

2.2 Exurban Political Ecology: Competing Rural Capitalisms and Reterritorialization in Areas Experiencing Amenity Migration

Political ecology research on exurbanization (EPE) in North America frequently focuses on the intersecting dynamics of urban-to-rural migration, associated residential real estate dynamics, and conflict over appropriate uses of nature in locations experiencing this process (Taylor and Hurley, 2016). This research demonstrates how in-migration by urbanites to rural areas produces

uneven environmental management outcomes (Reed, 2007a,b; Hurley et al. 2016; McKinnon et al., 2017). Like the research that focuses specifically on changing conservation governance, these uneven outcomes are the product of competing ideas about nature and the rise of new markets (Taylor and Hurley, 2016). Yet this research points to more than just the roll-out of protected area conservation territories or the rise of new markets. Rather, it suggests that exurbia is a place where changing ideas about nature lead to conflicting ideas about how best to commodify nature. But here this in-migration interacts with changing environmental and land-use governance to reinforce new ways of inhabiting and the continued economic benefitting from commodified local landscapes, albeit commodified in new ways.

A key insight from the EPE literature is the role that natural amenity-oriented migration plays in producing “competing rural capitalisms” (Taylor and Hurley, 2016). Like the broader literature on this topic, amenity migration refers to a pattern of human migration in which largely affluent urban or suburban populations make seasonal or permanent movements to areas characterized by high levels of scenery or nature experiences (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). Amenity migration has been identified as a dynamic shaping diverse rural countrysides around the globe, particularly in the countries of the so-called Global North (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Cadieux, 2011; Van Auken and Rye, 2011; Silva and Figueirido, 2013). Different types of lifestyle migrations (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011) and mobilities (Milbourne and Kitchen, 2014) as well as forms of residential occupance (e.g., seasonal inhabitants, weekenders, retirees) are features of the residential development patterns that may arise in response to this complex migration process (Moss et al., 2006; Travis, 2007; Gosnell and Abrams, 2011) These responses include how work-related mobility and settlement patterns (e.g., within small towns, low density new construction, or changing ownership of existing parcels) may shape land-use and landscape change outcomes in places with these types of natural and cultural qualities (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Travis, 2007; Walker and Hurley, 2011; Taylor and Hurley, 2016).

Competing rural capitalisms captures the multiple ways that landscape features and natures become economically valued in ways that depart from the past histories of natural resource-based valuation and the associated livelihoods of peoples long living in these areas (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Cadieux and Hurley, 2011; Woods, 2010). In the process, specific features are constructed as valuable to emerging real estate markets (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Van Auken and Rye, 2011). Diverse landscape elements have been identified as providing the specific features that help to create tourism and real estate markets: glacial lakes and forest in Canada’s “cottage country” (Halseth, 1998), the wooded slopes of the Eastside Cascades (Walker and Hurley, 2011; Hurley, 2013), the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California (Walker and Fortmann 2003; Hurley et al. 2016), forested ridgelines or boulderfields of the Metropolitan Philadelphia area (Hurley and Taylor, 2016; Hurley et al. 2017), wooded lakesides in Wisconsin (Van Auken and Rye, 2011; Schewe et al., 2012), and glacial moraines of the Greater Toronto Metropolitan area (Sandberg et al., 2011). Beyond North America, similar patterns emerge: New Zealand’s iconic mountains generate high levels of natural amenity (Woods, 2009), as do rugged coastal areas of Norway (Van Auken and Rye, 2011) and iconic landscapes in Portugal, Spain, and Wales (Gallent et al., 2005; Silva and Figueirido, 2013).

The dynamics of commodification may frequently create conflict, both economically and politically, for communities through increasing land prices (Darling, 2005; Walker and Fortmann, 2003) and the desires of some residents (both new and old) within the community to seek protective measures for landscape features they see as potentially threatened by inappropriate natural resource uses and/or development (Halseth, 1998; Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Ghose, 2004, Hurley and Walker, 2004; Hurley and Ari, 2011; Sandberg et al., 2013; Taylor and Hurley, 2016). Walker and Fortmann (2003) suggest different groups of both locals and outsiders intermingle to engage in competitions over the meanings of and qualities associated with specific parts of the landscape. These groups differ, however, in the extent to which particular environmental characteristics may be valued as natural resources or as amenities. That is, while specific parts of the landscape are seen by some as fit for active extraction, such as with forestry or mining, these same landscapes are forests that bring peace and quiet or whose aesthetic qualities lend themselves to incredible views. Thus, for some in the community, natural resource activities may be acceptable (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Hiner, 2016), while for others these landscape features need protection from destructive extractive activities, such as clear-cutting timber. Indeed, maintaining these features is critical to protecting qualities that foster higher-end land and real estate markets (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Hurley and Walker, 2004). Likewise, different types of residential development, itself linked to amenity migration, may also be viewed as acceptable (or not within the competing rural capitalisms framework (Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Walker and Hurley, 2011; Hurley, 2012; Hurley and Taylor, 2016).

Competing rural capitalisms and their land-use decision-making institutions foster ongoing landscape changes, pushing rural areas away from the continuation of natural resource-dependent livelihood uses to lands inhabited and controlled by amenity owners. Brogden and Greenberg (2003) term this process “reterritorialization,” or the set of dynamics that describe how in-migration and the associated property transfers lead to changes in of resource control and access. In their Arizona case study, long-time ranchers living in a rural valley and whose ranches depended on grazing access on nearby federal lands were slowly displaced from the area. As these ranchers struggled economically, their lands became desirable places for in-migrants and land values rose. Land sales to in-migrants resulted in new community members, increasingly siding with environmentalists who wanted cattle grazing on federal lands eliminated. The resulting changes to rules about cattle grazing levels meant that rancher’s economic viability were hurt by decreasing access to federal lands, which resulted in more ranchers selling their lands to amenity in-migrants. Access to the natures associated with these federal lands and the meanings of adjacent landscapes were being both reconceptualized and slowly reassigned from the ranchers to amenity landowners.

Not all rural areas characterized by amenity in-migration experience conflict or respond to reterritorialization in the same ways. Indeed, the understanding within the amenity migration literature is that these processes lead to splits within communities. That is, this in-migration creates communities within communities (Halseth 1988). In Europe, cases suggest the ways that ideas about rurality are reimagined and lived out differently by neighbors (Silva and Figueirdo, 2013). For example, in Norway second home owners come to value proximity to the sea, but in

ways that frame spectacular views, and lead to the uneasy side-by-side coexistence of amenity migrants and households tied to fishing (Van Auken and Rye, 2011). In Wales, as in many other countries, depopulation and increasing property costs respectively, have fueled a displacement and replacement by locals through the purchase of existing homes and lands by newcomers. By contrast, in Spain, purpose-built second homes have dominated from the start and resulted in much less loss of previous housing stock (Gallent et al., 2005). In Chile, state-instituted land reform intended to foster smaller ranches for agricultural production has resulted instead in a material landscape where “hobby ranching” and absentee ownership are the norm (Klepeis and Laris, 2008)

For those deploying the reterritorialization and competing rural capitalism concepts, these community splits frequently center on fights over how land should be used, what types of uses are appropriate, and who will get to benefit from the ensuing forms of use that are permitted (Halseth, 1998; Walker and Fortmann, 2003; Walker and Hurley, 2011; Taylor and Hurley, 2016). Land owners may reorient their use of land to take advantage of the reterritorialization dynamics underway, such as with timber companies transitioning to land development (Olson, 2016; Watson and Skaggs, 2016), agricultural interests reorienting operations to take advantage of new capital and labor from resulting in-migration dynamics (MacKinnon, 2016), or in long-time residents and indigenous communities embracing new tourism opportunities connected to amenity development, such as through using waterfalls to facilitate tourism (Redclift and Manuel-Navarette, 2016; Woods, 2015). Likewise, communities experiencing amenity in-migration may find that neighbors with different migration backgrounds regularly cooperate on key aspects of land-use and landscape management, while at other times they come into conflict. Thus, coopetition, or what Larsen and Sutton (2012) describe as periods of cooperation and periods of competition among amenity migrations, may be the norm. Yet how cultural identity plays a role in these reterritorialization dynamics understudied.

Taken together, the coupled dimensions of conservation and amenity development efforts set the stage for development of uneven landscape outcomes (Reed 2007a, b; Taylor and Hurley 2016). Literature on conservation territory establishment and amenity migration suggest these outcomes might be influenced by divergent social-cultural communities who sometimes cooperate and sometimes compete within the context of ongoing reterritorialization. That is, frequent conflict can emerge over the ways that different forms of rural capitalism seek to make meaning out of nature in these places and benefit from efforts to commodify material landscapes. Social-cultural communities may also find that some commodification processes complement existing community relationships to nature and uses, while others do not. How these diverse dynamics influence these outcomes very much remains an open question.

3. Case Study Context and Methods

Our case study examines development adjacent to the Bay of Edremit between the cities of Edremit and Küçükkuyu and ranging up to the borders of the Kaz Dağı (Ida Mountain) National Park (including the Kazdağı Fir Tree Nature Preservation Area; *Kazdağı Gökarnı Tabiatı Koruma Alanı*) and forest reserve west of Altınoluk (Figure 1). The region is characterized by a Mediterranean climate, where milder temperatures and rain characterized the winter months and

drier, hotter temperatures are common during the summer. From a topographical perspective, a narrow coastal plain and the increasingly steeper slopes of the Ida Mountains to the north dominate this area. The main ridges of these mountains run roughly parallel to the coast, with a number of dissected valleys extending north from the coast, some creating rather dramatic canyons and spectacular massifs, moving away from the coast in a perpendicular fashion. On either side of these valleys, smaller prominent buttes or ridges overlook the flatter coastal plain. The tension between a relatively narrow band of flat land and the rising mountains comes into its starkest relief near Altınoluk, as the sprawling town is dramatically juxtaposed against a massive rock face and the Hawk Creek Canyon. To the east of the canyon the Kaz Dağı National Park spreads out across the ridgelines and summits. To the west of the canyon, forests are part of a forest reserve.

Six urban areas anchor coastal development in the area. Moving from East to West, Edremit, Kadıköy, Zeytinli, Akçay, Güre, Altınoluk, and Küçükkuşu have come to define the most densely populated urban settlements (Figure 2). While Edremit and Kadıköy are not characterized by as large a second-home population, Zeytinli, Akçay, Altınoluk, and Küçükkuşu are primarily known in the country as vacation or second-home coastal destinations. For example, the winter population of Akçay is 18,586, while the summer population rises to 125,000. By contrast, Edremit's population ranges from 39,202 to 100,000 (Irtem and Karaman, 2004). Just inland, and often upslope of these urban settlements, several villages dot the hillsides: Mehmetalanı, Pınarbaşı, Beyoba, Kavurmacılar, Kızılkeçili, Çamlıbel, Tahtakuşlar, Kavlaklar, Arıtışı, Yassıçalı, Avcılar, Narlı, Doyran, Adatepe, Adatepebaşı, and Bahçedere. Villagers here historically identified with one of two cultural groups: Yörük (the dominant cultural majority of Turkey) and Turkomen. Moreover, many of these upper elevation villages include "growth boundaries" intended to insure that their current areal extents do not expand into surrounding agricultural lands.

The origins and cultural characteristics of these two groups differ. The Yörük people are of Turkish origin. As Sunni Muslims they began settling in the region from the East after the Ottomans captured the area in 1336-37. Their arrival in the area where Greek settlements were common meant they either established their own settlements or began living in the Greek villages with Greek peoples until 1924 and the Turkish-Greek population exchange agreement. Following that agreement all Greek people living in the area migrated to Greece, while all Turks living in Greece returned to Turkey (except Greeks in Istanbul and Turks in Western Thrace, Yılmaz, 1995). These new in-migrants settled in the piedmont areas of the region, focusing their livelihood efforts on goat herding. As mostly nomadic peoples, they practiced strategies of transhumance, moving to the higher altitudes in the summer and returning to the lower elevation coastal areas in the winter. This rhythmic movement continued until the 1960s (Arı and Soykan, 2006a). These are open societies affected by global developments and especially by the tourism developments in the coastal areas at the same time. Being like the rest of the majority of Turkish people in terms of religious beliefs these societies are open to newcomers who come from similar backgrounds and share similar beliefs.

Turkomen are the other cultural group in the region and they are often called *tahtacı* Turkomen in Turkish, or those who do timber work. According to Sümer (1993), the Turkomen people were living in the forested parts of Turkestan in Middle Asia and migrated to Anatolia during the 13th century, where they settled in the Taurus Mountains of southern Turkey. These people worked wood from local forests and produced several materials. When Mehmet the Conqueror decided to build ships to capture Istanbul (then Constantinople) and Mytilini, he brought these people from the Taurus Mountains to the Kazdağı region, where they prepared timber on which the ships were floated into the Golden Horn in 1453. After the capture of Istanbul, these Turkomen peoples decided to remain in Kazdağı (Arı and Köse, 2009; Duymaz, 2001).

By contrast, Turkomen are religious Alevi, whose beliefs and traditions differ from the cultural majority. They originated in mountainous parts of Central Asia and historically have lived in remote parts of the rural landscape throughout Turkey. Turkomen groups have had difficult interactions with state administration (having been perceived as being a marginal religious group) and with larger society, often refraining from being culturally integrated into wider society. This situation has caused Turkomen frequently to live in closed communities that foster little cultural contact with surrounding or nearby Yörük settlements. Indeed, their closed-community system does not freely allow outsiders into their society and their villages are frequently strictly separated from Sunni villages and, except for economic interactions, social interactions generally have not been encouraged by their religious leaders (Arı, 2008). Religious leaders, called *dede*, have strong influence over Alevi societies and play a significant role in their social life, including the prohibition of intermarriage and running their own judicial system (Eröz, 2014). These difficulties were overcome only recently, but these norms are still coded into Turkomen decision-making.

Turkomen peoples have lived very close to nature. This closeness reflected the hardship of daily life and reflected their belief that nature and natural features (mountains, peaks, trees, creeks, etc.) play an important role in that daily life. They generally have attached spiritual meanings to these places and cultural norms discourage commercialization of these lands. This includes a belief that selling land to outsiders might harm the magic that has protected their distinctive culture to date.

This cultural history has translated into landscapes shaped by complex human-influenced ecosystems, associated diverse human-environment interactions based on culturally distinctive livelihood strategies, and forests valued for their natural resources (see below). Olive trees cover coastal hillsides up to about 400 meters, having replaced much of the former oak-pine dominated and scrub ecosystems. Above the olive orchards, pine-oak woodlands and at even higher altitudes pine-fir forests (up to 1200-1300 m) and open grassland balds characterize the material landscape. This widespread vegetation cover is disrupted in a number of characteristic places, including in the bottoms of stream valleys, where riparian forests and other wetlands may be common. On some of the higher outcrops extending toward the coast, large pine trees and scrub are more common. Closer to the coast, extensive areas of reeds in areas with ample standing water are also common. The proliferation of second home housing settlements has brought with it a quasi-urban, quasi-rural ecology, with many common areas in housing developments

characterized by extensive lawns, ornamental species, and fruit trees, while some individual homeowners maintain classic suburban yards with grasses, ornamental flowers, and trees, while others keep compounds characterized by vegetable gardens and fruit or olive trees.

The region's cultural ecologies have been characterized by transhumance primarily featuring goats, reliance on forests for timber and nontimber forest products (NTFPs), integrated agroforestry systems surrounding local villages, and the extensive olive fields that characterized the landscape until the 1950s. (Arı and Soykan, 2006a). Growing foods and olives have historically taken place both on lands owned or controlled by individual families and households as well as lands held in common by villages. Olives produced in the region are recognized as some of the highest quality for producing oil in the country (Sanli et al., 2009). As detailed above, specific differences among Yörük and Turkomen livelihood practices in relation to the landscape can be observed, however, and are important to understanding the dynamics we observe below. While both groups engaged in livestock grazing and forestry historically, it is fair to say that Yörük villagers generally had much larger goat herds, while Turkomen villagers were more engaged with olive and, in particular, other agroforestry systems near their villages.

Deploying methods characteristic of political ecology (research on exurbia (McKinnon et al., 2017; see also Robbins, 2011), our case employs techniques to collect and analyze qualitative data about villages associated with different cultural groups, discourses and social-political actions by these groups, and most importantly the development patterns that have resulted as a function of land-use decision-making, including from the village to national levels. Field work was carried out primarily during the summers of 2010 and 2011. Our results derive from semi-structured, in-depth interviews, participant observation at village festivals and events, limited use of document analysis, and examination of property listings for area real estate websites. Because reliable data on land ownership, land sales and prices, and taxes in Turkey are limited (see e.g., Bayramoğlu and Gondoğmuş, 2008), we employed convenience sampling to speak with people knowledgeable enough to provide proper information about patterns of real estate sales and home construction. Previous, extensive fieldwork in the area previously by one of the authors (Arı) provided us with the knowledge of where to find those people. We visited all towns and villages in the area, seeking to speak with village leaders or real estate representatives to learn about the number of households in the village and how many households or lands were owned by "outsiders" (*yabancı* in Turkish).

During the course of our fieldwork, we interviewed more than 32 individuals who live/work in Zeytinli, Pınarbaşı, Kızılkeçili, Altınoluk, Küçükkuyu, Beyoba, Kavurmacılar, Doyran, Tahtakuşlar, Mehmetalanı and Güre settlements in the region. These individuals include two town mayors, four current and two former village leaders (*muhtar* in Turkish), four real estate brokers, 25 long-time or fulltime residents, and seven part-time residents. Interview questions focused on: 1) municipal goals for area development, 2) trends in village house and land sales, 3) any changes in land-use practices or village livelihoods, 4) the relationship of changes to state development goals, 5) perceptions and concerns about the area's urbanization, and 6) differences in motivations for and strategies in response to these pressures. The majority of interviews took place in Turkish, although a few interviews took place in English and one in German. Both

authors visited all area villages and many tourism facilities together, with each author conducting separate field work to ground-truth claims by interviewees about land-use and development patterns. Drawing on the triangulation strategy regularly used in political ecology and other grounded theory approaches (see Hurley et al. 2008), we analyzed these interview transcriptions, field notes, news articles, posters, flyers, websites, and social networking sites to identify key themes and patterns.

4. Saying “No” to the Oxygen Capital? National Park Creation and Amenity Migration along the Edremit Bay

4.1 Marketing Coastal Waters, Thermal Springs, and Regional Air Quality: State-Encouraged Tourism and Associated Urbanization

Tourism and amenity development have become priorities for economic development in the region, with the state investing heavily in new infrastructure that seeks to capture the value of the region’s coastal waters, geothermal springs, naturally-occurring and constructed beaches, and the beauty of mountain backdrops. This investment includes the construction and expansion of the Çanakkale-Izmir Highway and an international airport in Burhaniye—just south of Edremit. Road construction over the past few years has transformed long stretches of a once two-lane road along the coast into a divided four- and six-lane road, with stormwater and sidewalk components being added. This investment is part of a wider regional tourism strategy of investment by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2007) that seeks to draw together the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts. The ministry also supports the designation of culturally and naturally rich cities with tourism potential, including the development of ecotourism endeavors, as well as the further development of areas with potential for health and thermal tourism (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007). The potential of the region is specifically included as one of four national priority regions.

Two settlements illustrate very different outcomes that reflect these general trends, with housing development that reflects tourism and the region’s status as a second home hub. Altınoluk has quickly become a rather sprawling urban area that is characterized by low-rise multi-unit residential sprawl, featuring buildings that dominate the coast for well over a kilometer and extend up the slopes of the mountain to include the historic core of a village with traditional Yörük ties. By contrast, Adatepe represents a “classic Ida Mountain village”¹ that is home to no remaining villagers. Instead, Adatepe is characterized by well-designed cobblestone streets and reconstructed houses, which conform to strict building codes. It also sits on an isolated butte with pine forests and some excellent views of the sea, as well as the location of a historic altar to the god Zeus. Altınoluk and Adatepe can be seen, in some ways, as two ends of a spectrum of amenity-related transformational outcomes that result from the processes of urbanization and tourism development. The first is focused on the experience of summer visitors and celebrating

the sea, while the second is focused more on upscale tourism, with culture and historic amenities at the center of attention.

Boosterism efforts in the Edremit Bay area also specifically have sought to brand the region as the “Oxygen Republic”. These efforts specifically celebrate the region’s supposedly clean air quality. In local parlance, “high levels of oxygen” associated with the close proximity of the mountains to the sea and prevailing winds mean that this is some of the best air to breath in the entire country. In fact, some locals believe that the area has the highest level of oxygen in the World, after the Alp Mountains and this is reproduced in local tourism brochures and ads (one even claims that the area has 58 percent of the total oxygen in the air!) Local tourism enterprises and travel agencies argue that local geographic conditions produce high oxygen levels (Küçükoteller, 2017). Although there is no scientific basis for these arguments, they help create a myth of an “Oxygen Republic,” the Balıkesir director of tourism, an academic, has even argued that:

Kazdağları has the highest level of oxygen, even higher than the Alps because of some geographic conditions such as proximity to the sea which is rich in blue-green algae that produce oxygen, exposure to more sunshine that enables photosynthesis, and the forest consists of young trees that are capable of producing more oxygen
(Akınar 2013)

This discourse is reproduced actively by local media, people living in the area, tourist guides, and tourism investments. However, a popular meteorology professor from Istanbul Technical University, Mikdat Kadioğlu refutes these claims calling them junk science (Sudan 2013).

Irrespective of the truth of these claims, when one mentions oxygen in relation to regional tourism or second home locations in Turkey, the Kazdağı region regularly comes to mind. In the process ideas about the region’s air quality have now been linked together with the availability of thermal springs, and close proximity to the sea have been celebrated as signature amenities for seasonal visitors and homeowners. Meanwhile, along with coastal development, residential development in the region celebrates other natural amenities, including easy access to the coastal streams and waterfalls for swimming, abundant opportunities for picnicking, spectacular views, and numerous recreation opportunities. Picnicking, including so-called “village breakfasts,” and recreation opportunities that take advantage of proximity to the area’s numerous streams and waterfalls. These dynamics would seem to provide additional evidence for the rise of so many second homes in the lower elevation areas along the coast. Indeed, hotel developers, housing cooperatives and developers, commercial developers, and other entrepreneurs have capitalized on these qualities (Figure 3).

Amenity migration in the region is not only made up of summer, second home owners, but also characterized by return-migrants, mainly retirees, and counter urban amenity migrants relocating to places with high levels of natural beauty and specifically seeking areas with perceived clean air. As a result of these diverse dynamics, different types of residential forms are emerging, including the conversion of olive orchards to second home subdivisions (Efe and Tağıl, 2007). This migration has led a rise in the demand for housing at “higher elevations” or in the

“mountains”. These locations, namely in the villages or satellite villages of local towns, center on the very places where traditional settlement patterns were, until recently, still quite prevalent (Ari, 2006). From our discussions with area mayors and muhtars (Turkish for village leader), homes or places to build in these locations are most sought out by individuals who recognize the health benefits of the region’s air quality. Indeed, a regular feature of our interviews often centered around a moment during the interview when the elected official had to interrupt the discussion to take a phone call from an interested buyer. These were usually individuals calling from a city elsewhere in the country and who were inquiring about the possibility of home sites for sale. This less-recognized form of real estate demand is more similar to typical trends in amenity migration and associated gentrification dynamics observed elsewhere, in which old farm houses—or in this case, village homes—and other structures are renovated by amenity migrants.

4.2 Closing the Forest, Closing the Range: State-Initiated Biodiversity Conservation and National Park Creation

Our wood is gone. The lumber we need is gone. Our livestock raising is gone. Our apiculture is gone... when declaring this a national park, not a single person of authority asked “how do these villagers benefit from/use the mountain? By forestry/woodwork, livestock, livestock fattening?” These things apparently have not been thought about. I think that before declaring this as a national park the state or the Head of Forestry or whoever does the declaring, had to come here and talk to the villagers. They should have thought about the villagers. We are declaring this area as national park. What do you think? Today we buy our firewood from Edremit. We buy our wood with money. We need stones for our buildings; we have to pay for those as well. Then we are not villagers... (Ari and Soykan, 2006b, pp. 237)

The Kaz Mountains are characterized by extensive forests and include one of several recognized “Key Biodiversity Areas (KBA) in Turkey (Özhatay et al., 2003; Eken et al., 2006). At higher elevations of the mountains forested habitats and treeless areas are both home to several endemic plant species (Satıl, 2009). Long part of territories managed by the state forestry department, the Kazdağı Milli Park (Turkish for National Park) was initially created in 1993. The park’s creation meant villagers were subject to increasing rules and regulations, which affected their timber and nontimber harvests as well as other resource uses. But most importantly, access to these resources was completely curtailed in in 2001 when the ban on open access came into effect, associated fencing and enforcement were implemented, and villagers were required to be accompanied by trained guides while in the park. The lost access to these resources meant being cut off to summer fodder for livestock herds, forested areas where mushrooms had long been harvested, places to harvest medical herbs and other edible forest products, land and wildlife to hunt, and sites in the forest that supported beekeeping.

As the quote at the outset of the section indicates, following new rules in the national park in 2001, many villagers abandoned traditional livelihood practices, or at least parts thereof (Ari and

Soykan, 2006b). Lost access to mountain pastures meant that Yörük villagers largely, but not entirely, gave up their goat herds. In some cases, villages did so in response to a promise from the park administration for new jobs created by the national park administration. Some work emerged for villagers, mostly in the form of guides who could fill the requirement that visitors to the park be accompanied by trained guides. But the number of positions available to locals was less than demand, and some tour companies sought training for personnel not from the region (Arı and Soykan, 2006a). These livelihood changes resulted in a dramatic wave of outmigration from the village, with many individuals moving down the mountain to nearby town centers and cities.

While Turkomen villagers also lost sanctioned access to key natural resources in the park, both for their smaller herds of animals and particularly to forest resources (e.g., timber and non-timber), the same type of population outmigration did not occur. Or at least, the numbers of households in these villages did not appear to markedly decline. According to our interviews, most villagers have continued to work their olive orchards, harvest products from other aspects of their agroforestry systems for sale in local markets (i.e. farmer's markets in local towns and cities), and subsist on production from their personal and village gardens. Integration into national and international olive markets seems to have provided key—and necessary—levels of income within the villages.

It is within this context of uneven experience with reterritorialization, namely diminishing access to mountain resources and the unfolding urbanizing landscapes of coastal tourism and second homes, that we analyze development outcomes of villages closer to the park. We focused our attention on how these villages were experiencing the real estate demand of those amenity migrants seeking the benefits of the Oxygen Republic. We now turn our attention to the patterns of residential development and land sales that emerged from our visits to individual villages, our interviews with elected officials, conversations with real estate brokers and area inhabitants.

4.3 Amenity Development and Land Sales in and around Yörük Villages

The case of Kavurmacılar village is perhaps the starkest example of the social and physical changes in a Yörük village following the creation of the national park and urbanization in the countryside of Turkey especially after the 1950s. Once a thriving village of 176 parcels, field visits to the area revealed the site of a terraced hillside punctuated by older houses belonging to two separate families with longstanding ties to the village and its heritage. Above and below these houses, newer homes have been constructed (Figure 4). Of the five houses that have been built, one is occupied by a retired couple from outside the region, who have sought to embrace village traditions, particularly keeping small animals and raising their own food. In this sense, they appear to be enacting a quasi-“back to the land” amenity-oriented rurality. But the remaining homes are occupied by either seasonal or weekend visitors who enjoy the beauty their second homes offer. The one weekend owner is a dentist from the nearby city of Edremit (~10 km away), whose family uses the household as a weekend getaway. Although only five new houses have been built, 141 additional parcels in the village have been sold to ‘outsiders’ with

the expectation they will build new homes in the near future. Discussions with a village leader at the time revealed his desire to create a village that would serve as a ‘heaven for amenity migrants’ (July 28, 2011)

Unlike Kavurmacılar, the nearby village of Pınarbaşı has not experienced the same type of stark changes in village settlement patterns. But social changes have been no less dramatic. As of 2011, according to residents and villager leaders all available homes or sites for homes in the village had been purchased by amenity migrants. As a village leader put it, .

We are being scattered, nobody is left in the village. Several [former residents] have bought houses in Zeytinli . There are 25-30 households now in Zeytinli. [The newcomers] come from the outside, from Istanbul, Balıkesir. The village is left to them. This is not right. A solution has to be found. The villagers are very aggrieved”.

Discussions with residents further revealed that many of these amenity migrants are year-round residents, while others are seasonal visitors. Demand by other potential migrants for the chance to live in the village has continued, according to elected officials in the administrative center. It is unclear how many in-migrants own land outside the village, but according to residents at least one household has opened a restaurant on the village’s outskirts, seeking to benefit from tourists and seasonal migrants visiting the national park.

In Beyoba, the situation is mixed. According to real estate agents and residents, numerous homes and home sites have been abandoned, with many parcels for sale. For the few longtime residents left in the village, the sentiment toward this dramatic social change seemed to be one of hostility. Asking about these change social dynamics, one resident offered the following about their neighbor driving by at that moment: “The government made us get rid of our goat herds... Now our neighbors are from elsewhere... The bear from Ankara never says hello to anyone...” Driving out of the village we noticed that traditional practices may still be alive, as a group of women sat outside a house processing harvested grasses likely for sale in an upcoming farmer’s market. Still, the site of an abandoned house and its availability for sale represented a stark reminder of the current situation (Figure 5).

Farther west in Avcılar, other dynamics associated with amenity in-migration in this rural landscape become apparent. According to a village official, not only are urbanites from Istanbul, Ankara, and Bursa coming to live inside the villages, but some individuals also are specifically seeking to purchase agricultural lands—olive orchards—as part of three separate strategies intended to ultimately result in future residential occupancy. First, individuals purchase the land and then create a small camping or semi-permanent site for primitive visits. While this is the most likely and quickest strategy to achieve a favorable outcome for the buyer, this type is apparently not very common. Second, some individuals purchase enough land to argue that the size of their olive operation requires a structure to support processing, but then develop these facilities with the specific intent to build a permanent residential structure. There are still only a few of these type, but village officials suggested this approach was of growing concern (Figure 6). Third, land speculators buy lands directly adjacent to the village, or further down the hill

closer to existing coastal development, waiting for elimination of the zoning that prohibits construction of residential houses or duplexes (July 30, 2011).

4.4 The Role of Cultural Identity in Land Sales in and around Turkomen villages

As the opening vignette to the article suggests, visits to Turkomen villages revealed an entirely different set of responses to the ways the national park and demand for land by amenity migrants is influencing development outcomes where they live. Indeed, a clear sentiment among village leaders, real estate agents, and residents in diverse villages with whom we spoke centered on a feeling that Turkomen villagers “don’t want to sell” homes or lands outside their villages. This sentiment—and the resulting absence of land sales—was present in a number of Turkomen villages we visited during our travels from the eastern portion of the study area to the west. Indeed, there is a strong commitment to maintaining the cultural distinct identity of these villages and ensuring that those living there can continue to practice their predominantly olive-based agroforestry.

This perspective might only represent a discursive set of practices related to both our interviews with muhtars and other villagers. In fact, one muhtar expressed to us that ‘we do not want to foreigners—non-Alevis—to settle in our village. If one foreigner comes and asks about land sales, we try to understand if he/she is Alevi from nearby villages or from other parts of Turkey. If not, no one can sell property to him/her, because we do not want foreigners to come and threaten our way of life’ (August 2, 2011). Moreover, it was clear that some version of the answer above became a common response to our questions for the many of the Turkomen villagers we encountered and with whom we spoke. Some even recognized that their village’s discursive commitment might only be a generational dynamic, with one Turkomen father wondering “what will our children do? We don’t know what they will want and do.” Yet the practice of actively refusing to sell to outsiders was confirmed through discussions with area real estate offices and through review of online property listings on a regional real-estate website. Time and time again, real estate agents told us that “no properties are for sale” in these villages. Our review of online listings revealed a total of zero properties actively for sale in these villages. Likewise, village officials in nearby Yörük villages confirmed these dynamic in our conversations with them.

West of Altınoluk Doyran village offers an interesting example of the reality of these practices. The village overlooks a rather long valley that extends from the coast inland and upward toward a prominent ridgeline. Technically, not located on the border of the national park but rather on the outskirts of forested areas managed for timber harvest, the village and its responses to development pressures provides further insight into the role of cultural identity in this era of amenity migration and associated development. Like other Turkomen villages we visited, we could not identify any specific land sales to outsiders, or at least none since one sale had occurred a few years earlier. Here, a lone “outsider” lives in the village, albeit on its outskirts near the entrance (Figure 7). While this homeowner is an outsider, he is also the former director of the national forest unit and his purchase of the homesite and subsequent home construction

was met with anger from the community. This precedent prompted village leaders to go so far as to cut off water to the home; that is, until a victory in court restored his access. Since this incident, however, the village has seen virtually no new sales of land or homes to amenity migrants, while 3 parcels appeared in another Turkomen stronghold, Tahtakuşlar (Sahibinden 2018f).

4.5 Beyond Air Quality and Mountain Backdrops: The Role of Waterfalls and Turkomen Village Efforts to Counter Reterritorialization

It is tempting to view the differences in engagement by the Yörük and Turkomen villages with amenity migration and the desire for new residential development described above as simply reflecting different cultural attitudes, but the story is not that simple. Indeed, doing so would ignore the fact that not all Turkomen villages have chosen to forego home and land sales to in-migrants. In at least two villages²—one a satellite village of a slightly larger village—we were told that home and land sales to outsiders had occurred. The question, and to some extent, the answer that was required from villagers in these cases did not seem necessarily welcome. Upon further discussion, the reasons both for the “choice” to sell land by those living in these villages as well as the fact that it occurred became clearer. First, in both of the villages where land sales had occurred, key landscape features associated with part-time tourism-oriented enterprises were absent. In particular, perennial streams and, particularly, waterfalls were not to be found in these villages.

In Turkomen villages where land sales have not occurred, residents described how they have embraced aspects of the tourism economy—particularly those individuals seeking nature-oriented recreational as well as culturally authentic experiences that are of short duration. Field visits to these villages reveal the widespread existence of picnicking and “village breakfast” sites on the sides of streams flowing through villages as well as the use of waterfalls and streams for “swimming excursions” by tourists staying in coastal settlements (Figure 8). Moreover, embrace of the “Oxygen Capital” as a tourism area also has included the founding of a Turkomen Ethnography Museum in the village of Tahtakuşlar in the 1990s. Much later, the neighboring Yörük village of Çamlıbel would also create a culturally specific museum, but well after the amenity transformation had begun. Thus, in the face of development pressures, ecotourism activities that represent only temporary visits by outsiders appear to have been deemed acceptable within the context of religious beliefs about commercializing land and natural features.

Second, our contacts in the Turkomen villages where land is being sold suggested that their villages were “landlocked,” by which they meant that they did not have any lands at lower elevations that might be sold off to land speculators engaged with the boom in coastal tourism

and associated residential development. These village leaders and residents also implied that other villages in the region had engaged in this tactic as part of their efforts to keep their communities from being directly impacted by the demand for homes and homesites within their own villages. Given that selling land to outsiders has been considered something harming the protective magic of an area, these land sales have appeared necessary strategically within the context of protecting cultural identity.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

Have villagers in the region attempted to say “no” to the Oxygen Capital and the suite of landscape transformations and economic transformations it entails? That is, do they resist the reterritorialization dynamics of changed conservation governance and amenity development? At first glance, some villages appear to say “no” rather clearly, while others do not or are not able to resist these transformations. Indeed, only some villages in the Kazdağları have been able to maintain rural livelihoods in the years since the designation of the national park *and* also resist the formation of a second-home or amenity real estate market within or around their villages. Instead, many villages have seen their traditional inhabitants migrate to other towns, while most or nearly all households and land parcels have been sold to amenity in-migrants.

Histories of settlement and state-initiated conservation intervention have created particular conditions for these transformations, but have not pre-determined outcomes. Rather, the unevenness of transformations in the region point to the influence of cultural identity in the outcomes created by the engagement of different groups with these reterritorialization processes. In an area where conservation enclosures and lands sales to outsiders have been predominant dynamics of reterritorializations, Yörük villagers have regularly engaged in selling homes, parcels, and land in and around their villages while Turkomen peoples largely have not. This is true based on the patterns of development described by our research participants (actual home or land sales to outsiders) and the rationales associated with this pattern of land-use decision-making (i.e. the willingness to engage in land sales). Here we are reminded that subtle differences in livelihood traditions among the two cultural groups and their connections to particular natural resources may create differential vulnerabilities for villages experiencing the coupled processes of conservation and amenity development. This is true both for those ecologies for which access comes to be strictly controlled within new conservation territories (e.g., grazing in the park) and those resources that are associated with the material landscapes desired for amenity development (e.g., views of the sea from the mountain). Multiple variables appear to factor in these divergent trajectories of change, including differences in historical livelihood traditions, the differential effects of lost resource access created by national park creation, and the cultural identities. But these variables do not necessarily interact in straightforward or predictable ways, nor do we think they will always do so.

Instead, uneven transformations are the result and these outcomes demonstrate the existence of counter-territorialization impulses, or divergent strategies of engagement and non-engagement with the commodification of the landscape that accompany the process of reterritorialization

inherent in the conservation-amenity transition. Counter-territorialization is characterized by specific strategies enacted by certain peoples living in the region who want to protect their distinctive cultural communities and associated livelihood strategies. These groups seek to “say no” to the broader vision of economic development envisioned through amenity development, one where their homes, village parcels, and agricultural lands can be purchased by “outsiders”. To the extent that these strategies succeed, it is those villagers with livelihood strategies that are less impacted by nearby conservation areas and who are able to buffer themselves from the demand for land by amenity migrants.

Indeed, despite the intense pressures of real estate demand created by amenity development and a general desire to protect cultural identity and resource ecologies by individual Turkomen villages, not all villages are able say “no”. Some end up saying “yes”. The inability of these villagers to reject the emergence of real estate markets in and around their villages reveals critical insights about the ways that counter-territorialization rests on selective engagement with emerging tourism and land development economies associated with amenity migration. While these strategies appear strongly tied to cultural identity, Turkomen success may also hinge on the availability of particular landscape features that enable selective engagement (Battaglini and Babović, 2016). Critically, the absence of these very same features, such as waterfalls, serves to limit the options of some villages and their community members to resist land sales, even when they might otherwise prefer to protect their cultural identities through non-engagement with the real estate economy.

Understanding the uneven outcomes of landscape change in rural areas experiencing the twin engines of conservation governance and amenity development require critically documenting the selective and different ways that distinct cultural groups engage in commodifying particular landscape features. When looking at the effects of reterritorialization in the region, nearly all groups and villages commodify all or parts of the landscape in some way. While actors associated with the dynamics of reterritorialization draw on the regions good air quality, its beautiful mountains, views of the sea, and access to nature to entice lands sales to migrants, actors associated with counter-territorialization efforts rely on distinctive strategies of landscape commodification, too. Here, Turkomen villagers benefit from the agricultural productivity of their olive orchards and associated sales to national, regional, and global markets, while targeting new, specific landscape features to entice recreational visitors to spend money in and around their villages (e.g., streams, waterfalls). In effect, these create new forms of natural resource use over which Turkomen villagers maintain control. It is this selective engagement that enables the, if not permanent then temporary, rejection of land sales and loss of resource access for those villagers living in Turkomen communities.

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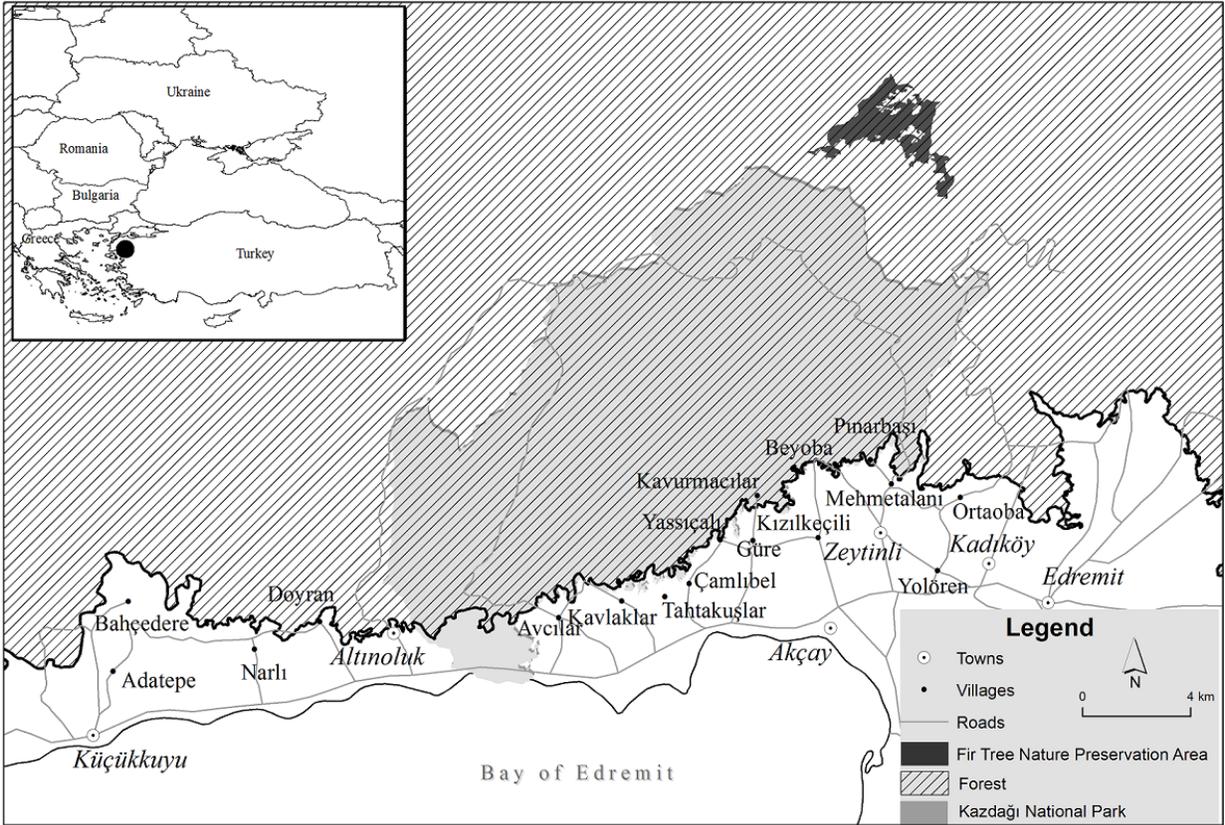


Figure 1. Case Study Location, including villages visited during data collection.



Figure 2. Second home development patterns west of Güre, as viewed from a Turkomen cemetery near Tahtahkuşlar.



Figure 3. Sign along the Izmir-Çannakale Highway welcoming visitors to the Oxygen Republic. Paid for and erected by the local hotel association.



Figure 4. In-progress development of new second homes in Kavurmacılar. Photo A. provides view from the ground, while photo B. provides view from above. Stars illustrate former pads where Yörük houses once stood, which are now available for new home construction. The arrow in B indicates location of where picture B was taken. Air photo courtesy of Google.



Figure 5. Writing and a phone number announce this abandoned house in Beyoba is for sale, together with associated land.



Figure 6. An isolated villa in the rural countryside outside of a Yörük village center, part of a relatively infrequent pattern.

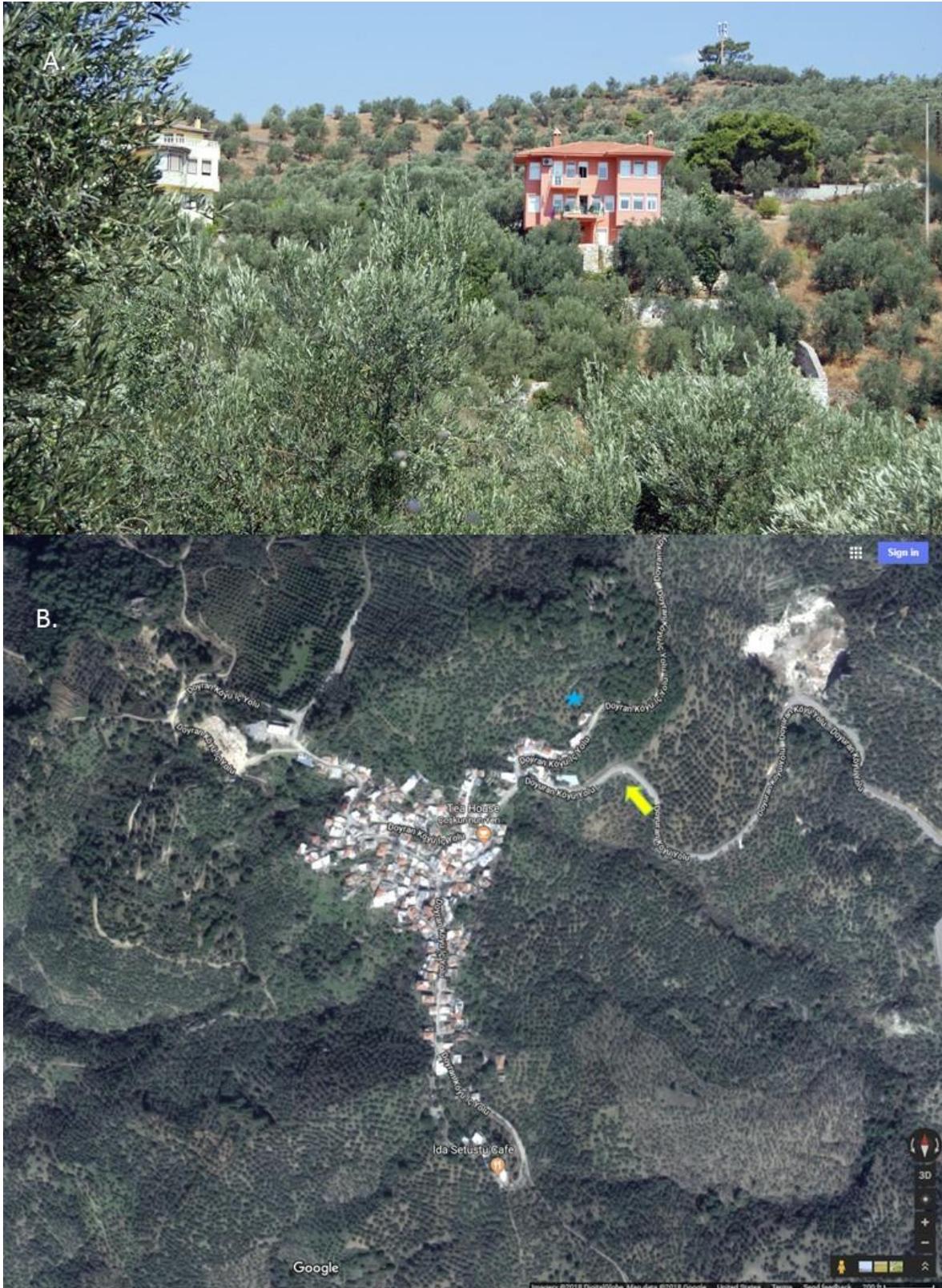


Figure 7. The village of Doyran where development by “outsiders” has been limited to just one individual household.



Figure 8. A characteristic waterfall on the slopes of the Kazdağları and that feature in Turkomen landscape commodification efforts.