

## Collaborative Sustainability: Analyzing Economic and Social Outcomes in the Context of Cittaslow\*

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**Abstract:** *Accelerating industrialization increased negative consequences related with resources and ecosystem which in turn increased importance of sustainable development strategies depending on regional dynamics and local resources. Slow City (Cittaslow) movement serves a collaborative sustainable development model that focuses on both protection of local values and local economy including all stakeholders in the process while supporting social transformations in its own global local network. This study examines the changes in Seferihisar's – Slow capital city of Turkey – local economy after the membership of Slow City movement in terms of economic and social changes. In this study, purposive sampling was used and the data was collected with interview method from the team of Seferihisar Municipality which actively engaged in Cittaslow activities. The data was analyzed with content analysis method. At the end of the study, it was found that Seferihisar's local economy is changed in domains of status in global network, local production and consumption and social situation. The unique value of this study is discussing about negative aspects of changes which are not elaborated before and interaction between economic and social transformations.*

**Keywords:** Sustainability, slow city, collaboration, Seferihisar

**JEL Classification:** Q56, H75, R11

### 1. Introduction

Emergent problems of the industrialization about global market dynamics, natural resources and ecosystem have brought about development projects which are ecosystem friendly and even anti-industrial. Supporting unique local and regional resources, accelerated pace of local economies has precipitated decline in nation-state economic models and has enabled local attempts and actors' prominence in the global economy (Mayer & Knox, 2010: 1546). Although local economies' growth concern – sticks them in globalization – leads local resources serve for fast growing dynamics in an exploitive manner (Mayer & Knox, 2010: 1550) and stimulates the concern about homogenizing cities (Radstorm, 2011: 91), increase in anti-industrialization – slow movements – tendencies is promising for a sustainable development compatible with local resources and regional dynamics. Within these slow movements, Cittaslow movement guides cities to a development model which offers sustainable regional development with local values, economic, political and public dynamics in economic, social and environmental fields. Cittaslow movement is initiated in Italy as an international network of towns, which aims to improve the life quality of residents via adopting and building on the Slow Food philosophy. The network has 187 member cities from 28 countries as of April 2014 (<http://www.cittaslow.org/section/association>, 25.04.2014).

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Throughout the world, the favorable outcomes of this model which are encountered by member cities are proposed in several studies (Timms& Conway, 2012; Grzelak-Kostulska, Hołowiecka & Kwiatkowski, 2011; Carp, 2012). Main discussions are concentrating on the positive effects of slow city movements on tourism, city image and destination marketing (Karabağ, Yücel&İnal, 2012: 67; Lowry& Lee, 2011:9; Timms&Conway, 2012; Grzelak-Kostulska, Hołowiecka & Kwiatkowski, 2011: 187). However as discussions are taken further, discussions like economic value coming from recycling waste, increase in employment and wellbeing (Sırım, 2012:129), fair income distribution (Karabağ, Yücel&İnal, 2012: 74) also contributed to the literature to have a deeper understanding. Local governments are both active agents as implementation units and also passive agents which are affected from outcomes. Besides, a more social focus will be helpful to reflect the transformation effect of slow city movements in social life which is an important indicator of 'actual' outcomes which tell more about the perception of people who are both managing and experiencing it. For this reason, throughout the study, local government perspective is tried to be reflected so that it will be helpful to demonstrate a 'bird's eye' view on all 'stakeholders' of the process that create value for the unity and also on social interactions.

This study aims to focus on Cittaslow movement in the triangle of stakeholders, economic outcomes and – most importantly – social outcomes in development process of Cittaslow movements from the local government perspective and perception as the first hand agents. According to Semmens and Freeman(2012: 372), it is important to analyze and interpret the Cittaslow network using a different approach and in contexts that struggle to address the policy–practice gap in sustainability. Thus, Seferihisar<sup>1</sup> - as the context and also slow 'capital' city of Turkey - will be analyzed to find out the social process of Cittaslow membership from the lenses of local government. The main reason to choose Seferihisar is that, as the city has been a member of Cittaslow movement since 2009, the economic and social outcomes have started to be realized so that we could frame the structures within the comparison of 'before and after' process. Another important point is to figure out the interaction between economic and social outcomes. Besides the positive effects of the Cittaslow movement (Lowry & Lee, 2011; Miele, 2008; Radstorm, 2011; Mayer & Knox, 2006), this study also aims to focus on the negative sides and critical points.

## **2. Sustainability: Sustainable Consumption and Production**

Biologically, sustainability means avoiding extinction and living to survive and reproduce. Sustainability, at its base, always concernstemporality, and in particular, longevity. Therefore what passes asdefinitionsof sustainability are oftenpredictions of actions taken todaythat one hopes will lead to sustainability (Costanza &Patten, 1995: 193-194). In terms of sustainability, consumption exemplifies a considerable field of discussion and action at both individual and also community level. Because consumptionis the reason why anything gets produced, and consumption andproductiontogether are the source of all man-made stress on thenaturalenvironment (Heiskanen & Pantzar,1997: 409).

Sustainable consumption is defined as minimizing environmental effects considering the needs of future generations and satisfaction of needs for a better quality of life (Kilbourne, McDonagh&Prothero, 1997: 5). Namely, individuals should be able to meet their own consumption needs whilst also taking the environmental impacts of their actions into

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<sup>1</sup>*Seferihisar is located in the southwest of Izmir, which is the third biggest city of Turkey. Its population is about 27.000 and it has geothermal water resources and is known for rich cultural and historical values. Agriculture, animal breeding and tourism are the main economic activities of the city (Türkseven and Dalgakıran, 2011: 138).*

account (Hobson, 2002: 96). Thus, sustainable living no longer is just about consuming products, but about how social and environmental resources of common good(s), spaces, networks, futures and relationships need to foster respect for each other and in turn, for the environment. In this sense, the environment is not just about 'nature', but about the total environment of lived spaces and daily experiences (Hobson, 2002: 105).

While sustainable consumption targets consumers, sustainable production is related to companies and organizations that make products or offer services. Sustainable production 'offers goods and services using processes and systems that are non-polluting; conserving of energy and natural resources; economically viable; safe and healthful for employees, communities and consumers; and socially and creatively rewarding for all working people' (Veleva & Ellenbecker, 2001: 519-520). Industry's reluctance about promoting forms of environmentally responsible consumption which involves less consumption and promoting sustainable consumption brings us to the role of both national and local governments (Schaefer & Crane, 2005: 88) to commingle consumption and production to be able to create a unity and to control, regulate and transform interactions among agents.

### 3. Sustainability and Cittaslow Movement: Local Developments and Economy

Although the concept of sustainability is related to consumption and production principally, the sustainability of cities is extensively examined in the literature by many researchers (see Newman & Kenworthy, 1999; Newman, 1999; Castells, 2000; Tanguay, Rajan, Lefebvre & Lanoie, 2010; Polese, 2000; Hope Sr & Lekorwe, 2010).

**Table 1.** Comparing Corporate Centered to Alternative Urban Development Agendas

<i>Agendas</i>	<i>Corporate Centered</i>	<i>Alternative</i>
<b>Characteristics</b>	Homogenized	Idiosyncratic/asset specific
	Single imperative	Multiple imperatives
	Inequitable	Equitable
	Industrial	Craft
	Standardized	Customized
	Corporate	Grassroots
	Unsustainable	Sustainable
	Copied	Authentic
	Low quality	High quality
	Replicable	Asset specific
	Insensitive to local history, culture	Sensitive to local history, culture
	Fast	Slow
<b>Examples</b>	Urban mega projects Smokestack chasing Industrial food system	Community economic development Slow City Slow Food

**Source:** Mayer, H. & Knox, P.L. (2006). Slow Cities: Sustainable Places in a Fast World. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(4), 325.

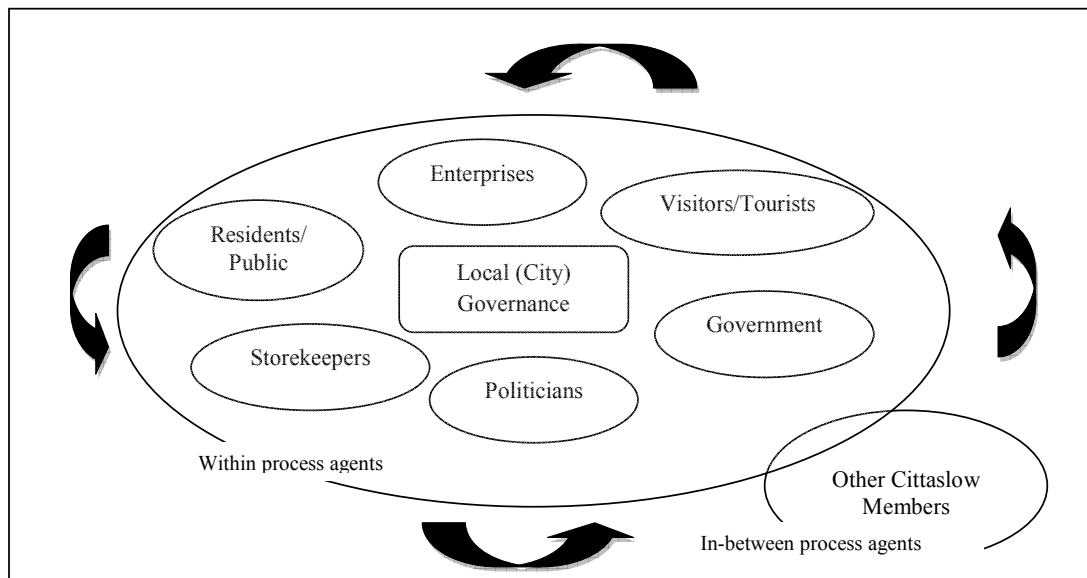
The accelerated pace of globalization and competition do not permit regions and cities to adapt to specialized strategies and application possibilities for economic well-being (Mayer & Knox, 2010: 1545). Profit expectations of enterprises and also the attractiveness of new markets increase the pressure on small cities which have different resources, needs, cultural and social structures. Alternative urban development agenda in the literature offers

sustainable strategies that pay attention to social and environmental outcomes besides economic ones; like including public as an actor in the process, inducing unique and local values and focusing on fair distribution (Table 1).

Depending on Table 1, we could note that Cittaslow movement must be evaluated as an alternative model for development and sustainability which lets stakeholders to actively participate in the process and also transforms social structures of the community. While Cittaslow is emphasizing on local distinctiveness in a context of globalization, it also seeks to improve quality of life locally. Cittaslow, interdependently is both an urbansocial movement and a model for local governance (Pink, 2008: 97).

Governments have a responsibility to bring about a change in consumerbehaviour to create the pull on industry for sustainableproducts (O’Brien, 1999: 5). Local governments’ responsibility regarding Cittaslow movement is representing just one side of the development process. Indeed, any development footstep which is not supported by local stakeholders will not be endured. For this reason, all policies must be appropriate for locality to be carried out. With taking this into consideration, Cittaslow is reflecting a sustainable collaborative enterprise model. The success of Cittaslow towns depends on the support of existing active communityorganizations, local businesses, alternative development programmes and a strong senseof community (Semmens & Freeman, 2012: 358). However, multi-way interactions among related parties create harmony but also challenge to find the balance between operationability of policies and pressure of Cittaslow criteria.

**Figure 1.** Collaborative Stakeholders of Cittaslow Movement



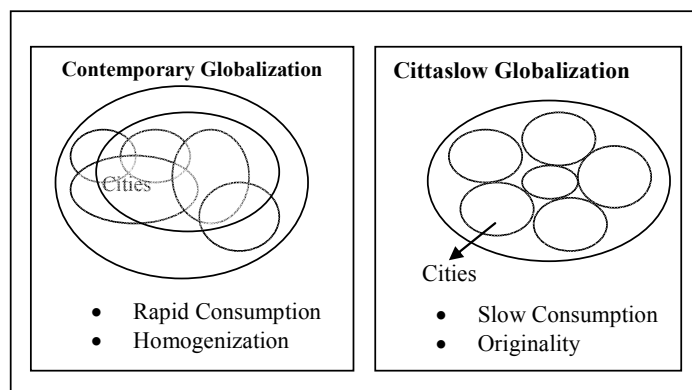
**Source:** Revised and Re-interpreted from Halal, W.E. (2001). The Collaborative Enterprise: A Stakeholder Model Uniting Profitability and Responsibility, ASM Uniting JCC 2, p. 32.

Collaborative enterprise model depends on the stakeholder theory by recognising stakeholders aspartners who create both economic and social value through collaborative problem-solving. Managers, employees,customers, business partners, local governments and shareholders share a common commitment and engage in problem-solving process to improve both economic and socialperformance of the enterprise (Halal, 2001: 28). Although this discussion mostly reflects an enterprise perspective, this could also be discussed on an

institutional base by taking enterprise from center to periphery and putting local governments and other institutions in center (Figure 1).

Collaborative enterprises display genuine care about others and themselves and aim to create values for all the participants in their ecosystems. Their criterion of success is mutually satisfying relationships with the stakeholders (Tencati & Zsolnai, 2012: 346). In terms of city administration, we could consider that residents, storekeepers, enterprises which actively produce, employ, supply and in turn contribute to city economy directly and indirectly, visitors coming outside the city, politicians, other Cittaslow members and the government could be admitted as stakeholders. As a collaborative enterprise model, Cittaslow demonstrates social interactions by putting social actors into the center of the evaluation as both producers and also consumers (Pink, 2008: 105) of the locality.

**Figure 2.** Contemporary Globalization vs. Cittaslow Globalization



Contemporary globalization results in homogenization. However this homogenization mostly push small cities converging to bigger cities in terms of consumption. This increases similar consumption practices but also results in loss of or lessen in unique, local ones. All practices melt in the same pot decreasing differences. On the other hand, Cittaslow give value to unique, local values stressing differences. By this way, small cities protect their originality in terms of food, life style or consumption (Figure 2).

Except 'other Cittaslow members', the stakeholders are constituting 'within' process agents that share locality, benefit from it and participate in the process in the city. On the other hand, other Cittaslow members contribute to the process on the local and global scale of Cittaslow movement which create communalities on the basis of Cittaslow criteria but include unique structures depending on each city's values. Cities learn from each other or use benchmarks resulting 'in-between' process interaction.

Cittaslow movement is initiated by four municipalities of Italy by conveying the movement to city level and reached global level with involvement of different cities who share the same vision. However, global nature of the movement has a different meaning inherently. Each city is getting developed in its own way and applying network criteria in a suitable way to their unique structure. In other words, by offering liberty for choosing options to cities, the global structure of network is away from being dominant as contemporary globalization. By this way, it hinders cities to be alike by homogenization and support their uniquenesses creating "slow-global" approach supporting local economy development.

In Cittaslow globalization, each city is congregated under network and they take action according to common criteria. Membership to a network is an important issue for cities' current positions, compatibility potential and roles to be undertaken.

Depending on this, in this study, it is aimed to analyze Seferihisar's Cittaslow process from the local government perspective as the visionary center of collaborative Cittaslow process; to contribute to literature with a different context; to understand the interaction of economic and social outcomes and to demonstrate the critics. So, the study aims to focus on the outcomes of Cittaslow movement in the triangle of stakeholders, economic outcomes and – most importantly – social outcomes in development process of Cittaslow movements from the local government perspective.

#### **4. Methodology**

Although Turkey has been participating in Cittaslow movement since 2009, compared to intense works throughout the world, it is still a novel issue in Turkey. For this reason, primary resources are important to evaluate the topic properly. Depending on this (relative) novelty, it is aimed to have a deeper understanding which in turn leading to apply qualitative research. As the primary aim of the qualitative research is to have a deeper understanding and information instead of generalizability (Basit, 2003: 143), researchers aim to collect data from adequate number of participants rather than as more participants as they can reach. In this study the term 'adequacy' is assumed to reach to %90 of the Seferihisar Municipality Cittaslow project team members who actively work in administration of the network criterias. In Seferihisar Municipality there are five personnel in this team and the mayor is the head of the team. In data collection period, the researchers reached all of the project team members.

In the study, interview technique as the most powerful qualitative research method (McCracken, 1988:9) was used to have deeper information about the topic. Firstly, through deductive approach, the literature is analyzed and depending on the criteria and philosophy of Cittaslow movement, structured questions form was formed. The question form starts with questions regarding Cittaslow philosophy and applications (aims to be reached as a member of Cittaslow movement, global and local position, and comparison of actual and intended aims). In the following section of question form, respondent answers are expected to indicate economic, social and cultural outcomes of the movement. In the last section – which makes up the unique part of the study – critiques about Cittaslow are discussed. The answers provided by the respondents are analyzed via content analysis.

Defining reliability as getting the same results by different researchers from the same data and getting the same results in different contexts seems contradicting with the perspective of qualitative research (Özhan-Dedeoğlu, 2005). Yet in qualitative research, it is aimed to understand phenomena within their context, uncovering links among concepts and behaviors (Bradley, Curry & Devers, 2007: 1759). In qualitative research the concepts credibility, dependability and transferability have been used to describe various aspects of trustworthiness. Credibility deals with the focus of the research and refers to confidence in how well data and processes of analysis address the intended focus. Dependability is the degree to which data change over time and alterations made in the researcher's decisions during the analysis process. Transferability, on the other hand, is the extent to which the findings can be transferred to other settings or groups (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004: 109-110). In this study, first of all, using primary resources and collecting data from first hand agents increase the credibility of the research. Dealing with the manifest content instead of

latent content (Graneheim&Lundman, 2004: 106), in other words, using (directly) the denoted statements increases the dependability of the research. This study could also be transferred to other Cittaslow cities with confirming the last trustworthiness aspect. Therefore trustworthiness could be said to be confirmed in a general manner. To increase the quality of the research, purposive sampling and analyst diversification techniques are also performed. To increase the application validity of the research, all participants were asked the same questions in the same sequence. After coding and thematizing the data, all themes were interpreted in the light of literature through inductive approach. By this way, the researchers were able to analyze the literature in Seferihisar context and also contribute to literature with different findings.

In the study, purposive sampling method was used to collect data from participants who were actively involved in the execution process of Cittaslow and to reach truer data about economic changes. For this reason participants included Seferihisar Municipality Cittaslow team members and data was collected with interview technique. Interviews were carried out in Seferihisar Municipality building and all of the researchers were available in data collection process to be able to collect consummate data. Total duration of interviews was about 187 minutes. Descriptive information regarding participants are given in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Participants' Profile

Participants	Position in Cittaslow Movement	Habitation
TunçSoyer	Mayor/ Head of Cittaslow Team	Seferihisar
BülentKöstem	Technical Coordinator of CittaslowTurkey Network	İzmir
HandeGülSevinç	Municipality Personnel/ Landscape Architect	İzmir
AslıMenekşeOdabaş	Municipality Personnel/ Project Expert	İzmir
Ceydaİnce	Municipality Personnel	Seferihisar
FerideBaliç	Municipality Personnel	Seferihisar

In qualitative research one approach to applying the finalized code structure to the data is to have two to three members of the research team re-review all the data, applying independently the codes from the finalized code structure. Then, the team meets in a group to review discrepancies, resolve differences by in-depth discussion and negotiate consensus. The result is a single, agreed upon application of the final codes to all parts of the data (Bradley et al., 2007: 1764). In this study, this approach is followed and after transcription of interviews; two of the authors analyzed data independently and coded them separately. Then authors reviewed codes and coding process together and analyzed the consistency among codes. The one of authors took the percentage of the communality of the codes and find out that there is 85 percent consistency among codes. According to some experts, 80 percent agreement is acceptable as a rule of thumb for reasonable reliability (Bradley et al., 2007: 1765). Discrepancies were discussed and re-coded after consensus. Then all of the codes were analyzed again, gathered under convenient semantic themes and in this study to make it more understandable, these themes were explained in a detailed manner.

## 5. Findings and Discussion

Economic and social structure before and after Cittaslow, in turn, changes are the focal point of the study. In this frame, the authors reached four different main themes which explain changes in global-local axis: Position in global and local network, Local production and consumption, Social position and identity and Barriers. Themes are covered with its subtitles that frame the direction and dimensions of changes.

### 5.1. Position in Global and Local Network

#### 5.1.1. City's Compatibility with Nature

Seferihisar's decision to be a member of Cittaslow network is depending on the vision of the local administration. Participants addressed the compatibility between Seferihisar's compliance potential and network's philosophy and structure before Seferihisar's accreditation. For all participants, Seferihisar has a natural compatibility with network in terms of Cittaslow philosophy and criteria with its unique and original values coming from climate, geographic condition and historical heritage like Asos Temple and Teos Ancient City. In the context of Cittaslow's role for protecting natural values, Seferihisar is described with its natural compatibility and original prosperity in this way:

*"A spectacular climate, a spectacular flora, less destroyed, less timeworn texture compared to other neighbours, good-humored people, a slow life, thus, if here is not the paradise, which place is paradise?" (Tunç Soyer)*

Natural compatibility is connected to its infrastructure and lifestyle besides its unique values and prosperity. According to this, it is indicated that any mismatch about infrastructure and lifestyle will make transformation difficult:

*"Of course other cities that have different lifestyles could also be transformed but, according to me, there certainly must be an infrastructure. Namely, I don't think that there will be much to match up with afterwards if there is not any life like that, if people do not have tendency for that" (Hande Gül Sevinç)*

Compatibility with infrastructure and lifestyle is also important for compatibility with network in the short term and its position in the network in the long term. As a matter of the fact that city development strategies, that must have been started to be performed before being a Cittaslow member, link compatibility's success with infrastructure (Mayer & Knox, 2006: 330). Thus there is a 'base' level of infrastructure which is depending on natural resources, lifestyles and historical background inspiring administration vision. Upon on this level, policies, new investments and social practices are taken to develop and follow Cittaslow criteria. Evaluating compatibility with a visionary point of view and working to be integrated into the network represent a pre-membership process. In Seferihisar, this process started with the idea that Seferihisar is not in the position that it deserves:

*"Seferihisar, you see, if you look at its neighbours Urla, Alaçatı, Çeşme, you see, in the below Özdere, Kuşadası, it was somehow among them, in their shadow, in their cranny, it was ignored, it was an unnoted small town, a boondock town, it is not anymore. It is not anymore because we did not have to create miracles, we only exhibited the miracle which already exists. We just shook the dust, rust on it off. Now, for this reason, I am a bit more peaceful.*



*You see, this was the main reason for us to start this job. Seferihisar was unable to have a life which it deserves. Hereby, I can say that, we came closer to the position where it deserves to be in.” (Tunç Soyer)*

### **5.1.2. Leader in Local Network, Decision Mechanism in Global Network**

Since there is no attempt to join the association before, Seferihisar had the chance to be the capital city of Cittaslow movement. This chance had brought about a serious responsibility to Seferihisar as being the competent authority, constituting the country organization and being the reference point for network communication. Depending on this fact, the respondents made positive evaluations, emphasizing Seferihisar’s hallmark of “being capital city” from the point of its position both in global and local networks. Respondents evaluated and appreciated Seferihisar’s position in the latterly expanding local network in terms of its leadership and pioneering role; moreover in the global network the evaluation is made through the properties of being in a decision making position and having voice.

*“...of course it has a very serious pioneering duty depending on being the capital city. Therefore we have a lot more duties and things to do. I mean if something goes wrong in here, it means that you make other people despair as well. Therefore responsibility is higher. We are all having active roles during organization, the organization of other Cittaslow’s –in Turkey-, their communication with each other and Italy occurs through us. Now we have come such a point that we have voice in decision making process, it is so good.”(Hande Gül Sevinç)*

Seferihisar’s rising position in local and global network is not only associated with its capital city mission, but also with the control and implementation of city’s projects by other cities and functioning as a bridge between local cities and global network cities supporting both within and in-between interaction. In the global network, cities determine their own pace of development by carrying out projects for protecting the current structure and improving it, and the successful projects help the cities to increase awareness within the network. Therefore the respondents denoted that they mention about the projects of Seferihisar in every platform that they can, so they assure the city to be known within the global network. Seferihisar is appreciated as the “fast city of slow life” by respondent Köstem, depending on its speed and sufficiency in project generation and realization.

## **5.2. Local Production and Consumption**

### **5.2.1. Pioneering Projects Focused on Local Production**

Being a principally global movement, Slow City movement acquires a character of its own with local facilities depending on its approach of environmental economy philosophy assuming an interactive relationship between the ecological and economical system (Çetin, 2006:5). This approach prioritizes the regional sustainable models for economic development. Seferihisar’s projects are evolving within the framework of the environment, infrastructure and local production, since the Cittaslow movement expects to realize sustainability of local production and values. Correspondingly, Seferihisar’s rising position both in local and global networks is associated with Seferihisar’s local people’s excellence on providing regional economic development through invigorating local production. Failure in keeping up with the relevant criteria and falling short of development target is explained with the lack of a holistic approach and misunderstanding of Cittaslow philosophy. For instance, Soyer and Köstem denoted that the cities and even the countries have different

perspectives and understandings of Cittaslow movement; some local authorities are just looking forward to obtain the high-sounding title of “Slow City” and some others are aiming to obtain a brandname for increasing the tourism revenues. From the point of respondents, these type of perspectives inhibits the perception of the movement’s holistic structure and set the cities back in the network. Nilsson, Svård and Wirell (2011: 383) similarly emphasized that the movement’s essence is the improvement of regional/local people’s living standards, not tourism or destination marketing. Thus, according to the respondents, Seferihisar’s success in this movement is depending on the perception of the movement as a model for embracing the local production and values by all actors of the local government.

*“...we had surpassed our Cittaslow counterparts. We are now, trying to go into the deep philosophy [of Cittaslow movement] more strongly than them, and spread it to keep afloat, endeavouring to make people internalize [the philosophy and movement] and be sure that we are much more successful than the other practices all over the world. There are much more successful practices when compared to us in the world, but our perspective is more holistic and our acceleration is more speedy.” (Tunç Soyer)*

Miele (2008) denoted that each and every city in the network accounts for a different type of “slowness” and are different from each other, even though they are carrying on common initiatives. In parallel with Seferihisar’s success, all of the respondents mentioned that the original Cittaslow projects of Seferihisar is evaluated by the other cities in terms of applicability and taken as models. Regarding to the projects of local production and the sustainability of local resources, all respondents mentioned about the establishment of producer associations, organization of open markets featuring only locally produced products, web project of 'seferipazar.com' that enabled the locally produced products to be sold country-wide and seed-barter. Development cooperatives are one of the most important steps enabling the collective ability of producers’ movement and its size for the city’s local production. The producers’ associations for tangerine and olive and Agricultural Developmental Cooperatives of Ulamiş and Hıdırlık are the leading projects for local production. Artichoke, satsuma tangerines and olives are leading products of agricultural production in Seferihisar (Odabaş, 2012: 25-26), and the production and efficiency increased after joining to the Cittaslow network. Associations and cooperatives are endeavoring for production increase and strengthening the marketing possibilities for the local products. The web site, seferipazar.com is providing a base for the local producers to market their products all over the country, in which approximately twenty products are featured ranging from local fresh products to hand crafted items. Depending on the given definition of sustainable production in Veleva and Ellenbecker's paper (2001: 519-520), we could note that sustainable production is discussed more in terms of economic viability and socially and creatively rewarding for all working people with cooperatives and production-supporting projects regarding unique products.

### **5.2.2. Local Values**

As the local economy gets stronger, local values are encouraged to be revitalized. The biggest contribution of Cittaslow membership to the local economy is denoted as the establishment of producer associations by respondent Köstem, and he adds some remarks regarding the development of local values as:

*“There are a lot of projects, producers’markets for instance... Similarly cooperatives gained strength. Cooperatives improved the project, and tangerine association is established.*

*These all had their facilities operating with the funds. Tangerine was hitherto associated with the Gümüldür region, however the concept of 'Seferihisar tangerine' has risen [after these projects]. In short, it had contributed a lot to the local economy" (Bülent Köstem)*

Besides tangerine, respondents mentioned about the rising values of previously neglected products like armola cheese, chickpea dumplings, locally produced herbs and the traditional methods like stone-crushing for olive oil production as well. Stone-crushing method is supportive for sustainable production which also hints the historical background of the city. So by putting forward the local products and new (old) sustainable techniques, local values are also being reminded.

### **5.2.3. Local Revival of Consumption**

Besides being important for the local government vision, respondents emphasized the importance of public participation for the success and sustainability of projects. Especially the message on the seferipazar.com website puts emphasis on the vital importance of outer demand for the city and stresses on the importance of outer support for sustainable local development: *"Every product that you purchase from Seferipazar is more than an ordinary shopping. Because in here, by every product that you purchase directly from the producer, you both reach to the most delicious products and you protect your health, Seferihisar's producers and nature. We thank you for creating this little but abundant difference."* (<http://www.seferipazar.com>, 17.02.2013). One dimension of this message is the incentive that it creates awareness for the public. Mayer and Knox (2006: 326) emphasizes that this movement intends to create aware consumers who will support the local farmers and the local businesses, so that they will approach to the establishment of fair trade. It is also denoted that the willingness of local people to engage in production activities will increase as they see the significant results of the local production projects and development of local economy. So, it can be said that the cooperative initiatives, good agriculture practices, traditional production techniques will be supported more as the positive results are seen. Additionally the people engaging in the production of local goods and local foods are increasing in parallel with the sales of those.

*"There are lots of herbs that are sold nearby the main products in open market. So, the production of these herbs increased so far. For example, if you are selling tangerines and you put those herbs on the stand in the open market, people who come and see those herbs on your stand buy them too, so these so-called nearby products increase too. Moreover the organic tomatoes, eggplants, pepper increased....Both their production and sales..Also the sales of mint, sage, thyme and alike seasonings increased in the same ratio. Since the local food sales are allowed in the open market, lots of things have changed regarding to their production. Lots of recipes were about to fade away, these were resurrected, people were encouraged to practice these recipes. As outsiders come and ask about the Seferihisar dumplings, people carry on preparing and cooking."* (Hande Gül Sevinç)

As consumption is the reason for anything that is produced (Heiskanen & Pantzar, 1997: 409), increase in demand is also increasing supply and thus production. From another point of view, sustainability is being supported by another sustainable demand which increases the well-being and quality of life in terms of Cittaslow philosophy in an accelerated sprawling manner.

The support of local products in inner market besides in outside markets, is a sign of a change in regional consumption after the Cittaslow accreditation:

*“As an example, armola cheese were famous in Seferihisar formerly. Long ago, it was made by combining and encasing the most delicious pieces of cheese..The chickpea dumplings, known as Seferihisar dumplings were not very oftenly cooked, were about to dissappear. But now, armola cheese started to be sold, it is originally from Seferihisar and now it is being consumed in here. So local people begin to consume their own products.” (Bülent Köstem)*

Being a resident of Seferihisar, respondent İnce is explaining the increase of local product consumption by local people with the increased attractiveness due to the outer demand:

*“Previously when I see armola cheese I was like “Ugh, what is this, I don’t want to eat it.”; but now I am trying to consume it. [Previously] eating McDonalds was promoted. These type of foods were advertised, but there were no promotions regarding local products. But now everybody is focused on this, people are coming for Siğacık producers’ market because it is being advertised. Then we [local people] become curious about this. People are coming and doing what we know but we don’t do, so we were attracted to what we already have.” (Ceyda İnce)*

We need to recognize that food is more than simply a commodity, and its production and consumption are strongly related to natural, social, cultural, historical, political, institutional, and personal issues (Tencati&Zsolnai, 2012: 346-347). For this reason, depending on the quotations just above, food is representing a sustainable transformation unit which creates local awareness and indicating shift from contemporary global consumption practice to Cittaslow global consumption practice. Respondent İnce is important to consider in this point as a resident of the city. So, while she is actively participating in Cittaslow process as the local governance member, she is also participating as a consumer. Her demand on local products is increasing sustainable production and also consumption as a role-model to the public.

In Seferihisar, outer demand for local products is preparing a base for the revitalization of the local demand. This change has risen the value of economical value of local products in terms of branding. Local products’ rising demand both in local and outer market gave rise to increased willingness to produce and so the city’s focused attention on Seferihisar based branding. As the production has risen in parallel with marketing possibilities, local people started to think “what else can I sell?”, so the local products’ varieties have increased and the demand is tried to be channelized to different regional products. So that the change in local economy and regional production is realized both in Seferihisar depending on branding efforts and also providing product variety under Seferihisar brand.

### **5.3. Social Position and Identity**

#### **5.3.1. Rise of Peasantry**

In parallel with the domestic and the exterior demand, having an active role in production had become an attractive point for local people. Since the economic development is provided through the local production, local production is not only accepted as a local

governmental support policy, but also a process that is growing by the local people's attention and support. So, being a producer of a local product is being accepted as a signifier of social position. Producing local products in Seferihisar, is perceived as working for a supreme goal and created a perception of prestige. This new perspective indicates that peasantry is now representing a situation which people are more proud of being an urbanite from the point of local people.

### **5.3.2. Rise of the Feeling of Being a Native of Seferihisar**

Another result of this perception is the evolution of the feeling of belonging to city. Being a native of Seferihisar had become a source of prestige. The quotation below summarizes the changes in perceptions:

*"... The positions of peasants and producers had changed. Formerly, people were not engaged in production in villages. Peasants lands were empty, peasantry and being a producer were socially belittled. But now the young people in Orhanlı Village have revitalized a traditional stone-crushing olive oil production facility, and began to operate it. This is prestigious for them, and also provides a goal. From this perspective we can mention about a social change. Being a native of Seferihisar is a rising identity component. Formerly, people outside the city had no idea where Seferihisar is on the map, but now when you say you are from Seferihisar, they are responding as "Oh, the slow town, silent town? I know about there!". In my opinion being a slowtown has improved the belongingness feeling of people."(Bülent Köstem)*

### **5.3.3. Changing Position of Women**

The attraction of economical gains resulted more people –especially women- to be included in the production process. The rising status of women in production and sharing relationships resulted for women having more voice in economic relationships and in the family life. So it can be evaluated as the diminishing patriarchal power of men, and shifting power towards women. Respondents, mentioning the changes in the daily life of city denoted that they could clearly observe the change in the position of women in terms of their role in economic and social life. Increased number of women sellers from 20 to 150 in the open market, increased women participation in running restaurants and coffee shops which represent previously male dominated areas, establishment of women producers' cooperatives can be accepted as important indicators of women's role change both in social and economic life.

*"The greatest change is observed in women's life. Women are no more accepted as the dish-washers or laundry workers. Now we have enlarged the business via our website: seferipazar.com, they are working hard to meet the demand. Three days in a week, they are packaging different products like armola cheese and herbs, and selling them all over the Turkey. They all started to make money. If there's someone doing nothing, seeing the other women making money on their own, she begins immediately. And this spreads as waves. I think this is going to be a groundbreaking change." (Tunç Soyler)*

### **5.3.4. Active Participation of Young People and Children**

The contribution of women and the young people to the economic cycle of the city and their increasing sensitivity towards the goals of the local government is evaluated as a

remarkable change. The respondents Soyer, Köstem and Sevinç denoted that the active participation of women in economic life affected the youngsters and the children positively; and they are trying to investigate the ways that youngsters and the children could contribute their families and the region more. Moreover they are endeavoring to join different European Union Youth projects in order to improve the slow city potential of Seferihisar. In parallel with these, Children Assembly project, enabling the active participation of children into decision process in the issues regarding themselves was put into action.

#### **5.4. Barriers**

The obstacles regarding the sustainability of slow city philosophy and the issues of criticisms in the city are evaluated as barriers. The issues stated as barriers by the respondents are found to be related with the direction of change, legal processes and results.

##### **5.4.1. Transformation in Social Life**

Although increasing social and economic status of women, young people and children regarding the development of the local economy is appreciated, the change is interpreted to have possible negative outcomes by respondent Soyer, such as the increased rate of divorces due to the economical freedom of women, and the possible conflicts between the parents and children due to the increased awareness of children regarding their rights, which gave rise to a possible transformation in social life.

*"I am not sure whether we had told you the case that I witnessed: I have heard two old men were talking in the coffee shop, one of them said: "I wish we did not vote for this mayor. My wife is not cooking for us anymore, she is all the time cooking to sell in the open market." The other is complaining: "My grandson was used to come every sunday to ask for money to buy prepaid minutes for his mobile. Now he is still coming, but knowing his grandma is also making money, he is asking to his grandma this time." That is exactly what we would like to do. Women are making money from open markets now, and shopping for themselves and their children. They have their economic freedom. Most probably, the number of divorces are going the rise in near future. But let it be. We are ready to pay for it, no matter what it costs if the women are going to be more independent and stand on their own feet." (Tunç Soyer)*

It was also implied that the points that may cause to some problems in terms of social life are being traced during the process, and the respondents denoted that there are some more difficult and important problems threatening the sustainability of the slow city philosophy. One of the most important problems causing Seferihisar to fall behind the other counterparts is mentioned to be the legal obstacles.

##### **5.4.2. Legal Obstacles**

Although acquiring cittaslow title means to accept the maximum commitment to the relevant criteria, legal regulations differing from country to country affects the harmonization process for each country. In general, respondents denoted that regarding the issues which go beyond the authority of the local government like the removal of base stations, reduction of the motorized vehicle traffic and transformation of pedestrian ways, they are experiencing hard times to cope with the legal obstacles. They also added that while trying to penetrate Cittaslow criteria in Seferihisar's city life, they are facing so many legal obstacles and endeavouring to fight against them which causes the city to fall behind the other counterparts in generating and adopting new projects.

### 5.4.3. Migration and Increased Construction Facilities

After acquiring the Cittaslow title, upsurge of population due to the increased tourism potential and migration to Seferihisar makes up an important concern for local authorities. Upsurge of population makes the sustainability of slow life in Seferihisar and gives rise to the problem of increased construction facilities.

*“...we are very close to İzmir, during the weekends lots of people are visiting here and the needs are increasing. Due to this increase in demand, the need for production and need for supply increases too. In other words, your responsibility increases. The recruitment must increase in the same ratio in here. We have to endeavor for it. Maybe it took your attention, apartments are being built continuously, people are migrating, moving here. I mean staying as a small town is difficult for Seferihisar mainly because of its position. So I think we have made a moderate progress –as a Cittaslow city-. I think being a slightly smaller town [than Seferihisar] is a great advantage to live the slow life in every sense, criteria and in every condition.” (Hande Gül Sevinç)*

Increase in population and the problems regarding construction in Seferihisar not only causes the city to fall behind other counterparts in terms of progress in Cittaslow movement, but also it increases residents’ need for public services. In the long term, if this results as a threat for the inadequacy of resources for economic cycle in Seferihisar, problems such as increased globalization pressure for the city are expected to rise.

### 5.4.4. Pressure for Globalization

Respondent Sevinç replies that globalization pressure is a threat for all Cittaslow cities, as it is for all local patterns, and adds that the global movements that go beyond the local power make the progress of slow life difficult. Local people’s participation to and internalization of the philosophy and the adoption of the same vision by the local people and local government is emphasized to be very important for fighting against the globalization pressure.

### 5.4.5. Resistance to Change

The sustainability of Cittaslow philosophy is being threatened by the resistance to change. Assuring sustainable progress is associated with fighting down the resistance via informing the public and working with visionary leaders. Respondent Sevinç implies they are endeavoring to have public commitment as:

*“We are trying to tell about our vision and how much we work to fight down the resistance. We are organizing some meetings to inform the local people. In each and every step we take we are asking for their help, as they get active positions, they are understanding and supporting more.” (Hande Gül Sevinç)*

Semmens and Freeman similarly denotes that social change would be minimal without the local people’s commitment, effort and awareness (2012: 358-359). Without those, local people do not understand and appreciate the Cittaslow philosophy. From this point of view, local people’s internalization of process is very closely related with adopting the vision.

Another point regarding the resistance to change is the concern is that, political developments and competition may block the proper application of Cittaslow practices, due to the local government's dominant role in application. These practices are fragile and unstable due to their close relationship with the local government authority in order to be applied properly. So, in order to ensure the sustainability of Cittaslow philosophy, it should be adopted by every local governmental authority irrespective of its political position. As Knox notes (2005: 7), in the long run, a new political dynamic should be organized by the local residents, local businesses and local authorities, in order to realize the Cittaslow ideals of the region. Respondents' shared point of view regarding the sustainability of Cittaslow philosophy is that, although the local government quits its commitment on it, as long as the local people wants it to continue, it will. Since the respondents think that the philosophy of Cittaslow is internalized by the residents, the philosophy will survive and continue in the long run.

## **6. Results and Discussion**

The studies carried up until now emphasized that the cities/regions that would like to develop depending on their localities should join to several groups and make collaborations with other actors in order to increase their attractiveness for consumers and create synergy (Lorenzini, 2011:1456). Therefore for Seferihisar taking the successful examples as a model for itself and taking support from other counterparts, joining the global network of Cittaslow is expected to help the city in terms of increasing its efficiency and success of practices.

This study indicated that Cittaslow movement should be handled as a collaborative sustainable development model which includes all stakeholders as participants for its own sustainability in the long run. Cittaslow provides a more holistic agenda which requires collaboration from all stakeholders to provide sustainability of the process. Network is an important platform for interaction and development for seeing and adapting successful projects. Since the economic development is provided through the local production, local production is not only accepted as a local governmental support policy, but also a process that is growing by the local people's attention and support. In Seferihisar internalization of people is tried to be provided through ascribing responsibility to them and informing them in each step to be taken. Semmens and Freeman (2012: 358-359) denotes that social change would be minimal without the local people's commitment, effort and awareness. Without those, local people do not understand and appreciate the Cittaslow philosophy. For this reason communication between administrative level and public is crucial for accomplishment. Misunderstandings must be prevented through right way of communication depending on the characteristics of the community.

Although acquiring cittaslow title means to accept the maximum commitment to the relevant criteria, legal regulations differing from country to country affects the harmonization process for each country. As one of the main actors of the collaboration process, government should increase its involvement with new environmental and social policies, incentives and restrictions to protect 'slowness' of the cities.

Although Cittaslow is offered as an alternative development model (Mayer& Knox, 2006; Pink, 2008), this study revealed that to accomplish Cittaslow, there must be a 'base line' availability of social, cultural and natural infrastructure which reflects a pre-accreditation compatibility. Defining 'base line' requires further researches with comparison of different Cittaslow network members. However as we think, this base line could be that the city should have some variety of basic unique products, consumption or production patterns which are dependent on natural resources and historical background and most importantly 'slow' lifestyle which is wanted to be retained.



Cittaslow movements' main contributions rest on the awareness that it creates regarding 'locality'. This locality may transform existing perceptions, attach positive meanings to formerly negative ones. Rise in peasantry and rise in feeling of being a native of Seferihisar could be examples for this which formerly have negative attachments because of the industrialization process of Turkey resulting devaluing peasantry and accepting it as lower social status. Thus Cittaslow supports city identity and increase collaboration in practices to follow Cittaslow criteria. In Seferihisar, locality mostly has links with past, consumption practices that were lost because of globalization and modernization and also city identity 'being from Seferihisar'. For this reason it could be interesting to investigate how meanings attached to 'locality' may change from city to city and how this affects Cittaslow practices and policies.

Cittaslow is a very culture-oriented agenda. Interactions between economic and social developments or changes result in different prospects which are reflecting managerial vision and transformations. In Seferihisar despite of economic developments, social developments are also remarkable indicating a radical change like dissolution of patriarchal social structure and favourable change in status of women in social life. However, the study also addressed the negative consequence of this radicality – eg. increase in divorce rates – which may be seen as a threat to Cittaslow philosophy. But from another point of view, this indicates how Cittaslow movement pushing its own boundaries and gaining a more social project perspective. For a deeper understanding, comparing different cities' social outcomes in Turkey context and then comparison on a global basis could be another research agenda.

In Seferihisar, social transformations are driven by economic gainings which lead us to think that there is still a gap in understanding of Cittaslow philosophy. Although leadership is needed as a control agent, underlying goal is about 'sustainability' instead of 'self-interests'. Projects about children and youth will be more helpful to realize sustainability as a life-style especially in the long run.

Cittaslow movement began by four municipalities of Italy by conveying the movement to city level and reached global level with involvement of different cities who share the same vision. However, global nature of the movement has a different meaning inherently. In network, each city is getting developed in its own way and applying network criteria in a suitable way to their unique structure. In other words, by offering liberty for choosing options to cities, the global structure of network is away from being dominant as contemporary globalization. By this way, it hinders cities to be alike by homogenization and support their uniquenesses creating "slow-global" approach supporting local economy development. However, increased awareness regarding slow movements about slow lifestyle resulted in increase in migration toward slow cities in Turkey as in the case of Seferihisar. This results in a paradox in global-local axis. As slow cities become more attractive to people, especially after retirement, they opt to settle in these cities increasing population and challenging cities on the way to 'be slow'.

As the literature mostly discusses the positive sides of the movement and development in local economy, this study contributes to the gap in the bigger frame: The changing nature of the Cittaslow movement, particularly, the rising paradox of getting faster as you try to 'slow down'. Naturally, economical developments are important but more importantly, how these developments transform social life in terms of social roles and changing structures as unanswered question is also addressed in this study contributing to the existing literature.

The main limitation of the study is its one-sided point of view with municipality Cittaslow team members which can be enriched with including consumers' perspectives and comparing them to analyze understandings at different levels of the process. A longitudinal study could be an appropriate tool for this to see social and economic transformations in the long-term.

Being attacked by the powerful and successful global players' dominant promotional facilities, local businesses are trying to operate in very difficult conditions in local economies. (Jones, Shears, Hillier, Comfort & Lowell, 2003: 302). So, the communities and the collaborations may take the form of global networks among cities and also among the local businesses within these cities. The local business networks will allow the businesses to share the best practices and have a win-win result for all of the parties (Tencati & Zsolnai, 2012: 352). Because being strong and fighting against the global players is possible for the local and small businesses only by making collaborations in several fields.

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