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## Increasing the role of local initiatives in creating liveable cities: Bodrum local habitat

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**INCREASING THE ROLE OF LOCAL INITIATIVES IN CREATING LIVEABLE CITIES: BODRUM LOCAL HABITAT**

“Liveability”, which describes the characteristics of a “good community”, was proposed by the Turkish delegation during the preparation works of Habitat II Conference, as complementary to the principle of sustainability. “Liveable cities” were then explained in detail in Turkish National Report with stating that local liveability criteria can be developed in the hands of local initiatives. So increasing the role of local initiatives in order to make the citizens to stand as protectors to their cities, was accepted as one of the basic principles of making our cities to survive as liveable places. And the best way of achieving this goal was the formation of large city-wide meetings which collect all the actors to discuss their problems. These formations are called Local Habitats.

The paper covers a discussion about the first Local Habitat realized in Bodrum on September 1996. This was the first experience in Turkey which prepared the necessary grounds of increasing the role of local initiatives in the formulation of urban policy concerns such as the physical problems originating from Bodrum’s growth as one of the most important tourism centers of Turkey, and the citizens’ worries about its deteriorating local characteristics. This discussion will be centered around two points: The current unliveable structure of Bodrum which led to the formation of first Local Habitat in that city and Bodrum Local Habitat’s success in enabling a lot of people from the mayor to the academicians and citizens to come together to discuss these problems in an unhierarchical organization.

# **INCREASING THE ROLE OF LOCAL INITIATIVES IN CREATING LIVEABLE CITIES: BODRUM LOCAL HABITAT**

## **1. The Principle of Liveability**

Liveability can be basically described as the determinant of quality of life, the citizens expect from their living environments. So it coincides with the economic, social, environmental and aesthetic expectations of human beings from their living environments.

C.A. Doxiadis describes such an expectation as follows:

“The city must guarantee everybody the best possible development under conditions of freedom and safety and thus it becomes a specific goal to fit the city to Man... We always have to think how the city can best be built to fit human needs.” (Doxiadis, in Pressman, 1981:i)

Deterioration of local values and decreasing life quality have become one of the primary considerations of researchers especially following 1970s, to develop the liveability criteria of human settlements. However, a conceptual analysis of these criteria to become a principle of liveability, was the subject of Habitat II Conference held in Istanbul in 1996.

### **1.1. A Conceptual Analysis of “Liveability” and Liveable “Cities”**

Liveability principle which describes the characteristics of a “good community”, was proposed by the Turkish delegation during the preparation works of Habitat II, as complementary to the principle of sustainability. Before the development of liveability criteria, there was not a principle which described the characteristics of a good settlement pattern. So in an environment where there was not a consensus on the principles to be sustained, the goal of sustainable development had been strongly criticized.

There was not a consensus on which of the characteristics of the cities that have economic, social and physical differences will be sustained, and /or which characteristics should they earn and sustain. Such discussions prepared the necessary grounds for the development of another principle that would support and even complete the sustainability principle. The reasons of this was described in Habitat II Report as follows:

“Sustainability is a condition that must be realized. It does not bring a binding element about how settlements should be... It does not give the ability of making a choice among alternative settlement patterns as the best one. Thus, sustainability can have a meaning only with the principle of liveability.” (Habitat II,1996:76)

The aim was to determine the characteristics of a liveable city that will be sustained with the principles of equity and civic engagement (Habitat II,1995:79-81).

In Habitat Report liveability is described as the performance criteria on which the societies have come to an agreement, as the conditions of a human settlement and eighteen characteristics are put forward for the settlements to be liveable. Liveability which contains a variety of principles from the efficiency of infrastructural facilities to the conservation of historical and architectural heritage, describes the prerequisites of a liveable settlement (Habitat II,1996:78).

However, it has also been stated that these expectations and demands from a settlement to be liveable vary from time to time and from settlement to settlement. For this reason, the liveability of human settlements can not be tested with a set of standardized criteria. Thus, success of development and planning policies related with human settlements, can only be achieved through observation, decision making and implementation processes containing the elements of continuous consultation and widespread participation techniques (ibid.:77-78).

So every human settlement should develop its own liveability criteria within a process of participative decision-making in which every individual have the same rights and powers of discussion.

## **2.2. The Role of Local Initiatives in Creating Livable Cities**

Until recently, the responsibility of producing solutions for the problems related with urban settlements, was in the hands of central authorities. But it has been seen that the central authorities are not capable of perceiving the needs of different individuals and groups living in a society because they differentiate according to their expectations and demands

from urban life. So, the central authorities have been blamed to be producing solutions within a limited scope in the framework of existing systems of urban policy making. Conclusively, most of the needs related with the quality of life can not be provided also with the effects of economic and social inefficiencies originating from the existing systems of urban policy making.

This was one of the discussions during the preparation works of Habitat II Conference. It was generally accepted that in order to produce the best solutions for the problems of human settlements, the central governments should provide a participative decision making model in the process of urban policy making. This process should contain a consensus making environment with the participation of all actors in the society.

“For the description of problems, for producing solutions and for the planning and financing of these solutions, the central authorities should share the responsibility and power with the local authorities, civil society organizations and the citizens.” (Gülöksüz,1997:19)

### **1.2.1. Democratization of Power Mechanisms**

The principles of liveability, sustainability and equity which were developed during the preparation works of Habitat II Conference, described the objectives of a new settlement pattern. On the other hand, the principles of urban governance, enablement and civic engagement which were developed as the means of achieving the objectives, determined a new government system depending upon the agreement of all actors in a society.

In this model, the role of the state changes from being the only power in urban decision-making to the enabler of the local initiatives.

“It takes the role of developing the capacities of the actors in the society who can more easily describe their own problems and produce solutions within a process of consensus-making.” (ibid.:20)

However, the success of such a model, depends upon the existence of citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities from their living environments and their abilities in producing solutions for their problems in a participative environment.

Support of participation depends on the description of democracy. One should expect from democracy, democratization of political occasions and development of social dynamics to become a political power. This needs restructuring of social dynamics in the hands of civil society to be organized with partnerships that will spread every activity into society in the public area. However, participation does not depend only on the existence of its techniques that will appear with participative and pluralist governance, in the planning process. In other words it does not only depend upon the existence of small public areas where people will be willing to participate in compromise and which encourages people to be participative. Participation, moreover, depends on the citizen's perceptions of his/her problems and needs, and on the individual's motivation and participatory skills. Thus, together with developing the concepts that will describe participation in the scale of society and providing the institutional opportunities, citizens should be educated, participation should be prepared for implementation and be made simpler in practice.

Thus, development of a participative decision-making model basically depends on the democratization of power mechanisms which will bring the powers and resources of all the actors in a locality into action. On the other hand increasing the organizational capacities of the actors appears to be another condition of achieving the objectives of Habitat II Conference.

Civil society organizations take place in between private and public areas. They approach private area as the reflections of compromise of the individual desires but, because they also need a degree of accompaniance, they contain a public power as well. Here existence of the state as the symbol of public area is inevitable. State will guarantee the existence of private area, and will deal with the problems which cannot be handled where conflicts may appear. However, public area should also be supported by an equal participation of the individuals in order to sustain its functions and provide its legality. Such a practice of participation can only be achieved with the creation of an area of negotiation supported by the private area. Because of its political structure, public area does not allow the creation of the private. In fact, political environments are the centers of conflict and violence rather than being the centers of compromise.

Plurality and unity of differences are the preliminary points of current democracy definition. So, when talking about different social groups, who know how to live together rather than a group of people homogenized under the power of nation-states, one will talk about a number of small scale public areas in direct relation with private areas instead of a unique public area. Thus every intervention will be developed for not only one public good but for a variety of public goods. Within this framework, a civil society organization can be defined as a small public area redefined in an organization of compromise within the mechanisms of an active participation process.

### **1.2.2. Formation of Local Habitats**

All the discussions above prove the fact that achievement of the objective of liveability, should not be expected from the state only. Civil society organizations and the local authorities should also be given responsibility. These institutions can realize this by preparing Local Habitats that will carry the principles of Habitat II Conference to the local scale. This is a process of developing the comprehension of the individuals living in urban settlements of standing, as protectors to their rights and the consciousness and excitement of taking responsibility in the realization of these rights (Tekeli,1996:8).

So for the preparation of Local Habitats, all of the actors in the locality should be organized to work in a participative environment. However, such an organization should not contain hierarchical relations. Tekeli describes the reasons as such:

“If you expect a high degree of participation with individuals willing to take responsibility and to bring their creative minds and powers into action, the organization should not be a hierarchical one which would try to control every activity. Voluntary participation mechanisms which are open to the participation of the interested and to the departure of the uninterested, should be the cornerstones of such an organization.” (ibid:9)

Tekeli also clarifies that two different types of organizations can be formed for the development of a local habitat: Neighborhood organizations and problem-specific organizations. Neighborhood organizations will be formed with the participation of the individuals living in that neighborhood in order to discuss their own problems. However

problem-specific organizations will be developed specific to local problems. In localities containing derelict areas that should be renewed, this problem can provide the realization of such a problem-specific organization so that renewal of the area can be achieved through the interaction of neighborhood organizations and problem-specific organization(s).

The most important characteristic of these organizations is their unhierarchical system in which every participant has the equal rights. For this reason, there are not managers but there are “facilitators” who enable the formation of organization meetings and provide communication among the participants.

Neighborhood and problem-specific organizations working in different subjects should come together in a local organization as well, for providing communication among them and producing a work program that will collect the problems, their solutions and the actors who will take responsibility in solution making and in implementations. But, this organization should not be a hierarchical one either, the local organization should not be in the position of a manager. It should be formed in such a way that it will appear only as an area in which decisions of different organizations are put forward and discussed and everybody reaches to a consensus. So this organization should not be confused with the political public area. Local authorities are one of the actors of these organizations, they should not be considered as the bodies of control in such meetings.

The advantages of such an organizational pattern are summarized by Tekeli as follows:

“The problems will be more realistic because they will be determined with the participation of the individuals living in that settlement... A variety of resources and possibilities which can not be perceived from afar, will be brought into action. A mutual learning process... will develop a new level of consciousness in the public area of the organizations and put forward a new meaning of responsibility.”(ibid)

## **2. Bodrum Local Habitat**

In Turkey, formation of local habitats has been accepted to be necessary for providing the implementation of global and national action plans to achieve the objectives of Habitat II



Conference. Thus, Bodrum, a peninsula in the south-western part of Turkey, was chosen as the first implementation area.

## **2.1. The Reasons of Formation of First Local Habitat in Bodrum**

Tekeli stressed on the fact that determination of the scale of the locality is very important for the preparation of local habitats.

“This decision should be given by the local actors. But... it is worth to contain the areas required by the most prominent activity or problem.” (ibid:10)

Within the framework of such an approach, deteriorating local values and decreasing life quality coincide the most prominent problems of both the settlement and the country, originating from Bodrum’s growth as one of the most important tourism centers of Turkey.

For this reason, the initiative of producing a work program for the whole peninsula with the aim of developing local liveability criteria in order to increase the life quality in this area, came from the Akdeniz Ülkeleri Akademisi Vakfı (Foundation of Mediterranean Countries Academy) and Bodrum Local Authority.

Thus the local initiatives took the primary role in taking responsibility for increasing the liveability of Bodrum. As a matter of fact, there has been a long tradition of civic engagement and citizen participation practice and a consciousness of civil society organizations in Bodrum. So the responsibility of local initiatives in regaining the local values and thus providing the liveability of this littoral settlement, developed spontaneously. This factor has become the second reason of Bodrum’s selection as the first local habitat area, in addition to its deteriorating local values.

## **2.1. Deterioration of Local Values**

Bodrum, the early Halikarnassos, is situated in the province of Muğla, in the southwestern corner of Turkey. The settlement was the center of sponge fishing, shipbuilding and mandarin export (Hoffmeyer, Poulson, 1972:10). However, following 1950s which indicate

to a turning point in the socio-economic development of Muđla province, Muđla has begun to lose its original characteristics. Afterwards with the 1970s, a rapid development in tourism sector revived the commercial, service, construction and transportation activities and led to the restructuring of economic and social lives and their reflections on physical space in the littoral settlements of Muđla province, especially in Bodrum. (Table 1)

**Table 1: Dispersion of the Employees According to Economic Sectors in 1990 (%)**

Sectors	Bodrum	Muđla Province	Turkey
Agriculture	1.60	60.67	53.66
Manufacturing	10.04	5.93	11.90
Building			
Construction	14.43	7.26	5.06
Commerce, hotel,			
restaurants	32.59	8.93	7.93
Transportation	11.19	3.38	3.32
Banks-Insurance	6.86	1.75	2.32
Service	21.06	10.18	
14.30			
Other	1.83	2.44	1.51
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
Employed/Population	50.26	54.78	41.40

**Source:** DÝE, 1990, in Bodrum/Muđla Ýlave+Revizyon Ýmar Planý Arařtırma Raporu, 1998, Ankara.

However, Bodrum conserved its original settlement pattern until very recently with a low rate of population growth. Because means of transportation to this littoral settlement were improved in 1980s. Especially with the opening of an airport in Bodrum, this settlement has become one of the most important tourism centers of Turkey and its population showed an extraordinary growth pattern between 1985 and 1990. (Table 2)

As it can be seen in Table 2, the annual population growth rate in the center of Bodrum is 9.61 % which is more than the growth rate in urban areas of Turkey, 4.31 % and in

provinces, 6.18 %. (Table 3) However, in summers the total population increases to 5-6 times that of in winters, reaching to approximately 300 000.

**Table 2: Population Growth in Bodrum Peninsula (1950-1990)**

		1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
Bodrum (Center)	P %	4701 -	4848 0.62	5047 0.80	5136 0.35	6077 3.36	7858 5.14	9799 4.41	12949 5.57	20931 9.61
Bodrum (Rural areas)	P %	2530 -	2609 0.62	3165 3.94	3426 1.59	3297 -0.76	3371 0.44	3540 0.98	3993 2.43	5898 8.11
Karaova*	P %	5326 -	5698 1.36	6244 2.81	6856 1.89	7451 1.68	7818 0.97	7970 0.39	8629 1.60	9529 2.00
Turgutreis*	P %	3591 -	3972 2.04	4170 0.98	4265 0.45	4436 0.79	4511 0.34	4981 2.00	5497 1.99	9405 11.34
Ortakent*	P %	5886 -	5787 -0.34	6062 0.93	6128 0.22	6122 -0.02	5932 0.62	6227 0.97	6898 2.07	11058 9.90
TOTAL	P %	22034 -	22914 -0.02	24688 -2.29	25811 0.89	27383 1.18	29490 1.48	32517 1.95	37966 3.10	56821 8.06

P: Population, %: Annual growth rate

\*Other important settlement areas in Bodrum peninsula

**Source:** Bodrum/Muđla Ýlave+Revizyon Ýmar Planý Araptyýrma Raporu, 1998, Ankara.

**Table 3: Population Growth Rates in Important Tourism Centers of Turkey (Annual %)**

	1950-55	1955-60	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	1980-85	1985-90
Bodrum	0.62	0.80	0.35	3.36	5.14	4.41	5.57	9.60
Ayvalýk	4.92	-0.81	0.24	1.62	0.43	1.42	1.97	3.67
Kuþadasý	1.56	1.83	1.06	4.02	2.57	7.22	7.30	8.15
Alanya	3.90	4.59	4.11	3.76	4.20	3.62	5.17	12.04
Çeþme	2.52	-2.45	1.83	-0.64	5.87	3.99	9.01	14.23
Marmaris	-0.68	6.59	1.31	2.61	5.77	6.66	3.94	11.07

Fethiye	4.91	6.12	1.71	4.75	3.56	2.36	8.11	3.69
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**Source:** Bodrum/Muðla Ýlave+Revizyon Ýmar Planý Araþtýrma Raporu, 1998, Ankara.

The basic reason of this population growth in recent years, is the development of tourism sector following 1970s and especially after 1980. Another reason is a recent trend of the people living in big cities, to own a house “secondary house” in littoral settlements and especially in the ones having active tourism facilities. Bodrum is one of the first choice of this trend.

Today, the historical urban fabric and the natural beauties of Bodrum have been destroyed for the development of tourism facilities and the secondary houses. The secondary houses have been built along the coasts thus creating a wall between the sea and the central parts on the one hand and they have been spreading on the hills through the mandarin and orange gardens. (Figures 1 and 2)

Halikarnas Balýkçýsý (Cevat Þakir Kabaaðaçlý. Poet and author lived in Bodrum. He is famous with his wonderful poems and stories about this town) described Bodrum in *Aganta Burina Burinata* as follows:

“We departed from Palamut Bay. We got the smell of orange and mandarin trees when we went around the Tekin Cape. However we were 18 miles in the offing... The very blue coast was laying in front my eyes after my heart while we were passing Bodrum. It was such a clean and pure white on the blueness of the sea... the light changed its accent because it was night. The white city became light blue...” (Halikarnas Balýkçýsý, in Erez,1996:12-13)

Oranges and mandarins which were once produced for the national markets, are consumed only in Bodrum today. The primary reason of this occasion can be summarized as such: The producers destroy their gardens in order to open the agricultural lands to the construction of secondary houses and tourism facilities although there are legal restrictions. The owners of the gardens develop some methods to overcome the restrictions. They do not look after their gardens and wait them to destroy, etc. The inhabitants of Bodrum who could not catch a certain level of development by being an agricultural settlement for years, are now in an expectation of profit making in current circumstances. Nonetheless, 65 % of settlement areas in Bodrum was covered with secondary houses and tourism facilities in 1996 (Çevre Sempozyumu,1997:5).

These problems are summarized in Bodrum Work Program as such:

“The arrangements... are far from meeting the needs in Bodrum, failures in our living environment are unavoidable, unplanned and uncontrollable, there are great inefficiencies in the infrastructural and service systems, water, sewage and purification systems are not efficient for the population of Bodrum... As a result of a dense and unplanned building structure, the natural and historical environments have been deteriorating, visual, environmental and noise pollution have reached to peak points; the original social identity of the settlement and civic engagement pattern have been damaged; the development of social, cultural, infrastructural, educational services do not cope with the growth dynamics of Bodrum peninsula.” (Bodrum Work Program,1997:80)

Yet, the blueness of the sea left its place to green as a result of the inefficiency of infrastructural facilities in return for an increasing density in the built-up area.

### **2.1.2. Existence of a Tradition of Civic Engagement**

The reformist side of Bodrum Local Habitat is its formation by the voluntary initiatives of “Civil Public Area”’s free individuals. Each organizational body was formed with the voluntary participation of the inhabitants of Bodrum and civil society organizations in subjects they were interested in (Gülöksüz,1997:21).

As a matter of fact, these institutions had been working since years but they could have not created a civil public area because they were not organized. The local authority in Bodrum has been supporting a transparent and democratic government approach. For instance, since 1994 the mayor of Bodrum has been making the council meetings open to the citizens in order to make them to learn every decision given for their living environments. The mayor has also been organizing neighborhood meetings with the department heads of the local authority, twice a month in order to discuss the problems of each neighborhood with its inhabitants. Additionally, the Bodrum local authority has been arranging “Consultative Committee” meetings, in order to work with the civil society organizations in Bodrum (Üç Yılyın Öyküsü,1996:9-10).

The existence of such participative mechanisms is the result of a consciousness of civic engagement and a habitude of citizen participation which prepared the necessary grounds of the realization of first Local Habitat in Bodrum. As the existing civil society organizations had been working on the problems of this settlement, it took only 1.5 months

for them to make the preparations of the Local Habitat. During 1.5 months the organizations prepared reports describing their primary subjects and problems.

So it can be clarified that the existence of a tradition of civic engagement and civil society organizations facilitated the production of common solutions in a peaceful environment. The meetings in Bodrum were realized spontaneously and the Local Habitat brought in an organizational framework to this activity and provided the achievement of a concrete result.

## **2.2. Realization of Bodrum Local Habitat**

As it has been stated before, Bodrum Local Habitat project was presented to the civil society organizations active in Bodrum, local authorities in the peninsula and the representatives of central authority, with the initiative of Akdeniz Ülkeleri Akademisi Vakfı and Bodrum local authority in a meeting held in Bodrum on 31st August 1996. The aim of this meeting was to inform the local actors about the principles of Habitat II Conference and to start the realization process of Bodrum Local Habitat.

### **2.2.1. Basic Approach and Realization Process**

After two meetings on 31st August 1996 and 8th September 1996, the preparation works started. The basic goal of Bodrum Local Habitat was to bring out the problems, primary subjects of Bodrum, to describe them, to propose realistic solutions, to fix the works to be done and the actors to work on these subjects with the participation of all public institutions, local authorities, civil society organizations, professional organizations, foundations, associations, clubs, individual groups and all the citizens of Bodrum who have the aim of working for this settlement and the peninsula and thus to produce a concrete, realistic and applicable work program for a liveable Bodrum.

These could be realized in the hands of local initiatives organized for different objectives. Thus the actors came together in 25 organizations to work for Bodrum Local Habitat. Bodrum Habitat organization was formed with:

- Participants: Individuals taking responsibility.
- Organizations: Working groups that were formed with the voluntary contribution of a variety of institutions and individuals working on the same problems/subjects. There is an organization facilitator and a number of participants in each organization.
- The Facilitator Committee: This committee facilitates the works of the organizations, transforms their reports into a work program, transfers information between the organizations and the participants.
- The Landlord Committee: This committee has the responsibility of planning, organization and realization of Bodrum Local Habitat and of the activities that would take place during the Conference (Bodrum Work Program,1997:26-27).

350 participants worked in 25 organizations and produced their reports and presented to the Facilitator Committee. The committee worked on these reports and produced a draft report for the work program. On 5th October 1996 a third meeting was held to discuss the first draft and a second draft report was produced containing 35 primary subjects by the committee. This report was discussed and accepted as Bodrum Work Program in Bodrum Local Habitat Conference held on 17-21 October 1996, with the participation of all of the organizations and participants, the representatives of central and local authorities and the academicians.

### **2.2.2. Bodrum Work Program**

The content of the work program was composed of a list of subjects of priority, the importance of each subject, solutions proposed, works to be done and actor(s) who would take the responsibility, as in the case of Habitat National Report. 37 subjects of priority were put forward from determination of tourism areas in the peninsula, development of building controls to the development of democratic approaches in decision-making with the aim of increasing the liveability of Bodrum (Bodrum Work Program,1997:40-79).

Additionally, a declaration was published that described the subjects of Bodrum Habitat Conference, determined the problems of Bodrum peninsula and stressed on the role of local

initiatives in developing solutions for these problems (Bodrum Work Program,1997:80-81).

### **2.3. Implementation Process of the Bodrum Local Habitat**

The organizations began to work on the subjects of priority following the last meeting on 21st September 1996. A Local Habitat Implementation and Control Coordination Unit was established by the organizations in order to provide the unity of the works. New organizations were formed in different settlement areas of the peninsula and they made important contributions to the work program.

The approval of the work program by the Bodrum local authority to support every work that will be done to increase the liveability of Bodrum facilitated the implementations. Additionally, meetings, forums, etc. have been continuing with the participation of Habitat and civil society organizations, architects, urban planners, representatives of the political parties and the inhabitants of Bodrum for the realization of the work program. Bodrum Peninsula Environment Symposium held in Bodrum on 15-19 February 1998, is an example of such efforts in which the deterioration of natural characteristics and the Habitat organizations' approaches to this problem were briefly discussed. A civic declaration, within the framework of the work program, was also published in order to develop civic engagement and to make the citizens to stand as protectors to their living environments.

The Organization of Urban and Urbanization which is one of the 25 Habitat organizations, decided to examine the 1/25 000 scale Environmental Plan of the peninsula and to make a research on the tourism areas and secondary houses in Bodrum. Meetings were organized in which urbanization problems were deeply discussed in order to make proposals for the solutions of these problems and it was clarified that 1/5000 scale regulation plan of Bodrum should be renewed with the participation of all the actors in the society and the inhabitants of Bodrum within the framework of the work program.

However, the existence of a 1/25 000 scale plan which was prepared by the central authority, performs a binding element for the decisions that will be given in a smaller scale



like 1/5000 because urban plans are prepared in a hierarchy in Turkish planning system. Although 1/5000 plan preparation is the responsibility of the local authorities, this plan is shaped up with the decisions of the 1/25 000. Nonetheless, the local authority decided to make plan revisions in the existing 1/5000 regulation plan of the Bodrum peninsula and gave this work to a planning bureau located in Ankara in 1998. Thus a 1/5000 scale Partial+Revision Plan was prepared.

It was stated in the analytical research report of this plan that the existing settlement areas are not efficient for Bodrum's economic growth. So new settlement areas should be opened with partial plans where there is a tendency of growth. These areas are generally rural settlements and agricultural lands and showed as special production areas which should be conserved. However these areas have already been covered with tourism facilities and secondary houses (Bodrum/Muğla İlave+Revizyon İlmar Planı Araştırma Raporu, 1998:37-38).

Although such an approach is contrary to the work program and some of the plan proposals were not accepted by the Urbanization Organization, this plan was finished and has been waiting to be approved. Thus, it is a fact that economic expectations are still ahead of liveability discussions in an environment without the elements of a mature entrepreneurialist model of urban government.

Another approach contrary to the decisions of the work program, came from the central authority as well. The Ministry of Forest decided to rent some of the forests in tourism areas for tourism facilities. Meetings have been organized, a petition was prepared with the signatures of the citizens and sent to the Ministry in order to stop this occasion.

At the other end of the spectrum inexistence of political support constitutes another obstacle to the realization of the work program. Nonetheless, a meeting was organized by the Local Policy Organization that would collect the representatives of all political parties and Habitat Coordination Unit in order to carry the work program to the political platform but only one political party participated to the meeting.

On the other hand the Bodrum local authority can not defend the work program in the presence of an enormous demand originating from Bodrum's extraordinary growth patterns, especially the secondary houses. Approval of 1/25 000 scale plan by the central authority has also been affecting the investment demands from all over the country. Conclusively, neither the local authority nor the civil society organizations can resist to the decisions of the central authority to transfer the agricultural lands to mass housing, to open forest lands to construction and/or to assign them to tourism facilities.

All of the Habitat organizations have been studying in order to stop such occasions and thus to be an example for the other local initiatives that will be formed in future. The Local Habitat Coordination Committee continues its works of control with seven participants. The participants change in every 3-4 months through elections and they organize meetings every month.

However, the current situation is clear: The success of these initiatives depends on an act of going over the current laws, regulations and implementations. Thus, transfer of these discussions to the political platforms and support of the government authorities appear to be the primary conditions for the enablement of local initiatives.

### **3. Conclusion**

In spite of the repercussions of the realization of Bodrum work program that have been discussed above, Bodrum declaration developed a belief on citizen consciousness for solving the problems of human settlements. The individuals who have been working to increase the quality of life since years but without an organizational system and even unconsciously, now believe that they can solve at least some of the problems with their own initiatives in a participative environment and bring conciliatory formations into action (Bodrum Work Program,1997:81).

Bodrum Local Habitat achieved its preliminary goal as a reformist effort in which all these thoughts and practices were tested.

“The aim of these works is to earn more liveable environments with the development of citizen consciousness that will make the citizens to be aware of their rights and responsibilities from their settlement areas and to collect them in an organization to look for common solutions.” (Gülöksüz,1997:22)

A member of the Urbanization Organization, Bülent Bardak, summarized the positive aspects of Bodrum Local Habitat as follows:

- It provided the local institutions and individuals to come together in an organizational platform.
  - It brought in an acceleration to the civil society organizations for the formation of a new behavioral and participational tradition.
  - It assisted the civic demands to earn a systematic procedure.
  - It made the current means and aims visible.
  - It developed a habitude of participation in implementations and control activities.
- (Bardak,1997:2)

Thus, the citizens of Bodrum, civil society organizations and local institutions -the actors- showed that every individual and group in a society should take the responsibility of their living environments. The implementations proved the fact that preparation of work programs is not enough for increasing the role of local initiatives. Democratization of power mechanisms by enabling the local actors, transfer and share of administrative powers and responsibilities are the prerequisites of success.

However, Bodrum Local Habitat was the first effort and it should not be forgotten that:

“Preparation of an agenda for a local habitat is a project for the development of quality of environment and life. But... it is actually a project for the development of democracy. It tries to find solutions to the problems that representative democracy face with, by forming a civil society public area.” (Tekeli,1996:90)

The realization and continuation of such a project will need time and effort through a process of mutual learning. Each little success will determine the possibility of another effort. Nonetheless, an increasing level of citizen participation and consciousness in Bodrum led to the formation of local habitats in two other settlements. In fact, increasing the number of Local Habitats is termed to be one of the most promising factors of urban

entrepreneurialism for the planning of Turkish cities preparing themselves for the 21st century.

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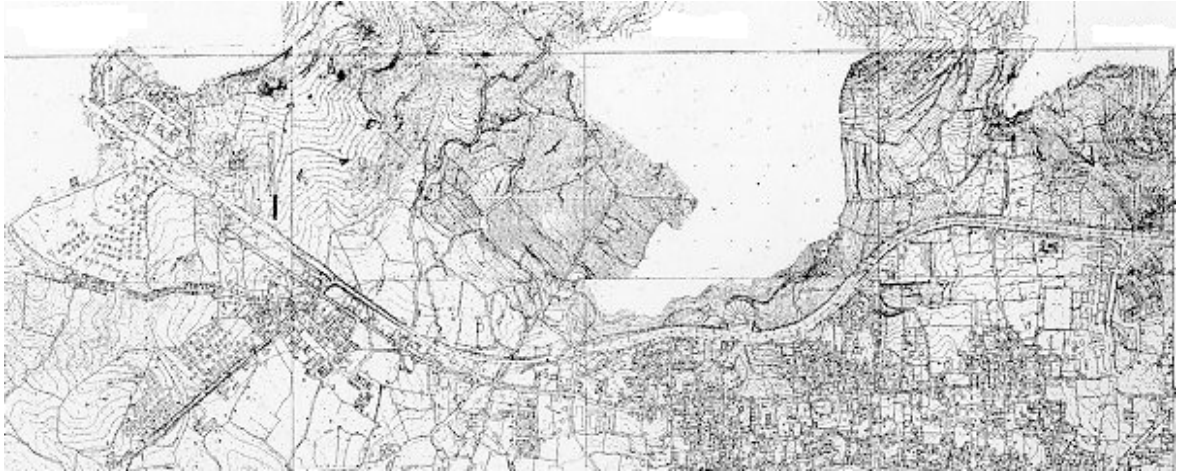
Üç Yıllık Öyküsü, Bodrum Belediyesi, 1994-1996.



**Figure 2: Up: Bodrum in 1950**

**Source:** Ýstanköyaltý Bodrum, Selçuk Erez, Bilgi Yayýnevi, 1996, Ankara.

**Down: Bodrum in 1997**



**Figure 1: Up: The land use map of Bodrum in 1988**  
**Down: The land use map of Bodrum in 1996**