

AN ANALYSIS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN IDENTITY:
CASE STUDY OF BODRUM

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN IDENTITY: CASE STUDY OF BODRUM

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Urban identity can be defined as the intuition of the user, concerning the unique appearance of a city, which unifies environmental, historical, socio-cultural, functional, and spatial values in urban space. In that sense, whether negative or positive, the impacts of the urban developments and differentiations, on physical environment and the user, cause to differ the impression about the urban space and the identity features. Bodrum town started lose its spatial, architectural, socio-cultural, functional, local values and urban identity, which were remaining before 1970s, with the wrongly planned and managed developments. In that sense, the objective of the thesis is to analyze this

transformation process through the framework of urban morphology, urban functions, and meanings in urban space, and besides three study areas that were chosen in neighborhood scale are going to be analyzed considering the urban transformation that take place after 1970s within the context of planning approaches. In conclusion, some suggestions will be given to strengthen and sustain the remaining urban identity features in present time.

Keywords: Urban identity, urban transformation, tourism

ÖZ

BİR KENT KİMLİĞİ DÖNÜŞÜM ANALİZİ: BODRUM ÖRNEĞİ

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Kent kimliği, kente dair çevresel, tarihsel, sosyo-kültürel, işlevsel ve mekansal değerlerin meydana getirdiği özgün imgenin kullanıcıda yarattığı izlenim olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu anlamda zaman içinde kentte yaşanan gelişim ve değişimlerin kentsel mekanda ve kullanıcıda bıraktığı olumlu veya olumsuz etkiler, kente dair izlenimin ve kimliğin de değişmesine sebep olmaktadır. Bodrum kenti, 1970 öncesi mekanda, mimaride, sosyo-kültürel ve işlevler anlamında sahip olduğu yerel değerleri ve kent kimliğini, turizmde yaşanan doğru planlanamamış ve yönetilememiş gelişim ve girişimlerle yitirmeye başlamıştır. Bu anlamda bu tezin amacı, bu dönüşüm sürecini kentsel morfoloji, kentsel işlevler, ve kente yüklenen anlamlar çerçevesinde tahlil etmek, buna ek olarak, mahalle

ölçeğinde seçilen üç çalışma alanının 1970 sonrası yaşadığı mekansal dönüşümü planlama süreçleri kapsamında çözümlenecektir. Sonuç olarak, günümüze gelindiğinde, kentsel kimliğe dair halihazırda kalan değerlerin sürdürülebilmesi ve güçlendirilmesi konusunda, bazı önerilerde bulunulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kent kimliği, kentsel dönüşüm, turizm

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION

G.E.E.A.Y.K.....Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu

M.K.T.V.K.K.....Muğla Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Some sort of places have a different and singular character and spirit in its inside. This may be a neighborhood or the city that we live, a street or a park that we walk, but what makes it singular in our mind, is the place identity that we perceive. This sense of place cannot just be estimated as the physical environment in itself, but besides, the existence and reflection of the historical and socio-cultural values of people in a place are also the important components of that identity formation. Today, recognizable cities with their unique urban character can be seen as the ones, which are survived with their historical and cultural values nearby the spatial and architectural characteristics. It is regrettably hard to talk about the abundance of that kind of cities in Turkey; above and beyond, what is more serious is, the lack of identity problem in most of the cities.

Wide range of factors differ the meaning of cities over time, whether incrementally or not, they may irreplaceably lost their natural, historical, cultural and spatial characteristics through the means of their unique identity features. In a

sense, cities become architecturally, spatially similar and monotonous and lost their recognizable characteristics and attractiveness in people's minds. Nearby the physical deteriorations, differentiations in economical and political pressures also arises new problems and requirements in urban space. Throughout the periods, these transformations in urban space also lead to the change in urban identities.

In this sense, the aim of the thesis is to concentrate on the transformation process of identity issue in urban space. While doing this, the essence of urban identity is going to be examined in the first place. Therefore, it is important to say that, the essence of urban identity needs consciousness about the meaning of urban space; sense of being a city-dweller and knowing the natural, artificial, historical and cultural values of urban environment. However, in Turkey, people become aware of the environmental issues when they start to lose it. Some of whom prefer destroying instead of protecting it. Some people luckily live in it, as the part of it. Maybe, some people need time to have that kind of consciousness. The one, who knows the essence of urban identity in theory, can sometimes do nothing virtually. It can be said that, dissimilar lifestyles, experiences, and senses can evaluate the issue from different viewpoints. In this point, it is hard to talk about a common vision or an effort of the community about the conservation of the unique urban heritage. That is why, cities, which have urban identity characteristics in Turkey, lost their irreplaceable features piece by piece. The economical and political reasons and factors behind this problem are countless however; the solutions ought to be as well. Although no one desires such transformation and destruction in cities, every generation becomes the responsible

of this ugly similarity, which turns out to be the latest identity of the urban environment. In that sense, the essence of urban identity is going to be pointed out initially.

In the second place, characteristics of urban identity are going to be examined to respond and figure out, in which circumstances, people talk about the identity of a city. Nearby, through the formation of an identity, the variables of urban space gain importance in both evaluating and analyzing the cities. While examining these issues, complementing viewpoints of some challenging references will also be considered. However, in particular, with the reference to the approach of Relph, the framework of the study is going to be characterized in three parts, as the urban morphology, urban functions, and meanings.

Most of the historical, environmental, socio-cultural, functional, and spatial variables that we know about urban space are the components of urban identity formation as well, that is why, the issue can be analyzed and evaluated from different dimensions and viewpoints. By considering the case of Bodrum, the urban identity of the town can also be criticized from different perspectives that, the socio-cultural values and economic parameters are totally differentiated in the course of years. Underneath the reasons behind this differentiation, the inevitable tourism potential of the region and the planning processes of the town have a significant role.

Bodrum, which was a small “fisher town” until 1970s, is today under the treatment of the overdevelopment of tourism sector that the whole peninsula have been dominated by touristic investments and second housing constructions for

three decades. As the outcome of these developments, not only the center of the town but also the whole peninsula turned out to be a white concrete block without any empty space nearby the sea. That is because; the town is now trying to suffice this unlimited demand by exceeding its carrying capacity with its new image.

It is obvious that, the image of the place transformed from “fisher town” into a “vacation site”. Today, people, who have experienced only the last ten years of Bodrum, identify the town as a popular excitement place with its twenty-four hours entertainment facilities and trendy beaches. On the other side, a foreign tourist who had come to Bodrum years before can be stunned when he/she sees the physical transformation of the town because now there is a town that is at the point of losing its spatial quality and urban identity in the construction concreteness. The ones who lived this period as the real inhabitants of the town, cannot appropriate these cultural and spatial differentiations. Since, most of these transformations left off a monotonous, visually, aesthetically lost and spatially vanished town. That is why, with all these differentiations, the existing circumstances prevent to look at the future of the town optimistically.

However, what makes Bodrum different was; naturally, historically, archeologically and architecturally, the town had a distinctive character, which was integrated with the socio-cultural values and lifestyles from different religions and languages of people. The combinations of those values were reflecting the identity of the town, which makes it valuable and unique in people’s minds. Nevertheless, in time, the architectural character and the urban spirit had totally lost its impressiveness and distinctiveness, therefore today’s Bodrum is really far

from the small fisher town character and identity that the elders remember. That is the reason behind why the city center of Bodrum has been chosen, for analyzing the transformation process of urban identity.

Therefore, in the third part of the thesis, the urban identity of Bodrum is going to be analyzed and the reasons behind the transformation process of the urban identity will be examined by comparing the existing situation with the previous before 1970s. While doing so, firstly, the urban morphology is going to be determined by considering the development of urban pattern, monumental opuses, street patterns and square formations, architectural typology and landscape features. Since in examining those features, the transformation processes will also be evaluated with configuring the previous and existing condition of the town. In second place, the urban functions are going to be described. What were the traditional activities of people in 1970s and how they were transformed through out the years with the development of tourism sector. In that sense, the impacts of tourism, through the transformation of urban identity is going to be evaluated. The differentiation of urban functions and the reflections on urban identity are going to be stated. Thirdly, the changing meanings and socio-cultural values of people throughout the years are going to be stated. In a sense, cultural values, social relations, traditions, lifestyles, and religion of local people by considering reflections and affects of these changing values on urban space are going to be examined. In that sense, in the framework of urban morphology, urban functions and meanings, the transformation of urban identity in a case study of Bodrum will be analyzed in particular.

1.2. METHOD OF THE STUDY

The spatial differentiations that take place in last three decades of the town are also related with the planning approaches. Therefore, firstly the planning approaches of Bodrum starting from 1970s are going to be examined, after than, the transformations are going to be analyzed in three study areas within that context. By choosing three different study areas, in neighborhood scale, from the center of the town, the plan decisions about those specific areas are going to be analyzed. The analysis of the study areas will be made, by using the development plans, reports, and base maps from four periods. Layer by layer, the spatial transformations are going to be analyzed and the reflections on to the urban identity is going to be evaluated. By comparing the existing situation of the town with the previous, the dimension of the urban transformation and spatial differentiations that the town lived in a last three decades are going to be examined. Continuingly, the reasons behind these changes, as the role of the tourism potential of the town, the purposes, and roles of the local municipalities, public authorities are going to be taken into consideration. In addition to these, old photographs, written sources about the previous condition of the neighborhoods, are going to be used for understanding the spatial transformations in terms of their urban identity.

In conclusion, the overall analyses about Bodrum are going to be evaluated. What was lost and transformed in Bodrum through the means of distinctive identity characteristics? What was gained through out the years with the development of tourism? Moreover, what should be done to sustain the

identity of the town and distinctive urban character? By answering those questions, some suggestions will try to be given about the opportunities to protect and strengthen the remaining values in urban environment. In that sense, the responsibilities of local community and public authorities on the issue will be pointed to plan and manage the future of the town by sustaining the urban identity.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN IDENTITY

2.1. THE ESSENCE OF URBAN IDENTITY

In evaluating the essence of urban identity, firstly, it is important to respond to a question like; “The essence for whom?” The observations of an inhabitant, the pleasures of a tourist, the standpoint of a politician or the vision of a planner, about the essence of urban space and its identity can be so variable. Since the reasons are countless, practices and perceptions are different, so as the meanings for people distinguishes. “The experiences, emotions, memory, imagination, present situation, and intention can be so variable so a person can see a place in several distinct ways” (Relph 76:56). Relph deals with the viewpoint of the communities on place identity that for different groups and communities of interest and knowledge, places have different identities. “A particular city can present a different identity to those living in its slums, its ghettos, its suburbs; and to planners, and citizen’s action groups” (Relph 76:58).

According to Güvenç, urban identity issue should be defined as the perceived impression of people about urban pattern. As he points out, the one that

has the identity is not the urban space but the people who live within (Güvenç 96:66). In that sense, it is important to emphasize the relationship and affectionateness between people and urban space.

The inhabitants in a town, their lifestyles, perceptions, relations with urban space and with each other, the balances, and harmony between people and their built environment are important by the means of their interaction with urban space. One of the pattern that Alexander defines as, “identifiable neighborhood” points out the needs of people belonging to an identifiable spatial unit, as he states, people want to be able to identify the part of the city where they live as distinct from all others (Alexander 77:81). According to Lynch, it is also a support for the sense of belonging to some place-attached group, as well as a way of marking behavioral territory (Lynch 90:517). While dealing with the meaning of place, Schulz points out the psychic function of the concept that “It depends on identification, and implies a sense of “belonging”. It therefore constitutes the basis for dwelling. We ought to repeat that man’s most fundamental need is to experience his existence as meaningful” (Schulz 79:166).

Lynch deals with a concept of “physical legibility” in urban space, which is something crucial for a beautiful city and a clear image that gives people a sense of emotional security, allows better orientation, and establishes the harmonious relationship between the one and the physical environment. He expresses the environmental image as the outcome of this “two-way process” between the observer and his environment (Lynch 60:6). That is why, Lynch

evaluates the city as, "... not a thing in itself, but the city being perceived by its inhabitants" (Lynch 60:3)

While examining the essence of place, Relph also points out the powerful relationship between community and place, as each reinforces the identity of one another. "Identity is a basic feature of our experience of places, which both influences and influenced by those experiences" (Relph 76:45). According to him, in identifying the places, the identity of the person or a group is as important as the identity of that place. While questioning the condition of experiencing a place from outside or inside, he uses the terms "insideness" and "outsideness".

From the outside you look upon a place as a traveler might look upon a town from a distance; from the inside you experience a place, are surrounded by it and part of it. The inside-outside division thus presents itself as a simple but basic dualism, one that is fundamental in our experiences of lived-space and one that provides the essence of place (Relph 76:49).

Relph describe these terms in seven different levels that are, existential, objective and incidental outsideness along with vicarious, behavioral, empathetic and existential insideness. In this thesis, the case study analysis and evaluations are going to be made from the viewpoint of an "objective outsider". Relph gives planners as an example to this position of view. "Planning and structuring by the principles of logic, reason, and efficiency, with separating the self emotionally from the places" (Relph 76:51).

Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff evaluate place identity and its relation to self-identity. Their definition about the issue also shows that, the evaluation of identity of a place changes from person to person because of the personal

characteristics. Since, place identity is a sub-structure of the self-identity of person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives (Proshansky 95:89).

Nasar also states the ongoing interaction between people and built environment, according to him, the evaluative image arises from the person and the setting that he/she exists. This evaluative image varies with biology, personality, socio-cultural experience, adaptation levels, goals, expectations, and internal and external factors, since these are each human's uniqueness and unique experiences. Then the image of a place or a city varies across observers (Nasar 98:4).

Therefore, it is probable to say that, the urban environment gain its value and meaning in people's perceptions and lives. Since, people's needs, requirements, and desires give shape, meaning, and function to a place. Numerous senses, impressions, and charges of people bring variety of identities and spirits to a place. Then, it can be said that, the reason behind the transformations of cities through times, is interrelated with the changing values, way of lives, and impressions of the communities about urban environment. The point is, through this process, building a common conscious position through generations is an important approach for the conservation of the places, which have distinctive character and identity. In this sense to understand the circumstances of the issue, the characteristics of an urban space, which has an identity inside are going to be stated through the references.

2.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN IDENTITY

What makes a city or a place different in our mind? In which circumstances do we talk about the identity of a city? What are the characteristics of a city with identity? By answering these questions, the aspects, which contribute to urban identity, are going to be emphasized.

Norberg-Shulz identifies place as a, “space with a distinct character” and considers the issue with reference to a Roman concept, “genius loci” or “the spirit of place” and signifies the essence of the issue for both people and places. “This spirit gives life to people and places, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character and essence” (Norberg-Shulz 79:18).

Relph differentiates spirit, sense, or genius of place from the identity of place. According to him, these terms refer to character and personality, as he argues, “Spirit of place can persist in spite of profound changes in the basic components of identity” (Relph 76:48).

In analyzing the environmental image, Lynch considers three components, which are “identity, structure, and meaning”. He describes identity, which is something identified as a distinctive object from other things, as a separable entity, not equivalent with something else but in a sense of individual and unique. In defining the structure and meaning, Lynch (1960) points out the spatial relation of the object with the observer as well as its practical or emotional meaning for the observer. He also evaluates identity issue as one of the criteria of urban design as well and defines the characteristics of a place with, clear

perceptual identity, recognizable, memorable, and vivid character, which engages of attention and differentiates from other locations (Lynch 90:517).

Lynch (1984) describes five basic performance dimensions of a good city form which are, vitality, sense, fit, access, and control and he also adds about two meta-criteria as if the five basic dimensions cover all the principal dimensions of settlement quality, which are efficiency and justice. Nevertheless, in this thesis, the dimension of sense; “as the match between environment, our sensory and mental capabilities, and cultural construct gains importance” (Lynch 84:118). Lynch also defines identity as the simplest form of sense of place.

Identity is the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places-as having a vivid, or unique, or at least a particular, character of its own. Identity and structure are the “formal” components of sense. Congruence, transparency, and legibility are specific components, which connect environment to other aspects of our lives (Lynch 84: 131).

From a phenomenological perspective, Relph deals with the essence of place and the identity of places. According to him, identity is founded both in the individual person or object and in the culture to which they belong. “It is not static and unchangeable, but varies as circumstances and attitudes change; and it is not uniform and undifferentiated, but has several components and forms” (Relph 76:45). Tankut also supports the idea of the changing character of the place identities that, for her, it is not a static issue; it changes and changes its figure (Tankut 96:51).

Violich also focuses on the physical environment with our own personal involvement and interaction of them in establishing identity with place, from a phenomenological perspective. According to the research in Dalmatian urban places, Violich defines ten basic properties and characteristics of identity with place, which are, hierarchy, experientiality, uniqueness, commonality, collectivity, intimacy, duality, oneness, intergenerational continuity, spirituality, property (Violich 98:295).

2.3. FORMATION OF URBAN IDENTITY

Through the formation of an urban identity, the reflections of historical, natural, socio-cultural, and spatial involvements on urban space constitute an idea about a place throughout the time. The house we born, the street we participate in time, the neighborhood and the city that we have given meanings with our understanding and experiences, contains most of the images and reflections about history, culture and identity as well. The distinctive spatial evidences of cities, which stay alive through out the time, turn out to be the survivors and significant signs of that urban identity. In a sense, a unique urban character matures and develops layer by layer in long periods, interrelated with the lifestyle of the inhabitants, their cultural identity, traditions, language, and religion. Therefore, in examining the formation of the issue, the historical, socio-cultural and functional dimensions of urban identity are also going to be stated, however, the emphasis is about to deal with the morphological dimension of the urban identity in particular. In that sense, through the analysis about the formation of urban identity, the

approaches on the morphological and perceptual dimensions of urban space will essentially be taken into consideration.

According to Karabey, the identity of the city is the resultant of its most distinguishing characteristics. “The identity and personality of the city articulates, takes shape, and develops in historical flow. Therefore the civilizations ever born, lived, and collapsed there contribute to that identity” (Karabey 90:123).

Tankut deals with three factors in understanding the identity of a city. According to her, besides the physical features of an area, architectural structure of the city and the production way in the area form a foundation to look at the identity issue in a critical way. Additionally, she also emphasizes that; identity issue should not just be considered as a physical feature but also should be seen as the reflection of the lifestyles (Tankut 96:50).

Lynch’s evaluation about the elements of urban design also gives clues about the raw materials of urban identity. Spaces, the visible activities in the city, network of spatial sequences, communications, textures, and surfaces of urban scene, environmental bases; plants as fundamental landscape materials and man-made details in urban space are the elements and materials of urban design (Lynch 90:515).

Norberg-Shulz (1979) states the determinants of the identity of places as “location, general spatial configuration, and characterizing articulation.”

Some places get their identity from a particularly interesting location, whereas the man-made components are rather insignificant. Others, instead, may be situated in a dull landscape, but possess a well-defined

configuration and a distinct character. When all the components seem to embody basic existential meanings, we may talk about a strong place (Norberg-Schulz 79:179).

While dealing with the unique character of urban places, Rapoport describes the characteristics of a recognizable place, which have an order inside. These are; the location, relation to landscape, having certain elements, certain settings and spaces of certain type, being named in particular ways, using certain orientational systems, having certain colors, textures, sounds, smells, temperatures, air movements and having certain people engaging in certain activities (Rapoport 84:54).

Relph deals with the phenomenon of place and identity of places. In considering with the essence of place, he rejects describing places just by the means of their location and appearance, for him, “places are sensed in a chiaroscuro of setting, landscape, ritual, other people, personal experiences, care, and concern for home, and in the context of other places” (Relph 76:29). By referring to the Albert Camus’s writings, he defines three basic elements of the identity of places, which are “*the physical features or appearance, the observable activities or functions, and meanings or symbol.*” For him, the dialectical links between them are the basic structural relations of that identity.

Setting and meaning combine in the direct and empathetic experience of landscapes or townscapes, activities and meaning combine in many social acts and shared histories that have little reference to physical setting. All of these dialectics are interrelated in a place, and it is their fusion that constitutes the identity of that place (Relph 76:48).

Lozano describes the physical form of a community as one of the highest cultural expressions of the society. According to him, “it translates social structure, lifestyle, and values into buildings and spaces, into the physical vessel in which the community lives and evolves” (Lozano 90:241). The viewpoint of Lozano also considers the interaction between physical setting and the meaning.

Furthermore, Relph (1976) also deals with the “mass identity of place”, which is distant from the direct experience, but it is provided more or less ready-made by the mass media. In considering the case study, Bodrum is one of the most branded cities in mass media canals in Turkey that, this is also going to be examined in the of the transformation analysis on urban identity. Relph defines some characteristics of mass identity of place as:

It is a superficial identity, for it can be changed and manipulated like some trivial disguise so long as it maintains some minimum level of credibility. It is also pervasive, for it enters into and undermines individual experiences and the symbolic properties of the identity of places (Relph 76:61).

2.3.1. Framework of the study

The fusion that Relph (1976) puts forward regarding place identity issue is going to be taken into consideration as a basis in representing the formation of urban identity. Therefore, three basic elements of identity of place as the “*physical setting, activities, and meanings*” are going to be adjusted on to the variables of urban space to constitute the framework of this study. Case study analysis and evaluations are going to be made within this framework by considering the

determinations about the elements of urban identity. The transformation of urban identity in Bodrum is also going to be analyzed from the standpoint of this view.

Therefore firstly, while considering the formation of urban identity, the role of the “*physical setting*” in urban environment is going to be examined. Since, the first impression about a place is generally taken from the physical characteristics of the area. The geographical location of a town, the surrounding natural features, its territorial borders, mountains, rivers, lakes or the sea, the regional characteristics, flora, and climatic characteristics give important hints about the formation of a settlement and constitutes a city image in mind. In that sense, the physical character of a waterfront town, an inner city in a mountainous place or a riverside settlement cannot be similar by the means of their settlement structure.

In addition, the urban morphology, as the form of the settlements, the spatial characteristics, urban pattern, street layouts, blocks and building lots, public spaces, squares, open spaces between buildings, parks, gardens, and also third dimension in the city, as the architectural structure and typology constitute the essential component of the “physical setting”. In that sense, firstly, in examining the physical setting, the approaches on the morphological and perceptual dimension of urban space, that Lynch (1960), Cullen (1971), Alexander (1977), Rossi (1982), and Krier (1988) put forward, are going to be defined.

In “The image of the city”, Lynch explores the physical qualities that are related with the elements of identity and structure in the mental image. Lynch defines it as, “imageability” that associates a perceptible well-built image. While defining the elements of the city image, Lynch also points out the other dimensions of imageability like social, functional, historical features, however he restricts the analysis by only the means of the physical formation of the city (Lynch 60:46).

Lynch defines the elements of city image as; “paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks” that most of these features can easily be perceived in urban environment as they can also be overlapped with each other in a city. Paths are channels along which people move, as streets or walkways; edges are also linear elements, in a different way they constitute a boundary between two places, may function as walls or barriers. Districts are identifiable regions as neighborhoods that have a different character, nodes are strategic spots or points that may function as squares, and lastly the landmarks are the point references, which can be a high tower that is seen from every part of the city (Lynch 60:47).

Cullen deals with a concept of “art of relationship” in Townscape, focusing on the relationship between the elements of the urban environment as buildings, trees, nature, water, traffic and etc (Cullen 61:8). He also introduces the concept of “serial vision” as to experience urban space as a series of existing and emerging views. His point is, to manipulate the elements of the town, with contrasts, views, opening and closing vistas, and series of jerks to increase sense of place and to break down the monotony in urban space. As Cullen states, “the

dramatic relationship between the parts of the environment are arranged to form coherent chords and sequences” (Cullen 61:53). Therefore, he introduces and defines different category of relationships, visions, and patterns about urban space. Through the harmony of these images in townscape, the movement for a person may become sensational and surprising and the impacts on the emotions and feelings can be achieved as he offers. It can be said that, exploration of these numerous patterns, is also another way for structuring and stressing the sense of place and identity in urban space within people’s views and impressions.

Alexander (1977) introduces a new way of looking at towns, buildings, and construction within 253 defined patterns, in a different layout. Each of these patterns describes a singular problem, which happens repeatedly in our environment. Therefore, solution of each pattern is also defined correlated with also the other patterns in a sequence. The patterns about towns, neighborhoods, and gardens that Alexander describes are also going to be taken into consideration in case study analysis in evaluating the problems and potentials of urban identity.

While considering the architecture of the city, Rossi intends about the form of the city. He explains urban morphology as the “description of the forms of an urban artifact” and that form summarizes the total character of urban artifacts, including their origins (Rossi 82:32). Rossi evaluates urban artifacts also as a work of “art”, and accordingly, “this aspect of art in urban artifact is closely linked to their quality, their uniqueness, and thus also to their analysis and definition” (Rossi 82:32). In analyzing an urban artifact; he proposes the usage of

different disciplines as urban geography, urban topography, architecture, and several others.

After all, Krier also deals with the morphological and typological elements of urban space. According to him, all types of spaces between buildings in towns, and other localities, constitutes the urban space. He describes street and square as the two basic elements of urban space (Krier 88:15).

Furthermore, urban landscape should also be thought as the important aspect of the “physical setting” of a city, not only because of its visual quality but also because of the environmental, functional, and ecological use. Necessarily in the formation of urban identity, cities cannot be considered without their urban landscape features. From this viewpoint, Schulz also points out the figure ground relationship of settlement and landscape.

In general any enclosure becomes manifest as a figure in relation to the extended ground of the landscape. A settlement loses its identity if this relationship is corrupted, just as much as the landscape loses its identity as comprehensive extension (Schulz 79:12).

Nearby the role of urban morphology in the formation of urban identity, the “*activities*” of the community in their urban environment is going to be considered in second place. Reflections of people’s activities and works on to their lifestyles and urban environment can be evaluated as the important component of identity formation in a city. The cities, which come to forward with a specific kind of activity or sector, are commonly remembered, and mentioned with that distinctive aspect. In that sense, that one and only income source for the inhabitants also cause to their economical dependence on that activity. The

dominance of agricultural activities or the new coming industrial complex in a town almost certainly directs the community onto that specific occupation.

According to Şenyapılı (1996), it is not possible to define a clear and distinct identity for any of the cities in Turkey. He interrogates the priority of the activities and meanings in defining the identity of a water front town, whether by means of its existing historical values or by means of tourism activities. As he points, if a town does not need any other economical activity further than tourism, then that place gains the tourism city identity. (Tankut, Acar, Senyapılı 96:54).

For instance, it may be probable to talk about, Denizli as a textile city or Zonguldak as a mining city. Describing a city through the means of its functions also give hints about the urban identity of that place. People in those cities earn their living with that one activity. In that sense, it can be said that, some people born into a life of particular activity and earn their life with it during their whole lives but others may learn and become adapted in time, to the developments of new activities in their urban environment. The economical reasons behind this adaptation cannot be underestimated. Since, in the case of Bodrum, the inevitable transformation of “fisher town” into a “tourism town” in three decades time is also interrelated with economical issues. Then the activities, like fishing, sponge diving or working in orchards and fields, in a small coastal town, transformed into a job opportunity for people in different urban functions and sectors of a tourism industry. Then, in case study analysis, transformed “*urban functions*” are also going to be examined and reflections on to the physical environment are going to be evaluated.

In the third place, the “*meaning*” dimension of place identity is going to be considered. According to Relph, “the meanings of places may be rooted in the physical setting, objects, and activities; but besides, they are the property of human intentions and experiences” (Relph 76:47). In that sense, it can be said that, the meanings that people charge about a city, may be varied through their socio-cultural and historical values. The reflections of these features on people and urban space also become the essential components of that identity formation.

Landscapes always possess character that derives from the particular association of their physical and built characteristics with the meanings they have for those who experiencing them; in other words character and meaning are imputed to landscapes by the intentionality of experience (Relph 76:122).

Rapoport conceptualizes the urban fabric as an organization of “space, time, meaning, and communication”. While dealing with the organization of meaning in urban fabric, he explains the issue in three types that are; high-level meanings; as sacred, cosmological, middle-level meanings reflect status, identity, wealth and power, low-level meanings indicate how to behave and where. “Since these change with culture change, modernization, and in different cultural contexts” (Rapoport 93:27).

The cities, which we recognize and give meanings through their historical and archeological characteristics, are mostly the ones with an evident urban identity as well. In that sense, in determining the identity in urban space, history is an important factor for also understanding and evaluating the formation of the concept. For instance, cities like Prague and Rome gain mostly their meaning in people’s minds by the means of their historical identity. Then, the

conservation of the historical values in urban space can be seen as the important fraction of a sustainable urban identity. In that way, cities expand their values and become precious in people's perceptions and minds. However, this process can only be guaranteed in Turkey, with the consciousness of all the responsible generations. Therefore, for increasing the public awareness of a community about historical values and urban heritage, the importance of education cannot be underestimated.

Historical features of cities as buildings, sites, monuments are the irreplaceable components of cities. Through the conservation of these values in urban space, the spirit and identity of the cities can also be sustained. The deterioration of urban heritage may be stated as one of the reasons behind the loss of identity in cities. The European Urban Charter (1992) emphasizes the meaning and significance of urban heritage while dealing with the physical form of cities:

European historic centers, with their buildings, urban spaces and street patterns, provide an important link between the past, the present and the future; they contain priceless elements of the architectural heritage; are places which enshrine the city's memory; establish a sense of identity for present and future generations and are key factors in establishing a sense of solidarity and a sense of community between the people Europe. (www.urban.nl)

Besides the urban historical heritages, cultural and traditional activities in a town are also the reflections of the meanings and values of that community. Social relations between the inhabitants in a town, special rituals like bayrams, wedding feasts, festivals in public urban spaces; are important signs of that identity. Lynch (1984) deals with the identity of the events and defines it as "sense of occasion".

Special celebrations and great rituals have it in heightened degree. Occasion and place will reinforce each other to create a vivid present. The result is an active involvement in the immediate, world and the enlargement of the self (Lynch 84:132).

The religious beliefs of the community, religious activities in urban space and the reflections of the rituals of people also shape urban identity characteristics. Mosques, churches, chapels as the structural symbols of the religions, the daily routine activities of the locals around it, open space activities of the believers are important clues for the evaluation of that identity. Alexander points out the meaning of “sacred sites” in town for people. “People cannot maintain their spiritual roots and their connections to the past if the physical world they live in does not also sustain these roots” (Alexander 77:132).

As the outcome of these determinations, it is probable to say that, the “*urban morphology, urban functions, and meanings*” play an important role in the formation of an urban identity. When these features configure a true distinctive character in a town that people perceps and approves, then it may be possible to talk about an influential identity about that place. Therefore, while dealing with the case study area, the urban identity of Bodrum is going to be examined, in the framework that was considered above. The analysis and evaluations are also going to be made with the reference of the recipe of this approach. Then in exploring the transformation of urban identity, problematic and potentials of the town can better be formulated.

2.4. TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN IDENTITY

The transformation of the cities is the natural outcome of time that they are constantly changing by the means of their size, layout, function, and meaning. Economical, political, and social factors have important roles in the transformation period of an urban space and by the means of its identity. Besides these, turning points in the history of the cities, as wars or natural disasters, changing urban politics, plan decisions and processes, not only affect the physical and economic structure of the towns, but also transform the social, cultural, and traditional values of the area. These adjustments spread out to the long periods and threaten piece by piece the spatial characteristics of the cities.

In that sense, it is probable to say that, there are so many towns in Turkey, which could not manage to be conserved, became defeated to the uncontrolled transformations in time, and started to lose their local identities. That is because, the protection and sustainability of urban identity is hard to manage in Turkey. Through that process, to prevent this identity loss in cities, the awareness of the authorities and community should essentially be increased and pointed out.

Relph (1976) deals with a concept of “placelessness” and defines it in brief as, eradicated and diminished localism, variety of places, landscapes and cultures. From a general description, he identifies “media” as direct or indirect encourager of the placelessness. By considering media, he intends about “the mass communications, mass culture, big business, powerful central authority, and the economic system which embraces all these” (Relph 76:90). In examining the

issue of “mass culture”, Relph deals about the physical impact of tourism on places.

Tourism is an homogenizing influence and its effects everywhere seem to be the same-the destruction of the local and regional landscape that very often initiated the tourism, and its replacement by conventional tourist architecture and synthetic landscapes and pseudo-places (Relph 76:93).

Essentially, tourism industry is one of the most important threats on urban space especially in the coastal towns of Turkey, that the development of the sector and its environmental, spatial, and socio-economic impacts directly transform the structure of the cities and their urban identity features. That is why; it should essentially consider that, especially cities that have distinctive characteristics should be preserved with the cooperation of responsible authorities. In this sense, consciousness of the community and public authorities on the protection of these historical, cultural, and natural values should be seen as the most important stage of protecting the identity of the urban areas. As Acar states, identity is the survival of how the old and new exist together. According to him, “Our real identity is how we approach the transformation of the cities” (Tankut, Acar, Şenyapılı 96:54).

Therefore, in analyzing the transformation of urban identity in Bodrum, role of tourism sector is going to be considered. The reason why tourism issue discussed related with urban identity is; tourism, as a worldwide sector, is seen as the most important opportunity for the welfare of the country and cannot be disregarded economically. On the other side, the identity of the cities, spatial, cultural, and historical values in urban environment create attraction for the

tourists from all over the world. In that sense, the dependence between tourism industry and the identity of a city is crucial. Besides, the dimension of tourism threat on to the identity of the towns can not be underestimated and should be examined simultaneously as well. That is why; neither the tourism phenomenon nor the presence of identity in urban space can be ignored for one another for unusual reasons.

Lanfant deals with the pressure of tourism on identities of the societies from global to local. He criticizes the construction and transformation of the places as a tourist product, which is the outcome of the aims of the tourism industry, marketing, and promotion of the places in global scale. Tourism industry gives chance to a place in competitive market, only if it has its own distinctive character. Besides, as he points out, in becoming and transforming a tourist product, the urban heritage also changes its meaning. It becomes a capital to be used profitably and its cultural value transform in to a commercial value (Lanfant 95:37).

The international promotion of tourism demands that every place should have its own specific character. In order to give a country the best chance in a competitive market it must have some trademark, which emphasizes both its originality and its superiority within a given domain (Lanfant 95:32).

The latest studies on urban identity issue related with globalization and tourism phenomenon in general, focus on the preservation or the reconstruction of the unique identities and protection of the built heritages as well. In this sense, the function of tourism on the transformation of the urban identities, the importance

of the protection and sustainability of the character of the cities are taken into consideration as important assets.

Gospodini searches alternatives for creating place identity in European cities and points out the potential of innovative design of space. By dealing with place identity crisis in European cities, she points out the role of the built heritage of European cities as the main resource of place identity for promoting urban tourism and economic development.

There are a number of urban territories, which compete to attract foreign direct investment as a principal mean of climbing the world city ladder. These cities are preparing themselves with no scarcity of dedication, creating a wide spectrum of enabling, market-oriented pre-conditions and projecting unique traits that contribute to build a recognisable urban brand (Vaggione 04:1).

Kneafsey also examines the relationship between tourism and place identity issue in a case study of Ireland. Reconstructed images for tourism promotions and the destruction of unique place identities are the main themes of her research. Her intention about the subject is coming into a more balanced consideration of the relationship between tourism and place identities.

Rather than simply (re)constructing or destroying previously fixed and stable place identities, tourism contributes to on-going processes of change, whilst at the same time being mediated through the elements of continuity, which exist within place identities (Kneafsey 98:114).

Moreover, similar research on a case study of Amsterdam, by Jan Nijman, deals with the reconstruction of Amsterdam's identity as a global place under the effects of cultural globalization and mass tourism as well. "Cities

constitute the main nodes in the global cultural network and are the main points of origin and destination of cultural flows” (Nijman 99:149).

According to Urry, the complex interconnections between global and local processes need to be analyzed in an economically, politically, and culturally homogenous world. “History and culture of local areas are transformed into a resource for economic and social development, within a globally evolving economy and society” (Urry 95:152).

In Tourist gaze, Urry evaluates the transformations and developments at the viewpoints of tourists. According to him, “In different societies and especially within different social groups in diverse historical periods the tourist gaze has changed and developed” (Urry 90:1). For Urry, it is necessary to consider what it is that produces a distinctive tourist gaze.

People must experience particularly distinct pleasures, which involve different senses, are on a different scale from those typically encountered in everyday life. There are many ways in which such a division between the ordinary and the extraordinary can be established and sustained (Urry 90:11).

Seeing a unique object, particular signs, seeing of unfamiliar aspects of what had previously been thought of as familiar. Nearby, seeing of ordinary aspects of social life being undertaken by people in unusual contexts, carrying out of familiar tasks or activities within an unusual visual environment, seeing of particular signs, which indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even though it does not seem to be so (Urry 90:12). Most of the unique and unfamiliar patterns that Urry puts forward show the desires of people in a newly experienced urban environment.

Hunter deals with the impacts of tourism on built and cultural environment by discussing the potential consequences of those impacts. As he states, the urban areas that especially prone to negative tourism impacts are places with significant cultural heritage and other attractions. According to Hunter in an optimistic point of view, “Tourism may be used as a catalyst, to revitalize and improve decaying urban areas, bringing investment and environmental upgrading” (Hunter 95:27). He also deals with the potential impacts of tourism in built environment. He categorizes the impacts in six aspects, which are; urban form, infrastructure, visual impact, restoration, erosion and pollution. About urban form, the potential consequences are; the change in character of built area through urban expansion and redevelopment, change in residential, retail or industrial land uses, changes to the urban fabric, emergence of contrasts between urban areas developed for tourist population and those for host population (Hunter 95:28). Hunter also discusses the impacts of tourism on cultural environment with the potential consequences either positively or negatively. History, traditions, traditional arts, language, religion, values, and norms are classified as the effected aspects in cultural environment (Hunter 95:35).

In considering the transformation of the cities, loss of identity in urban space is also an important point to deal with. Tankut points out the lost identity of cities in Turkey as an important urban problem. She mentions about the changing character of the cities therefore suggests an intelligent transformation process for the sustainability of the cities and supports the protection of the historical city centers as the milestone of the identity establishment (Tankut 96:51).

Salah Ouf points out conserving authenticity in urban space by not only the physical structure but also the social practices and community cultural beliefs that are spread over a large urban area. As he offers, authenticity should be one of the most important concepts of urban conservation projects and by doing so cultural tourism which would be the major source of finance become the economic objective of these projects as well (Salah Ouf 01:74).

Jacobs and Appleyard put forward the problems of Modern Urban Design and the goals for urban life within an “Urban Design Manifesto” in 1987. Problems that they pointed out in that time, like the destruction of valued places and placelessness, are still the troubles of the cities. Therefore, the goals are still the same; they offer increasing people’s sense of identity, rootedness, and encouraging more care and responsibility for the physical environment of cities. Authenticity and meaning are seen as the origins of things and places. An urban environment should reveal its significant meanings. Livability, identity, authenticity, and opportunity are characteristics of the urban environment that should serve the individual and small social unit.

While dealing with the inevitable changing nature of cities, Goldsteen also focuses on the identity of the environment and discusses the similarities and dissimilarities of cities. According to Goldsteen, identity is a characteristic combining uniqueness, dissonance, and mystery. She mentions about the advantages of discovering and reinforcing a city’s identity. To undertake the quest for urban identity, she suggests the exaggeration of small differences, with

commemorating special events and some other motives in urban space (Goldsteen 94:4).

Norberg-Shulz also examines the problem of consistency and change in identity of places and asks for “How can the genius loci be preserved under the pressure of new functional demands?” (Norberg-Shulz 79:180). His offer about the problem is to concretize and manage economic, social, political, and cultural intentions, which respects the genius loci. “If not, the place loses its identity” (Norberg-Shulz 79:182).

To respect the genius loci means to determine the identity of the place and to interpret it in ever-new ways. Only then, we may talk about a living tradition, which makes change meaningful by relating it to a set of locally founded parameters (Schulz 79:182).

Therefore, in the third part of the thesis, firstly, the urban identity of Bodrum is going to be defined. The amalgamation of historical, spatial, functional, and socio-cultural characteristics of Bodrum constitutes an identity formation, which started to be lost in last three decades with the developments in tourism sector. Then, the whole idea about the unique character of the town will be generated within the framework of “urban morphology, urban functions, and meanings”. In this sense, by considering the first decade of 1970s as a threshold in the transformation of the town, before and after circumstances of the urban identity is going to be analyzed in particular. After all, in three study areas, transformation analysis are going to be made within the context of planning approaches. Since, firstly the transformation of identity will be analyzed in general layout of the town than secondly in neighborhood scale.

CHAPTER 3

AN ANALYSIS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN IDENTITY: CASE STUDY OF BODRUM

3.1. THE URBAN IDENTITY OF BODRUM

Bodrum is located in Bodrum Peninsula between the bays of Güllük and Gökova in the southwest corner of Aegean Region of Turkey. It is the center of an administrative district and has terrestrial border with Milas administrative district. The covering area of the town is 557 km² and the distance to province center is 115 km.



Figure 1: The location of Bodrum in the peninsula

In considering the geographic structure of city center of Bodrum, hilly and topographic formation of the area, surrounds the town from north to east, which is the most important reason behind protecting its urban and local character because of its unreachable mountainous geography until 1970s. Braudel's historical study on Mediterranean in the Age of Philip II is an important reference, as it explores the geographical and climatological characteristics of the Mediterranean world nearby the economic, politic, demographic features, trade and transport relations between the societies and civilizations in the second half of the sixteenth century. While dealing with the geographical features, Braudel illustrates the mountains, hills, plateaus, plains of the coasts, peninsulas, and islands of Mediterranean. Since, mountains signify the austerity, harshness, backwardness, and a scattered population, where as, plain areas signify abundance, ease, wealth and good living (Braudel 72:60). Braudel compares the physical characteristics of Turkish and Spanish Empires as he explains the climatological characteristics of Turkish Empire in the area. "East had a more continental climate, with sharper extremes, worse droughts than the West, higher summer temperatures, therefore if that is possible more bare and desert lands. Its maritime regions were correspondingly more animated" (Braudel 72:137).

In dealing with the flora of the area, the interior of the peninsula is characterized by the eroded highlands with red pine dominating the higher ridges east and northeast of Bodrum. Much of the lower pine forests have degraded to maquis. To the west and northwest are the volcanic highlands with their pastures, orchards, and olive groves, are quite open (USAID 71:8).

3.1.1. Urban morphology

Throughout its history, Bodrum had a strong urban character, owing to its distinctive spatial and architectural features. That is why; firstly the urban morphology of the town is going to be examined by considering the urban pattern development of the town, the monumental opuses, the architectural typology, public places, street and squares layouts and the landscape features of the town. The spatial transformations that occurred in town throughout the years are also going to be taken into consideration since by doing so; the reflections of those differentiations in identity of the town are also going to be analyzed.

3.1.1.1. Development of urban pattern

The earliest settlements were established on the higher headlands at Salmacis (now Kaptan kalesi) to the southwest of the town and on the headland between two roadsteads. In the course of time, these rocky outcrops were joined to the mainland (Önen 92:94). The name of the island where the castle stands today was called Zephyria, which comes from Zephyros, means the western wind.

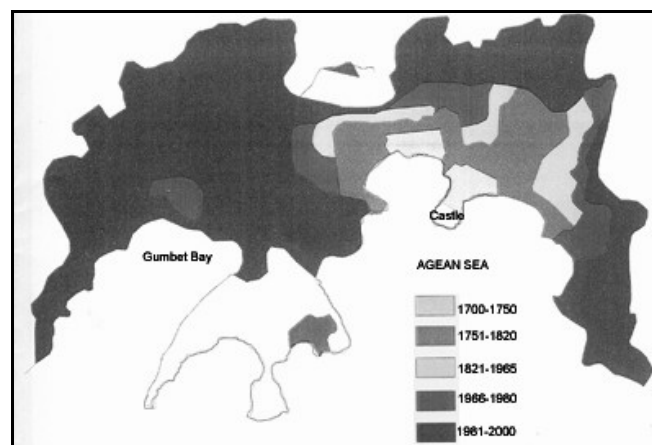


Figure 2: Urban development of Bodrum (Source: Gündüz 2001)

The urban development of the Bodrum starts at the beginning of 18th Century with the settlements around the castle, in Çarşı neighborhood. In 1862 plan of Bodrum, by the archeologist Charles Newton, the dense pattern of Greek quarter is seen nearby the castle next to the downtown. In the plan, the division of land into large plots shows the borders of property ownership in Turkish neighborhood in that period.

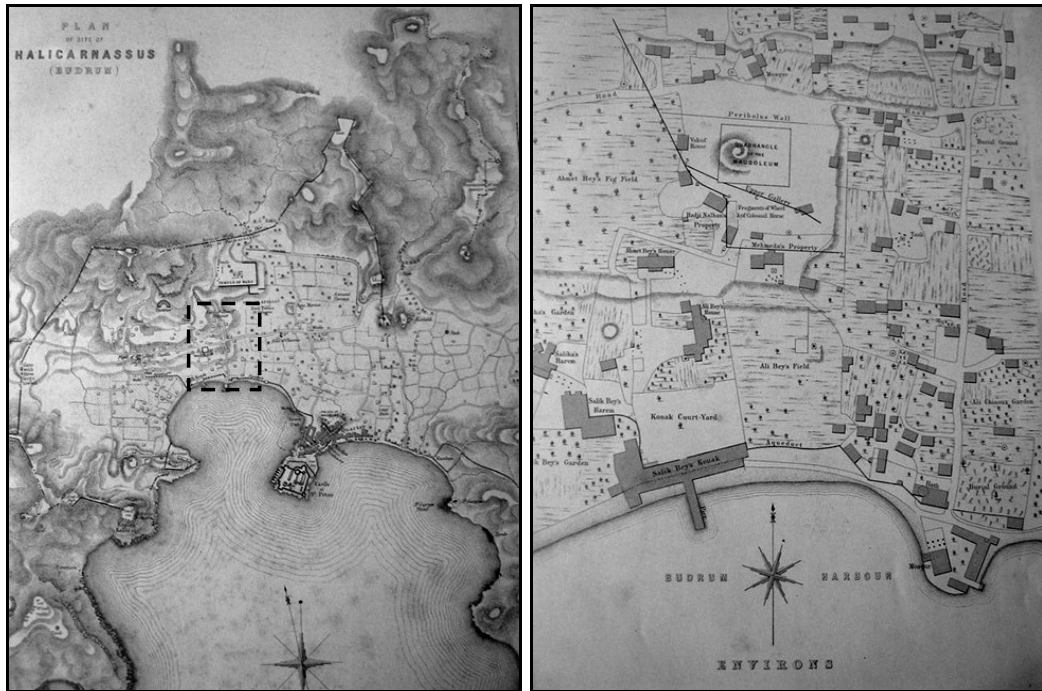


Figure 3: The plan of Bodrum in 1862 (Source: Newton 1862)

Figure 4: The plan of Turkish quarter in 1862 by Newton (right)

In general layout, the gardens and fields take place around a house or konak, which shows the land oriented life style of the inhabitants in the area. The existence of mosque, hamam, tanks and harems in west side of the town, the usage and connection of aqueducts from the center of the town to the western settlements and fields give important clues about the life in Turkish neighborhood.



Figure 5: The lithography of the castle view in 1853 by Eugen Flandin
(Source: <http://www.bodrum-info.org/English/history>)

In that period, there were no settlements in the eastern side of the town. In the plan of Newton, only the land division of the fields is seen following the bridge of Azmakbaşı. As Erez (1996) explains, Turks prefer to live in the protected lands from the wind because of their agricultural activities; however later on, Greeks choose the lands in the eastern parts of the town, which are open to wind, because of the hot summers of Aegean town. The lithography, which was done by Eugen Fladin in 1853, is also another figure that shows the activities in the western coast nearby the castle view in that time.

The heterogeneous structure of the neighborhoods like Çarşı, Eskiçeşme, Kelerlik, Türkkuyusu, Umurca, and Yeniköy could be seen at the beginning of 19th century. The urban development of Bodrum was started by two main neighborhoods. In the eastern side of the castle, Muslims and Greeks were living in Kumbahçe neighborhood, who immigrated from Crete and other Aegean islands at the end of 1920s. In the western side of the castle, Turkish neighborhoods take place like Türkkuyusu and Tepecik.

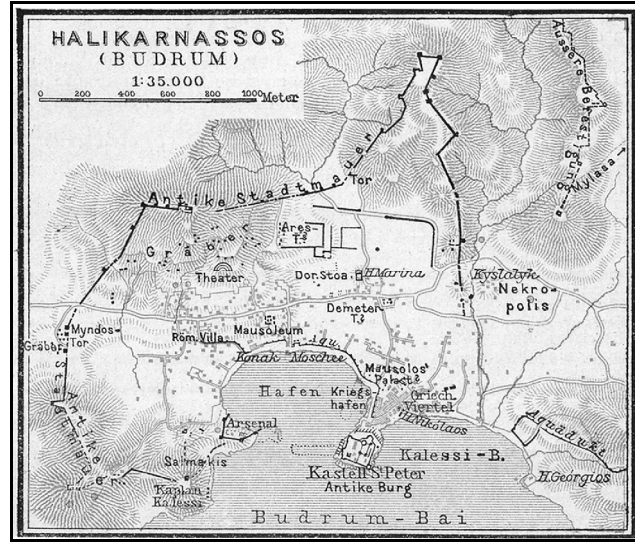


Figure 6: The Bodrum plan of Captain Spratt in 1847 (Source: Çalışlar 1999)

Mansur's study about Bodrum evaluates the physical, economic, politic, and religious situation of the town nearby the lifestyles of people in 1970s as the inhabitant of the town. She points out the similarities between the physical structures of the town in 1970s with the Captain Spratt's 1847 map. As she determines, Greek neighborhood was solidly built-up with perpendicular little paths down to the sea. This street pattern was also reflecting the sea-oriented lifestyle of the Greeks and so for the Cretans who came and replace them (Mansur 72:17). The evaluations of Bektaş (1979) about the settlement pattern of Bodrum up to 1970s are similar with the determinations of Mansur.

Before the physical deterioration of the local environment set in, these writers narrated the unique characteristics of the town in those years. Bektaş describes the creation of unity in urban pattern and deals with the structure of the settlements in that period.

The coastal strip settlement to the west is less constant, less dense and newer. In the 19th century, there were very few houses on the shore in this part of the city. Most of the houses of today were built after the opening up of the coast road known as Neyzen Tefik Street. The garden belt separating the populated areas along the coast and at the foot of the mountains is flat and suitable for cultivation. This situation has been preserved (Bektaş 79:34).

3.1.1.2. Monumental opuses

Bodrum, the ancient city of Halicarnassus, is also an important site with its rich historical and archeological background. The splendid evidences of history, from different periods of time, which stands today, characterize the identity of the town as well. In 5000 years of history, many civilizations lived in the region as Leleg, Dorian, Karian, Lydian, Phrygian, Persian, Roman, Seljuk, and Ottoman left behind important architectural and monumental structures from different periods. Some of them were destructed with disasters; some vanished in wars, with either by political or economic reasons, the historical heritage of the town was disappeared partially in the course of time.

Today, most people do not know most of the events that Bodrum witnessed through out the time. However, the clues of those historical and archeological richnesses can still be seen in some parts of the town. The continuation of the reflections of this history in town is essential about the urban

identity establishment therefore; these evidences should notably be protected in every piece of urban space to agree with the words of Calvino.

The city however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the grating of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning roads, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls (Calvino 78: 11).

Today, the medieval castle, the antique theatre, partially the Myndus gate, and the site of Mausoleum as one of the Seven Wonders of the World are still standing as the important historical monuments and structures of the town.

The only surviving structure from Classical Age of Bodrum is the Antique theatre with its magnificent view. When, the King of Mausolus took the control of the Carian region in 377 BC, Halicarnassus was a small city but Mausolus had ambitious projects as he recognized the area's natural advantages for fortification and commerce. He transferred his capital there from Mylasa in 367 BC (site of present-day Milas). and built long lines of massive walls around Halicarnassus, parts of which still stand today. Apart from the city walls, one of his important projects was also the Antique Theater.

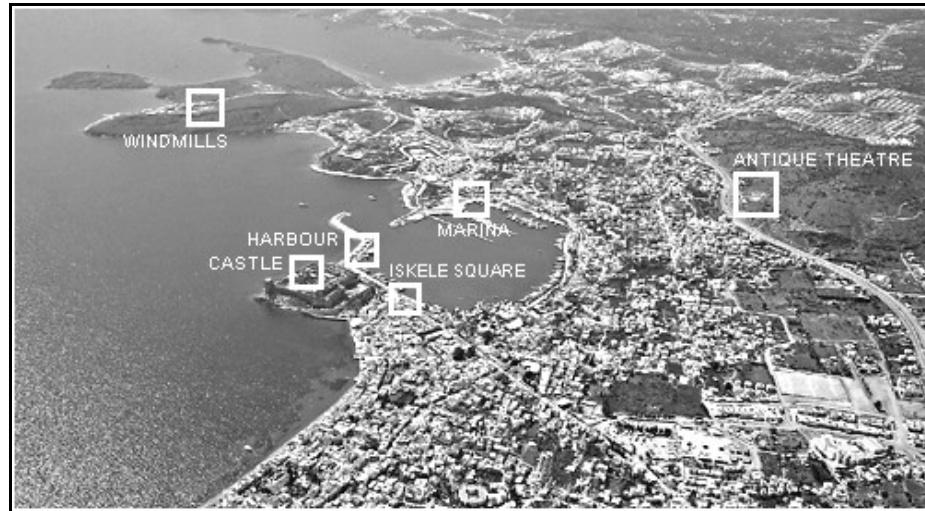


Figure 7: The air photo of Bodrum (Source: www.bodrumlife.com/panoramics)

The “grandiose vista” in a category of “here and a known there relationship” that Cullen (1971) describes, is suitable when considering the antique theatre in Bodrum. The theatre, which is located above the main highway, became an attraction point with the completion of the renovation and so festivals and concerts started to take place in the site. However, apart from these kinds of activities, the place could not function truly as an open-air museum and a vista point that Cullen explains. While describing the “high places”, Alexander deals with two functions of the pattern; as “they give people a place to climb up to and to see from far away to orient themselves” (Alexander 77:316). Nevertheless, the highway, which is functioning as an “edge” between the town and theatre, avoids the accessibility of people. The 2003 Conservation Revision Plan foresees an underpass road for the traffic to combine the site with the town. It should be pointed out that, the integration of the theatre site with the town and with other historical sites strengthens the existence and value of urban heritage, which contributes to the identity of the town.

Nearby, the site of Mausoleum is one of the most important places in Bodrum as the first degree archeological site. After the death of Mausolus in 352 BC, Caria was ruled by his wife-sister, Artemisia II. The monumental tomb of King Mausolus; Mausoleum, was built by Artemisia II in honor of her husband and brother. The entire structure stood at over 50 meters in height. This monument became one of the seven wonders of ancient world, however was destroyed by an earthquake in the 14th century. Today, the first reliefs of the Mausoleum are placed in British Museum in London. The site of the Mausoleum in Bodrum is an open-air museum as it is located in the southern side of Turgutreis Street. However, the meaning and the setting of this site as the important structure of historical identity of the town should be strengthened.

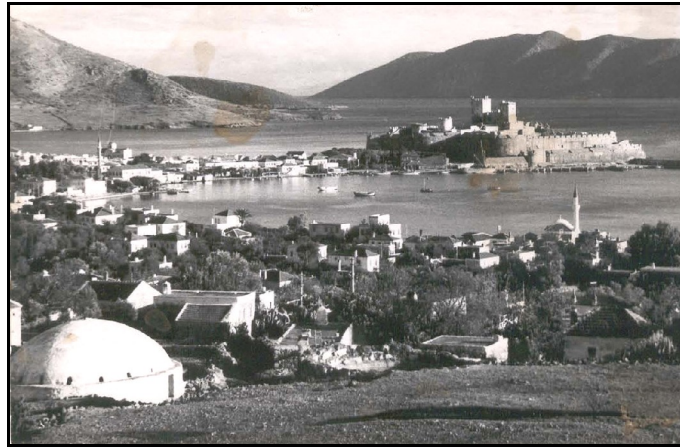


Figure 8: A water cistern through the castle view from amphitheatre in 1964 (Source: Cemile Erdem's archive)

The castle, which can be evaluated as the “landmark” of the town, is one of the registered monumental opuses that survived until today. It is located in the center of the town since 15th century. It was built by the Knights of Rhodes in

honor of St.Peter between the years of 1415-1437 by mining the ruins of the colossal tomb of Mausolus. Named it Petronium and the modern name Bodrum derived from Petronium. In 1961, castle officially became a museum.



Figure 9: A water cistern in Kumbahçe and windmills in Değirmenaltı (right)

Apart from the theatre, Mausoleum, and the castle, water cisterns are also the distinctive architectural structures in the silhouette of Bodrum. There are twelve white-domed cisterns, known as Gümbet, in the center of the town. They were built in Ottoman period to store rainwater but besides their functional usages, water cisterns are important architectural structures in urban pattern.

In addition, windmills constitute the important part of architectural identity of the area. There are seven windmills in Değirmenaltı area, which are also the essential figures of the peninsula. However, the accessibility of windmills should be strengthened with their integration to the town to increase their structural value. By including water cisterns and windmills, there are also fifty-nine registered monumental opuses in Bodrum. Nearby the castle, mausoleum, antique theatre, mars temple and city walls; the mosques, baths, fountains,

cemeteries, and tombs are protected as monumental opuses in different parts of the town.



Figure 10: Çarşı Neighborhood in 1964

In Çarşı neighborhood, the traditional commercial area, at the center of the town, there are also registered buildings as, historical Adliye Mosque in Municipality Square, Mustafa Bey Mosque in İskele Square, an inn called Usluhan are the important structures of the area. Usluhan, which was built in 1769, is one of the most characteristic buildings from Ottoman period.

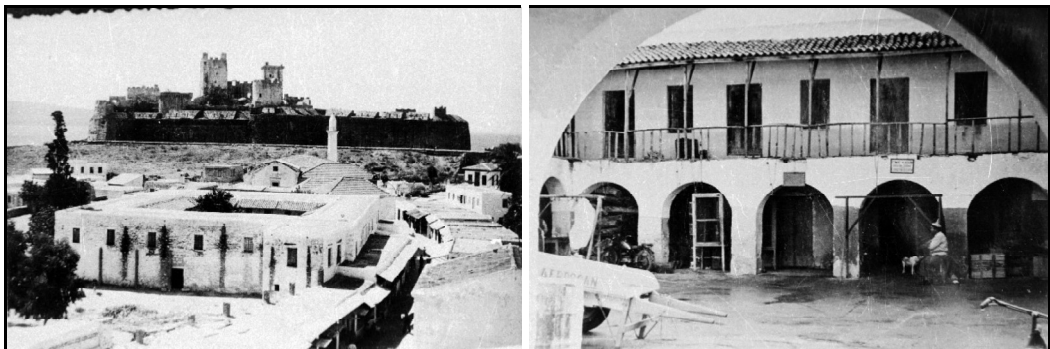


Figure 11: Usluhan in Çarşı Neighborhood (Source: Municipality archive)

The sense of position in the “enclosure” of Usluhan can be felt in this historical building. Cullen describes enclosure as the “most powerful and most obvious of all the devices to instill this sense of position, of identity with the surrounding” (Cullen 71:29). Today in the enclosure of this structure, touristy goods are sold as it is done in every part of the town. However, the function and usage of the building should reflect and strengthen its meaning and unique historical characteristic.

3.1.1.3. Street and square formations

The traditional patterns of residential areas in urban historic site can be defined in two main typologies like the street pattern of west part of the town, as Tepecik, Türkkuysu, Eskiçeşme neighborhoods and the street pattern of Kumbahçe neighborhood.

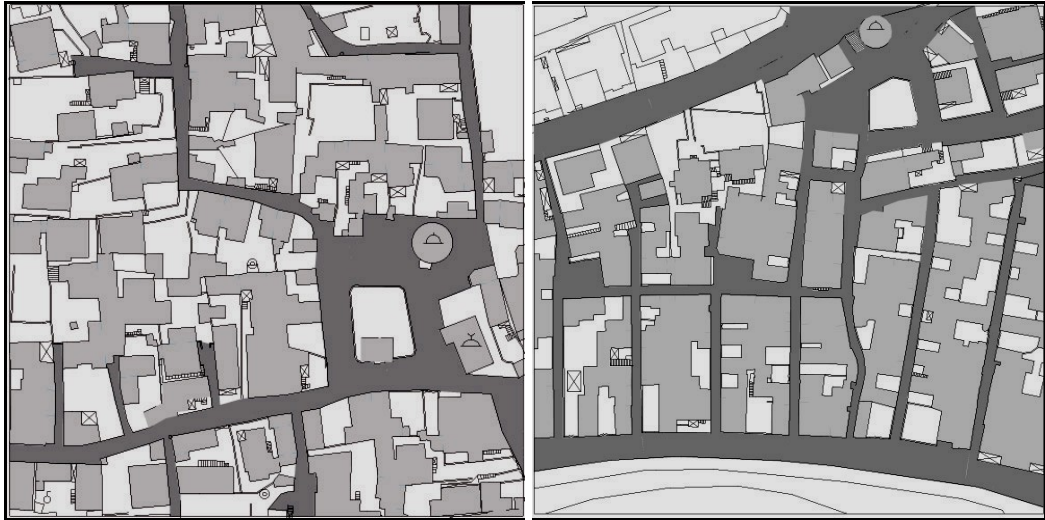


Figure 12: Traditional street patterns - illustrated from 1999 map Türkkuysu neighborhood and Kumbahçe neighborhood (right)

In considering the west part of the town, the formation of the street layouts is in harmony with the natural topography. Curvilinear paths, narrow than three meters put forward surprising perspectives in this part of the town. Sometimes, streets become semi-private with dead-ends, reach only one or two houses with gardens. Garden walls between the gardens, borders the building lots and provide enclosure for house from the street (Fig 21). Cobbled and graded paved narrow pedestrian ways also reflect the natural topography. Square formation is positioned at the t-junction and at the center, as an entrance hall to the neighborhood.

In considering the street pattern of Kumbahçe, north south oriented, perpendicular streets to the seashore are also open to wind flow, show the sea-oriented lifestyles of the Cretans in the past. Pedestrian oriented narrow streets are approximately three meters wide and sometimes narrower. The garden or courtyard walls higher than 2 meters provide the continuity of the streets. Building lots and land ownership is more readable in this layout. House entries directly open to streets; sometimes courtyards provide privacy and enclosure for the houses. The traditional street network constitutes the character of this neighborhood. Nearby, some of the streets in Bodrum, which are defined with arches on both sides, provide semi-public places for the commuters.



Figure 13: An arched street perspective in 1964 (Source: Cemile Erdem’s archive)

Figure 14: Saray Street (right)

Today, an original formation of this type exists in Uslu Street (Fig 45), but also a new application in Saray Street. Since the Saray Street successfully reflect the traditional urban character with cobble pavement and arches.

Nearby the street formations, an important “activity node” of the town is the İskele Square, which is placed at the intersection of two pedestrian paths, as Cumhuriyet Street and Kale Street. In time, as it is occurred in every part of the town, the land use, functions, the user profile, and the activities totally transformed. Today cafes around the square give liveliness to the place. But besides there is an undefined condition about the square since, except the existence of the cafes, the square is used as a transition space. The importance of the place can be strengthened and defined with plant material and pavement design.



Figure 15: İskele Square in 1964 (Source Cemile Erdem’s archive)

On the other side, Cumhuriyet Street that was before Osman Bilgin Street, today known as Barlar Street, is one of the best-known activity axis of the town. With reference to the Alexander’s Pattern Language, the formation of a “promenade, pedestrian street, shopping street and nightlife” of Bodrum densely take place in the corridor of adjacent buildings. However, this important attraction street, near by the sea; deserve better conditions by the means of preserving its identity characteristics.

In last three decades, the character of the street, its relation with the sea, user profile has totally been differed. The tourism-oriented urban developments and decisions, transformed the functional use of the area and so today with the bars, restaurants, cafes and shops, the street is the most crowded part of the town in summer peak months. Alexander criticizes the nonexistence of social interaction between people in today’s outdoor spaces. According to him, in considering “pedestrian street”, when people rub shoulders in the public, it is one of the most essential kinds of social glue in society (Alexander 77:489). This kind of a social contact between people densely takes place in Cumhuriyet Street and

however, especially in peak months, this density exceeds its capacity, which disturbingly avoids walking.



Figure 16: Views from Cumhuriyet Street

Nearby the increase in population, some visual and aesthetical problems had also arisen in the area as well as in the whole town. Visual pollution of outdoor advertising became an important urban problem that, most of the buildings were blocked under the panels in Cumhuriyet Street. Signboards, graphics, logos, neon and advertisement panels of the shops, cafes and bars totally cover-up the building facades that, with also the usage of sun shelters, neither the buildings nor the sky can be perceived. Sometimes people cannot even identify where they are exactly in the street. Especially at night, in this image confusion with color, light, and voice bombardment, nearby the crowd of people, it is hard to talk about a spatially distinctive street character. Therefore, 2003 Conservation Revision Plan proposes the removal of those additional boards and signs in registered buildings and plant material.

If the aesthetic quality of adjacent houses is neglected, if the facing frontages are out of harmony, if different sections of the street are inadequately demarcated or if the scale is unbalanced. These factors fulfill a precise cultural role in the functional coherence of the street and the square (Krier 88:20).

Most of these problems, as the lack of visual and aesthetic values, nearby the unbalanced distribution of functional uses can be seen as the reason behind the loss of identity in urban space, since the local street character and buildings become out of sight with these visual and aesthetic problems. Then, it can be thought, what is its distinction; the same street formation can also be seen in a waterfront town like Kuşadası or Alanya.

3.1.1.4. The architectural typology

The architectural typology of Bodrum is also the most important feature of the identity formation of the town. A typical white washed house with its proportional dimensions and flat roof is the symbol of Bodrum. In the general layout of the town, the regular unity of the houses, formation of a common language has figured out the architectural distinctiveness of this coastal town until 1980s. More than that, the combination of the architectural character with the street pattern and landscape is the most important reason behind the existence of urban identity in Bodrum.

The houses of Ortakent and Karakaya on the hill of Myndos had served as a model for current Bodrum houses. The 1982 Development Plan of Bodrum determined the dimensions, door, window proportions, roof type, color, and most of the interior and exterior architectural features so that, as Lozano states it, the local architecture turned out to be the “structural design code” of the town. In a

sense, the architectural distinctiveness of the town could be protected with the plan restrictions.

As Lozano states, “...a successful typology contains an inherent “genetic” design code, which guides the process of combination, the appearance of new elements, and, eventually, the generation of pattern” (Lozano 90:242). However, by the time in every part of the Bodrum peninsula, the “structural design code” transformed into monotonous and ugly housing estates, “enormous graveyards in military order” as Mansur describes, became one of the most important indicators of the loss of urban identity through out the years (Mansur 99:41). It can be said that, the protection and sustainability of this distinctive place could not be managed nearby the development of tourism industry.

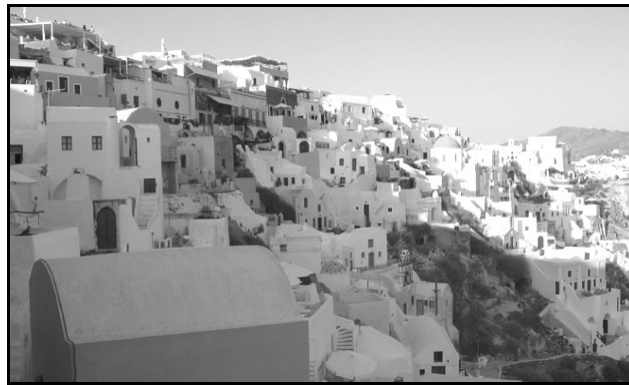


Figure 17: The silhouette of Santorini

Lozano gives Santorini in Greece, as an example to structural design code. The traditional architectural typology constitutes a distinctive spatial character and urban identity in this Greek village that most of the houses are white washed and has stone barrel vaulted roofs. It can be said that, the protection of

this unique urban pattern is an important model, which sustains its identity characteristics as a Mediterranean village, under the impact of tourism industry.

In considering the conservation process about the civilian architectural samples, in 1981, there were 775 houses designated for conservation by G.E.E.A.Y.K. (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu) (Sasmaz 83:63). As Sasmaz points out that, in that period 340 of those houses were altered by additional structures, approximately 25 of them were rebuilt by altering the original elements so as the outcome, more than the half of the buildings were altered. The decrease in the number of the registered buildings in the town is also the proof of the loss in architectural character. Since, according to the 10.06.2003 decision of M.K.T.V.K.K (Muğla K lt r ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu), there are 481 buildings designated for conservation in the town. Moreover, according to the determinations in that year, 104 of these buildings are functioning as commercial activities and touristic facilities.

It is noticeable to say that, especially in the commercial usage as restaurant, bar and shops, the registered buildings are at the risk of losing their architectural quality with enlarging and changing door and window dimensions, additional sign boards and illegally added structures.

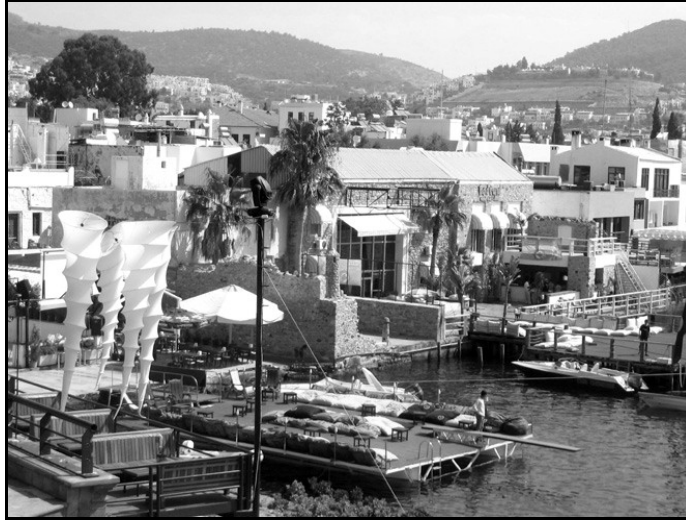


Figure 18: Additional structures in the seashore of Kumbahçe neighborhood

There is no other town in Turkey, which has local architectural restrictions in a defined design code. Three main types of houses were defining this architectural code until 1970s that are, Mezzanine, Chios and Tower Houses. Today, especially the tower types are rarely seen in city center. This type, which was built for defense in the past, is the oldest type. Nowadays, only thirteen original tower-houses remain in different parts of the peninsula.

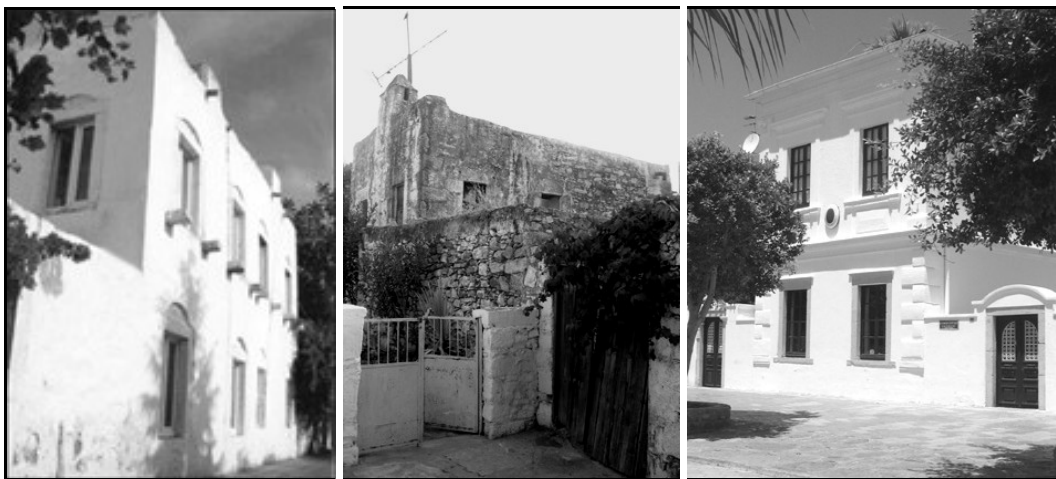


Figure 19: Chios, Mezzanine, and Levanten House (left to right)

- The Mezzanine House

This type supports the smallest plan with a rectangular base of 6.5 -7.5 m by 4.2- 4.6 m. The dimensions of all the windows are 60 x 80 cm, have double-winged wooden shutters, which open to the inside. The entrance to the house is on the long facade. This type of house has two sections: The lower and the upper house. The living area, called “musandıra”, is reached with a ladder situated next to the entrance of the lower floor, which is used for storage in large earthen jars of various grains, legumes, and olive oil. That is why those, who cultivate the land, build it. The roof is waterproofed using clay earth, which is spread on to the roof’s surface and flattened with a heavy cylinder. Some houses, which were built in the more recent past, have wooden roofs covered with brick tiles.

- The Chios House

This type is a medium-sized, generally similar to the Mezzanine House, with larger dimensions of 6.5 - 8.0 m by 4.2 - 5.0 m. The size of the windows is larger than in Mezzanine with dimensions of 80 x 130 cm. The rest of the floor and ceiling features are similar, but brick tiles and wooden roofing are more commonly seen.

Apart from Mezzanine and Chios types, buildings, which were built in following periods for rich and foreign people, are described as the Levantine types. The general layout and dimensions are similar with Chios, but distinguishing by the means of their detailed works on facades.

3.1.1.5. The landscape features

Through the development of urban pattern, Gündüz (2001) states the nonexistence of the public green areas in Bodrum. However, gardens and fields were the most important part of the urban landscape in especially the west side of the town until 1980s. In 1970s, %70 of the district was covered with pine woods or with maquis, the remaining land could be cultivated that are %40 olives, %40 wheat, barley and tobacco, %15 tangerines and %5 vegetables (Mansur 72:33). In a sense, the typical Mediterranean flora and vegetation of the region could be seen in every part of the town. The observations of Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (1972) about the physical environment in Tepecik district while walking on the way to Mausoleum describes the condition of the neighborhood in that period.

...I turned to silent streets. Now a white house, near after an orange and mandarin garden, later on an olive grove...walls on both sides, small stone houses. There are miniature cafes, which cannot get more than seven or eight customers. Two date palms, figs, cactuses. After some harup trees, I arrived to the site of the Mausoleum. From there, I step on to the amphitheatre. I will never forget the beautifulness of the scenery. In front of me, Karaada, İstanköy, Kalimnos and partially the Nisiros Island could be seen (Kabaağaçlı 72:46).

According to Akçuras (1972), the reason behind these dense green areas in Turkish settlement was; in history, people who lived in this area were Anatolians. Their dependence to agriculture and relation with soil led to the formation of these fields and gardens around their houses. Moreover, the mountain slopes in the west side of the town is nearer to the sea than to the east.



Figure 20: Castle view of 1960s (Source: Municipality archive)

In the climates where fruit trees grow, the orchards give the land an almost magical identity: think of the orange groves of Southern California, the cherry trees of Japan, the olive trees of Greece. But the growth of cities seems always to destroy these trees and the quality they possess (Alexander 77:795).

As Alexander states, with the growth and the development of the town under the impact of tourism, urban green started to be lost. Before 1970s, the patterns like “vegetable garden”, “fruit trees” and “tree places”, and the magical identity that Alexander describes, could be seen every part of the town. However, today the orchards of tangerine and olive plantations of the locals are pensions and hotels. Especially in the eastern side of the town, in the density of this house pattern, it is hard to see a green space.

Today, the charm of the narrow white streets with the colors of oleanders and purple flowers can rarely be seen; in a sense, it can be said that, the typical plants of the region are not the part the urban space anymore in most of the parts of town. It is obvious that, with the loss of these green areas and visual and environmental destructions in town also lead to the loss of the urban identity.



Figure 21: Standing white washed garden walls in Türküyusu neighborhood

With the decrease in the number of orchards and fields, the typical white washed “garden walls” in more than two meters height, which were increasing the privacy of houses and enclosure, also became useless. Today, the planned green areas in the town are 40500 m², which should be 351.800 m² (Gündüz 01:109).

Through the usage of plant material in urban space, the character of an area also changes its figure. More than that, the combination of the native plants in urban space with the typical architectural features contributes to the identity of that place. In Bodrum, especially in summer, the climate control can be provided with plants; also, to break down the monotony of the places and to differentiate the similar streets from each other, more than that, most of the aesthetic problems in urban space can be solved by plant material.



Figure 22: Municipality garden and Neyzen Tevfik Road

As a result, by increasing the richness of the plant material in Bodrum, nearby its functional and visual benefits, can contribute to the identity of the urban space and resembles to the town that Kabağaalı describes. Today, the native trees, which were sewed by the efforts of Cevat řakir Kabağaalı in 1924 to the public open spaces in Neyzen Tevfik Street and in front of the municipality, are important evidences of the urban landscape in Bodrum. Furthermore, Municipality garden is also the only registered monumental opus as a green space.

Nearby the significance of plant material in urban landscape, from a different viewpoint, Erkmen evaluates the urban identity issue dealing with its relation with urban furniture. According to him, the modifications that will be proposed for a city; should be suitable to its urban identity, should have some characteristics to emphasize that identity, and should be designed just for that city and within the frame of its identity (Erkmen 90:126).

Furthermore, the pavement material that is used in streets, sideways, pedestrianized areas and squares should also reflect the local character of the town. In Bodrum, various types of pavement materials like natural Ankara stone, granite, concrete, asphalt, and different mosaic types are used in different parts of the town. The issue is, especially within the urban historic site, in important traffic and pedestrian ways and squares, with the usage of appropriate pavement materials and design patterns, the sense of place should be emphasized both visually and functionally. Today, this type of efforts can be seen especially in Neyzen Tevfik Road that, same kind of applications in different parts of the town can strengthen the distinctiveness of the places.

3.1.2. Urban functions and economy

Through the transformation of the “fisher town” into “tourism town”, the activities of people, urban functions, and economy also transformed. In that sense, firstly, the previous situation is going to be evaluated then the today’s circumstances are going to be examined under the impact of tourism development.

The economic life of Bodrum changed and started to a new era after the Cretan massacre of 1897 according to Mansur’s determinations. The talents of Cretans in commercial activities, without having taboos in mind, they started to earn money from tobacco trade to foreign and inner lands. After 1930s, with the closure of the islands to the mainland trade, Bodrum and its surrounding turn out to be poor. Agricultural produce from the fields in the villages was the main revenue of the both peasants and townsmen. Nearby the farming activities of the

local, the commercial activities could also be seen. There were cafes, shops and restaurants, which are mostly owned by Greeks. As Mansur tells, Turks were tailors, cooks and pastry cooks since there were shops such as grocers, barbers, tailors and shoemakers (Mansur 72:25). In 1963, there were two hotels, three pensions and three home pensions (Güner&Girgin 98:227).

DISTRICT	HOUSE	PLOT	WARE-HOUSE	OIL-PRESS	CAFE	SHOP	RES-TAURANT
Eskiçeşme	245	6	3	3		4	
Yokuşbaşı	140	4	5	4	4	9	
Yeniköy	312	10	2		2	4	
Tepecik	145	7	14		2	6	1
Türkkuyusu	203	4	4				
Kumbahçe	476	14	18	2	1	15	2
Çarşı	248	11	10		5	41	6
Umurca	218	3	1	1	2		1
TOTAL	1987	59	57	10	16	79	10

Figure 23: Land use distribution by the neighborhoods in 1967

As the result of the property ownership research of Mansur, the absence of the commercial areas in Türkkuyusu neighborhood also shows the differentiation of the occupations between Turks and Cretans. There were 1608 people own 1987 houses and 273 pieces of assorted real estate units in 1967 according to the study (Mansur 72:31). The most crowded neighborhood was Kumbahçe with 476 houses and Yeniköy, Çarşı and Eskiçeşme follows it. (Fig 29)

Nearby those commercial and agricultural activities, the inhabitants were also earning their living from boat building before the development of tourism. It has always been an important industry in Bodrum. “The main shipyard in Ottoman period was located just beyond where the yacht basin now stands today”

(Çalışlar 99). The traditional sailing boats, the tirandils with a pointed bow and stern and the gulets with a board beam and rounded stern were built in the shipyards. As Mansur (1972) states, there were five boat-building yards in the town in that period.

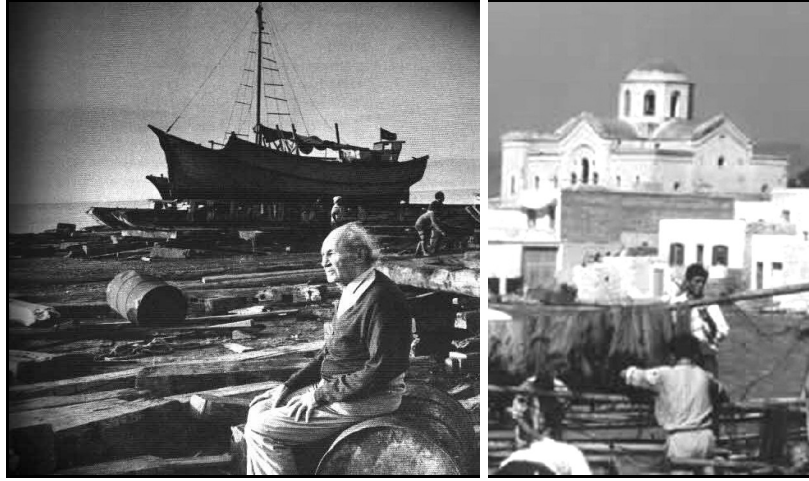


Figure 24: Kabağaçlı sitting nearby the traditional boat building activity in a shipyard and fishermen before 1960s

Fishing and sponge diving were also important income sources for people in Bodrum. The determinations of USAID in 1971 about the natural history of Halicarnassus Seashore National Park deal with the rich fauna of the region as the invertebrates and fishes like sponge, lobster, crayfish, octopus, and squid. That is because Bodrum was a major commercial fishing center with a weekly catch of 25-30 tons of the Aegean (USAID 71:8). This also shows the importance of this activity and income source for the people in that period. Mansur determines the occupational table of Bodrum in 1967. There were 350 people employed as sponges, 150 in fishing, and 40 in grocers (Mansur 72:70).

“The Bodrum region is also the home of an indigenous carpet-weaving industry whose roots go back to the Turkmen tribes who were settled in the area by the Seljuk Turks in the 11th and 12th centuries” (Calışlar 99:49). This type of weavings are known as “Milas carpets” in the literature, and with their designs, motifs and colors, they are also the reflection of this culture. Weaving activity for the peasant women is today an important income source however; the number of the carpet shops in the center of the town was reduced through the years. Then, most of the traditional and daily activities of the inhabitants started to be disappeared or changed with the increasing employment opportunities in tourism sector. In this process, the urban identity also changed its figure for the insiders of the town.

In the early 1970s, before the development of the tourism industry, people migrated from Bodrum because of its then high level of unemployment. Agriculture was unable to meet the basic needs of families. However, with the development of tourism, a reverse in this migration pattern has occurred; tourist development has given many farmers the opportunity to sell their land for tourism purposes and to change their occupation from farmer to employee within the tourism sector (İdikut 03:126).

Therefore, between the years of 1975-1995, 1299 hectares of agricultural land were invaded by touristic investments mostly in the coastal regions of the peninsula (Güner 98:219). In that manner, the development of tourism and the impacts on physical environment, urban functions, and meanings of people are going to be examined.

3.1.2.1. Impact of tourism on the transformation of urban identity

The transformation of Bodrum, from “fisher town” into a popular vacation destination, is occurred in last three decades. Since 1970s and through the following decades, identity of the town is started to change with the developments in tourism sector and tourism-oriented investments. Var evaluates the history of Turkish tourism starting from 1930s up to the present time. He points out the spectacular results in terms of the growth of foreign and domestic tourism that, between the years of 1963 and 1974 the tourist revenues went from US\$ 7.7 million to US\$ 193.7 million (Var 01:98). Var defines the period of 1980-90 as the “transition to private entrepreneurship” with also the legislations as, Tourism Encouragement Law 1982, Law of Protection of Environment 1983, and National Parks Law 1983 (Var 01:100). In this period, tourism sector started to be become a threat on urban environment. In 1990s, through the dominance of private sector, increase in tourism revenues was tremendous, which also shows the economic dependence of the area to the tourism industry. That is why, the impact of the tourism sector is considered in this case, considering the urban functions in analyzing the transformation of urban identity.

As Akçuras (1972) point out, the developments in tourism bring liveliness to the town in 1970s, however as the outcome of the differentiations in socio-economical order, the environmental values were destructed and poor-quality buildings were started to be constructed. For Akçuras (1972), “The objective of the conservation precautions has to put aside this contradiction and without avoiding the development of the town; changing different needs ought to

be met and besides, the environmental values has to be preserved.” However, this balance could not be provided with the developments in tourism, through out the years.

The population of the town increased from 5136 to 32227 in between the years of 1965 and 2000. According to the Report of Bodrum Conservation Revision Plan of 2003, projection population is proposed as 44299 people in 2015 (Gündüz 01:69). 2003 Revision Plan gives the population records of July 2000 that Omurça is the densest neighborhood with 128 people per hectare, then Tepecik and Çarşı follows Omurça as the most crowded neighborhoods in town (Gündüz 01:64). (Fig 29) While, the number of the incoming local and foreign tourists to the peninsula, were 22 635 in 1963, this amount also reached up to 1.3 million in 1994 (Güner & Girgin 98:227). The center of Bodrum also tries to carry the demand of the whole peninsula, since this center is the main attraction node of the eleven districts.

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 Muğla province, especially in Bodrum (Dündar 98:9).

The increase in population density of the town brought inevitably most of the environmental and infrastructural problems to the urban space in especially the peak months of tourism. The reason behind most these troubles that Bodrum had lived throughout the time is the economical overdependence of the area on tourism. Güner and Girgin also state the impacts of tourism in the peninsula.

Primarily, they point out, the over construction, distraction of the agricultural lands, water pollution, inadequacy of water sources, traffic jam and noise pollution (Güner & Girgin 98:227).



Figure 25: New construction sites following Kumbahçe neighborhood

The impacts of tourism sector like; over development and over construction of the area with overcrowded roads, streets, cafes, seashores, nearby noise pollution, air pollution, water pollution, environmental pollution and over strength of everything affected directly the quality of urban environment in the whole peninsula. Under the impact of these problems, twenty-four hours living places in center of the town compulsorily adapted itself to this chaotic atmosphere. With the unification of these spatial transformations like; the increase in structural density and traffic density, parking problem, transformation of the functional uses, differentiation of the user profile, the increase in number of person per one m^2 , lack of landscape elements and with most of the spatial inadequacies, the identity of the town is totally differed.

In 1990, tourism, commercial and service sector was constituting the half of the economical input as it was % 53.59 and increased up to % 62.51 in 2001, nearby, transport and construction was about % 14.8 in 1990 increased up to % 35 in 2001 (Gündüz 01:9). It is probable to say that, through the continuation of the unplanned tourism oriented investments, the share of the tourism sector in the economy will also continue to increase with its variety of disadvantages. In 2003 according to the statistics of municipality, there were 164 hotels, 54 motels, and 145 pensions, as in total 365 municipality licensed accommodation establishments in Bodrum. In total, the number of beds was 34272 in 2003, which increases population two times in peak months that, this number also raises with the coming tourists from different parts of the peninsula in day time or at night.

Then, with the over-development tourism industry, some sub-sectors like construction, finance, travel, entertainment, accommodation, service, catering etc. were also affected and over-developed. Through the growth of the new sectors, employment opportunities also increased the magnetism of the town for both the insiders and outsiders. Especially, with the opening of the construction season, the peninsula is being occupied by 30.000 unqualified laborers who come from Eastern Anatolia for working opportunities. In this process, local small businesses also could not survive within this competition and started to be disappeared in time. In 2001, the share of small arts in economy was % 2 (Gündüz 01:9). The disappearance of the traditional and local activities of the community in town should not to be preferred, since supporting and sustaining those values can also bring attractiveness to the authenticity of the town.

In today's circumstances of the town, in spite of all its difficulties, the density of town is still functioning as a magnet for the coming foreign and local tourists. Starting from 1990s, through the dominance of the private sector, the investors and high-income people and the "meanings" that they charge about Bodrum gave a different direction to the transformation of the image of the town. As Idikut points out, "Coastal use has become the subject of conflicting claims from multiple user groups, with many incompatible uses and large vested interests at stake" (Idikut 03:125).

The town is being marketed and promoted through media canals and internet to local tourists of high-income group from big cities as a "day and night entertainment place" with its luxurious hotels, bars, and trendy beaches. That is because; various ways of living and understanding the town also became apparent in the last decade. Therefore, the town started to be perceived through the image that the media charges, in other words, as Relph describes, through the "mass identity" of the town.

Through the privatization of the marina in 1997, the "urban functions" in western part of the town were also differed and oriented through the desires and requirements of high-income group of outsiders. The activities and service developments around marina site as the luxurious shopping center, yacht club, bars and restaurants in Neyzen Tevfik Road totally transformed the character of the shore through the west side of the town. After all, in 1998, with also the opening of the Milas-Bodrum Airport, the accessibility and the attractiveness of the town inevitably increased more than ever before. This image was also

supported with the high budgeted investments as all-inclusive hotels, luxurious second housing, supermarkets, and private beaches in every part of the peninsula. Then, when we evaluate the identity of Bodrum from the point of this way of lives, the town also became the “trendy vacation site” of the high-income group of the big cities in the last ten years.



Figure 26: Bodrum marina (Source: www.miltabodrummarina.com)

However, besides the economical benefits of tourism industry to the town, the impact of these transformations on to the lifestyles of local people is the other essential dimension of the issue. Rossi deals with the altering nature of the cities by the means of its reflections on to the inhabitants. From the viewpoint of the commuters, as the primary witnesses of this transformation in towns, they personally experience those differentiations in their lifestyles and urban living areas.

Destruction and demolition, expropriation and rapid changes in use and as a result of speculation and obsolescence, are the most recognizable signs of urban dynamics. But beyond all else, the images suggest the interrupted destiny of the individual, of his often sad and difficult participation in the destiny of the collective (Rossi 82:22).

3.1.3. Urban meanings: Socio-cultural features

Instead of living in a city with a homogenous and dull character, Alexander offers the existence of the “mosaic of subcultures,” variety lifestyles, different subcultures in cities, with their own spatial territory (Alexander 77:50). This kind of a mosaic could be seen in Bodrum until 1970s, which was also enriching the variety of the cultural identities and their reflections on urban space. After the Lozan Treaty, which was signed in 1923, Greeks were expelled from Turkey in exchange for Turkish immigrants from Greece following the Turkish-Greek War of 1919-1922 (Bodrumlu 45:38). Then, Bodrum was resettled by refugees from Crete; more immigrants came from Rhodes and Cos, When Çalışlar deals about that period, in the poverty and economic backwardness, Bodrum’s inhabitants tolerantly accepted the new comers to the town with peace and the refugees quickly assimilated to the place (Çalışlar 99:89). After then, all the inhabitants possessed urban environment through their individual activities and meanings.

The cultural and local characteristics of the area, like the eating habits, dresses, and handicrafts are important clues about the lifestyle and identity formation of the community. Traditional activities, wedding feasts, local festivals, bayrams describe both the local identity and its expression on urban space. Beside these, local products like carpets, kilims, weavings, and hand made sandals are the symbols of this culture. The meanings that people charge about their urban environment were also interrelated with the local and traditional values of that

community. Today, the reflection of these local characteristics can hardly ever be seen in the town.



Figure 27: Market place in 1960s (Source: Mansur 1972)

For instance, in a typical Anatolian town, traditional bazaar is obviously an important gathering place for the inhabitants. The commuters and the villagers come together on a fix day of the week in a semi-open place to sell their product to the customers. The purpose of this activity, shopping tradition between each other, the crowd of the dense shopping area, the authenticity with the smell on air shape the character and identity of that urban space. “Every Friday, streets surrounding in the market place come alive with the peasants coming in from neighboring villages bringing fruit and vegetables to the town and buying groceries and yard goods” (Mansur 72:19). Today, bazaar tradition continues not in the streets of Bodrum but under a space fame structure, behind the bus station. Inhabitants sell fresh produce and also inexpensive clothing, fabric and household goods for the tourists. The meaning and place of the activity differed and lost its local character and authenticity, however, the area is still an attraction point for

the people. The meanings that people charge about socio-cultural values were also transformed throughout the years in Bodrum. The opinion of the new generations about the identity of today's Bodrum is different from the older ones. How they perceive the twenty-four hours entertaining town is not equivalent. The most important reason behind this difference can be described as the transformed living standards, desires, requirements, socio-cultural values and senses of people. In that sense, the opinions of the local community about this differentiation, their problems and needs in this situation, as the real inhabitants of the town, are important by the means of sustaining their existence in the area. Since insiders should not possess their own town as the outsiders. As Relph terms, "existential insiders" who are the main characters of a town, have significant role in urban space while examining the urban identity.

It is the insideness that most people experience when they are at home and in their own town or region, when they know the place and are known and accepted there. Existential insideness characterizes belonging to a place and the deep and complete identity with a place that is the very foundation of the place concept (Relph 76:55).

Therefore, the impression of the local community in sustaining the urban character, their consciousness about the issue should also be interrogated. Whether individually or collectively, the efforts of the insiders to increase the quality of their urban environment is essentially important. In other words, how they perceive and possess their living areas, their houses, gardens, streets, neighborhoods, and public places, are crucial to sustain the identity characteristics of the town. Then, it is noticeable that, increasing the common awareness, vision

and effort of the inhabitants of Bodrum, is also the important stage of preserving the distinctive architectural, spatial, historical and environmental features.

3.2. ANALYSIS ON STUDY AREAS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PLANNING APPROACHES

3.2.1. Planning approaches in Bodrum

Through the transformation of the identity of Bodrum, role of the development plans and planning approaches cannot be underestimated. Şenyapılı (1996) criticizes the approaches of development plans and he points out the similarities of plan regulations and “military uniform of the soldiers”, which lead to lose or camouflage the identity and individuality of the self and the cities. In that sense, he criticizes plan regulations that are about to remove identity features to supply common minimum equivalences in most of the cities. Şenyapılı points out the significance of considering the place characteristics in planning approaches. It is to say that, the awareness of the planners about the place identity features in planning processes should be increased for sustaining the urban character. In that sense, about dealing with the case of Bodrum, the plan decisions about the town are going to be evaluated to put forward the inputs and outputs on the transformation process of urban identity.

12.01.1974 dated Bodrum Development Plan evaluates tourism as one of the main factors in the development of the town and decisions about macroform are taken within that context (Fig 30). 1974 Plan foresees 15.000 populations in plan period and besides that, the plan could refuge 22.500 inhabitants. However,

the population of Bodrum was 7858 in 1975. In the plan, housing development and settled areas constitute three different patterns, from dense areas to lesser. The center of the town, coastal line and at the back of the coastline is high in density that proposes 350 people per hectare. Medium density areas are the transitory areas from the center to the gardens and less dense areas. Nearby, there is no decision about the conservation of the typical flat roofed Bodrum houses. However, the decisions about the transportation network and functional distribution are influential, when considering the existing spatial influences on general layout of the town. In the plan, through the decision of a peripheral road, the connection of the town with outer transportation networks became strengthened. Mansur points out the non-existence of a link either with Milas or with Muğla until that period (Mansur 72:16). With this new road in the north of the town, the formation of a new city gate was proposed, which gathers the functions like bus station, small crafts, bazaar, wholesale trade, and depots, can be pointed out in the first place.

According to Alexander, the paths, which enter the towns, should be marked by “gateways” where they cross the boundary (Alexander 77:277). However, today, the industrial complex, which is far from visual and aesthetic values as expected, densely take place in the entrance of the town as it was decided in the plan. Today, the industrial complex, which was established in 1991, joins the car-penters, ironmongers, lathe men and others, and welcomes the new comers with its unfortunate look. As also Özisik points out, there is a strong need for another complex however, a suitable spot cannot be agreed upon for a lack of

a development plan (Özışık 99:267). About considering the 1974 Plan, Gündüz mainly points out and criticizes the nonexistence of conservation decisions, since in plan period G.E.E.A.Y.K. also reacted onto the plan.

Following the 1974 Plan, Bodrum city center was declared as a conservation area with 12.04.1975 dated and 8308 numbered decision of G.E.E.A.Y.K to protect the unique architecture and urban landscape of the town. The Ministry of Tourism prepared the first Conservation Development Plan of Bodrum that was approved by G.E.E.A.Y.K in the date of 05.07.1982, which is still in operation. This plan determined the conservation borders about archeological, historic, natural sites, buildings to be preserved and nearby special neighborhood areas to be projected. After 1990s, fifteen plans were prepared additionally on to the base plan of 1982 and thirteen of them were approved by the committees (Gündüz 01:134).

In considering the 1982 and the additional plans, Gündüz criticizes the understanding of this patch worked planning scheme through out the years. Insufficient integration of the plans, which had been done additionally to one another is the reason behind his condemnations. In that sense, 2003 Conservation Revision Plan Report evaluates the 1982 Plan. The determinations of the report about the 1982 development plan, mentions about some problems, which are transportation problems, functional distribution, and sufficiency of the functions in the town. Most of these urban problems have negative impacts on the transformation process of Bodrum (Gündüz 01:151). By considering the influences, the determinations of the report about 1982 plan are:

- Negative impacts of insufficient parking and transportation problems;
- The destruction of the natural silhouette with the density of second housing areas;
- Negative impacts of industrial complex in the town;
- The density of the commercial activities in the center of the town, which is sufficient to three and half times of today's population;
- Wrong tourism development decisions in protection zone like the transformation of some lots into tourism areas in the center of the town;
- The insufficiency of social activity areas in the town;

More than that, about the urban historic site and registering processes, some important determinations is also made in the 2003 Plan Report. The extensiveness of the urban historic site causes difficulties in conservation control on registered buildings. Building based registering issues, causes to the destruction of the urban pattern. Restrictions about the interferences on registered buildings should be made since today most of the registered buildings are abolished with additional structures and lose their original characteristics.

In considering the decisions about the land use distribution; commercial, education, health, socio-cultural activities and technical infrastructure, they are entirely unbalanced. The density and pressure of the commercial activities in town should have to be restricted and limited in the long term, since the existing plan foresees 241.594 m² for the commercial areas, which should be 45.734 m² for 35.280 populations. However, the existing commercial areas occupy 178.033 m² (Gündüz 01:81).

In 1991, Bodrum Peninsula Environmental Plan was approved and revised in 2002. In the same year, The Chamber of Architects in Bodrum rejected the plan, and through the rejections of the eleven municipalities, Council of State ceased the plan. However, once more in 17.09.2003 Council approved the plan without revision. Construction permissions of the plan up to eight floors in untouched bays of Bodrum peninsula, is the reason behind the rejections of the municipalities and NGOs. That is why, Council of State, again decided to cease the executive about the Revision Plan (Anter 04). Anter describes the result of the process as the “victory of the environment”.

2003 Conservation Revision Plan proposes twelve “Urban Design Areas” which were also proposed in 1982 Plan as special neighborhood areas. Six of them are in city center, which are, traditional commercial center, Kumbahçe coastal line, Neyzen Tevfik coastal line, Türkkuyusu Square, Tulumba Square and administrative center. The others are; the design of the surrounding areas around windmills, coastal design of Bardakçı, Haremten and Gümbet Bays, coastal project of Halikarnas İskele and İçmeler Yacht Port, restoration of Halicarnassus antique western city walls and landscape design projects, restoration of antique theatre and input on city life and restoration of Halicarnassus antique northern city walls and landscape design projects.



Figure 28: 2003 Conservation Revision Plan

One of the most important proposal of 2003 Conservation Revision Plan report points out the priority of the pedestrian circulation in urban historic site since proposes the pedestrianization of Neyzen Tevfik Road.

İdikut and Edelman (2003) also explain the consequences of lack of planning and uncontrolled urbanization in Bodrum city and its hinterland, by also considering the uncontrolled growth of tourism industry. Most of the environmental problems that they pointed out like; the damage to historical sites, disappearance of urban green areas, are equivalent with the determinations of Gündüz, which are interrelated with the transformation of urban identity in Bodrum nearby the inadequacy of planning approaches.

3.2.2. Transformation analysis on study areas

In previous section, transformations in the morphological, functional, and meanings as socio-cultural features were examined in general. The relation between the urban identity formations with the morphological transformations of a city is important through the means of their interaction. By dealing with Bodrum, the spatial differentiations that occurred in town in thirty years time with the development of tourism sector cannot be underestimated. In that manner, throughout the analysis, the previous and existing situation of the town correlated with identity issue is going to be examined.

Akçuras (1972) point out the significance of six areas in the town in that time and according to their determinations until that period the architectural and settlement pattern of these areas were well protected. Therefore, they offer the analysis and conservation of these areas, which are Türk Kuyusu Square, tower complex in Firkutay Street, Taşlık Street, surrounding of Tepecik Mosque, some streets in Greek neighbourhood and İskele Square. In that sense, three of these areas, that has distinctive spatial characteristics, have been chosen by considering their existing situation in the town. The differentiation of these study areas are going to be analyzed in particular to evaluate the transformation of urban identity in general layout of the town.

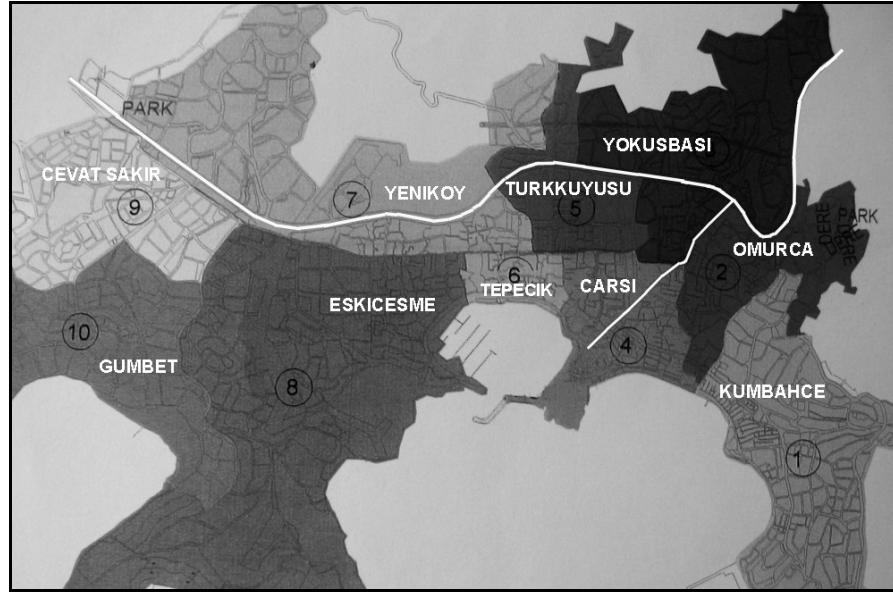


Figure 29: Neighborhood borders in Bodrum (Source: Gündüz 2001)

Study areas are located in different neighborhoods within the “Urban Historic Site”. The significance of the areas are, the neighborhoods are different by the means of their morphological features as street layout, block, and plot formations, structural figures, urban functions, and social environment. In a sense, as Akçuras pointed out, the distinctive spatial features, which characterize and contribute to the identity of the town is the important reason behind choosing these areas.

In that sense, to examine and evaluate the changes that affect the urban identity, the morphological characteristics of the areas, transformations in urban functions and changes in structural densities are going to be examined by using the plan and maps from four different periods. By the way, the role of the plan decisions in the transformation process is also going to be discussed.

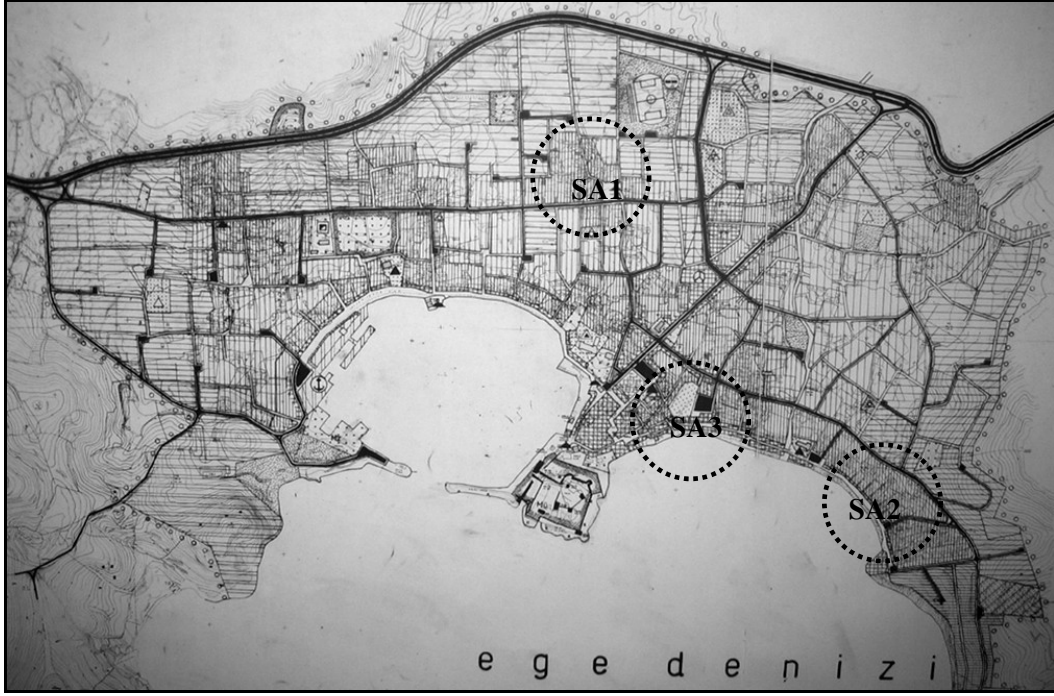


Figure 30: 1974 Bodrum Development Plan

- 1982 Bodrum Conservation Development Plan in 1/1000 scale
- 1988 Base map in 1/1000 scale
- 1999 Base map in 1/1000 scale
- 2003 Conservation Revision Plan in 1/1000 scale

Through the analysis, the approaches of Lynch, Cullen, Alexander, and Krier on the perceptual and morphological dimensions of urban space are also going to be taken into consideration in the transformation of urban identity. Moreover, the development plans, plan reports, and base maps of Bodrum are going to be used as the most important data about analyzing the spatial transformation processes of the neighborhoods.

3.2.2.1. Study Area 1 in Türkkuyusu neighborhood

The first study area (SA1) is in Türkkuyusu neighborhood, which is settled around Türkkuyusu square. The name Türkkuyusu was given to the first well that Turks were opened in the town (Bodrumlu 45:34). It is placed in the “T-junction” of Turgutreis and Türkkuyusu Streets, on the way to Mausoleum site. Turgutreis Street broadens with a public square, which is a kind of an entrance to the neighborhood.

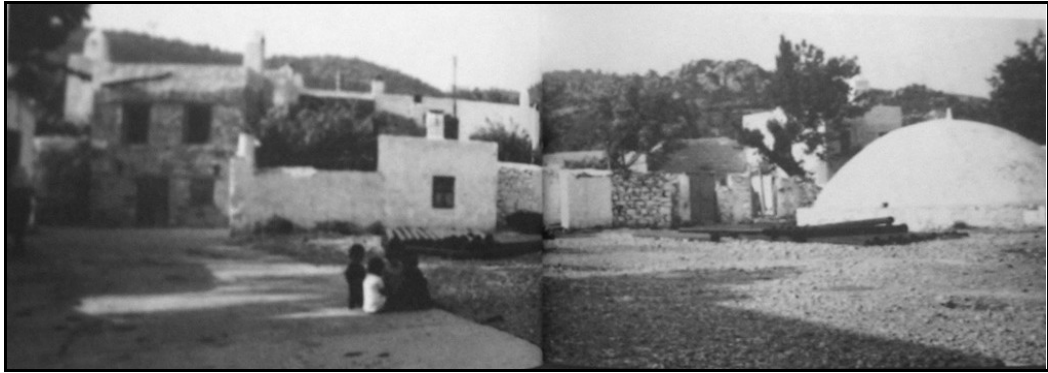


Figure 31: Türkkuyusu square in 1970s (Source: Bektaş 1979)

The features, which characterize the identity of this residential Turkish neighborhood, can be counted as, the narrow shady streets, dead-end street formations as cul-de-sacs and white washed garden walls in more than two meter height. Since, the reflections of the lifestyles, meanings, values, and activities of Turkish people on to the urban space can be seen as the structures like wells, water cistern, mosque, and also the formation of fields and orchards.

Türkkuyusu mosque, which was built in 1765, a water cistern, and a public fountain are the important registered monumental structures of the Türkkuyusu Square. In the 1862 map of Newton, the formation of the square and a water cistern are placed as the structural symbols of the area. In 1982 plan, a well is also seen in the square, which is not situated today.



Figure 32: 1982 Plan of SA1

Today, in parallel with Neyzen Tevfik Road, Turgutreis Street is a five meters dense traffic axis without a sideways. Before the opening of the peripheral road, it was the main transportation axis towards Turgutreis. Nowadays, in this one-way path, it is hard to walk for pedestrians especially at night. As Krier also states, the street layouts, which we have inherited in our towns, were planned to the scale of the human being, the horse, and carriage. The street is unsuitable for

the motorized traffic, whilst remaining appropriate to human circulation and activity (Krier 88:17). The situation is the same about Bodrum that, the narrow streets cannot appropriate the pressure of dense traffic density in the peak months.



Figure 33: Türkkuyusu Square today

Nowadays the square of the neighborhood is used as the parking lot of the residents, around a playground in the middle of the square. Therefore, it cannot be functioning as an “activity node” or a “public outdoor room” for people. The reason behind this, although it has some communal functions as playground and mosque, it is not enough to group them, which are used in different times of the day, but to create intensity of action, the facilities that are placed together round any one node must function in a cooperative manner (Alexander 77:165). There might be, this kind of a formation in 1960s since, the daily activities of the residents with the usage of the well, water cistern and the mosque, the square could be functioning as the “public outdoor room” of the neighborhood.

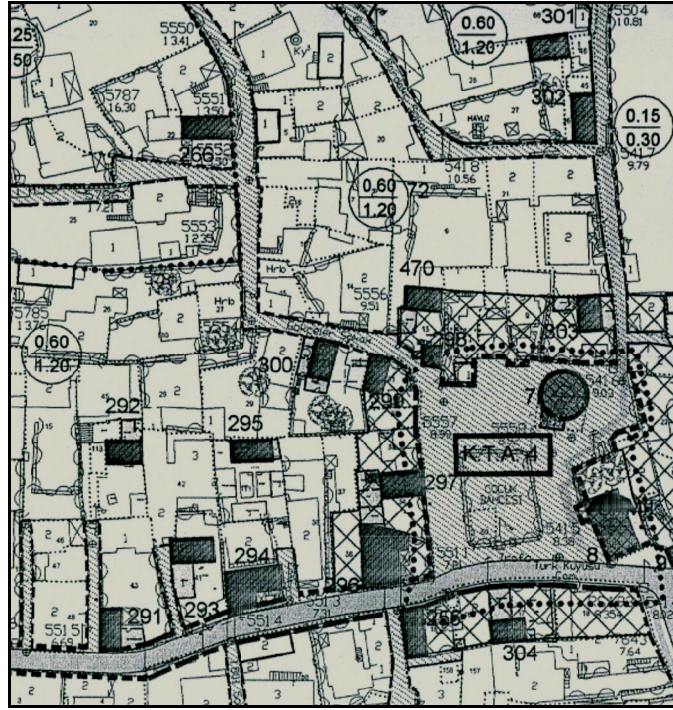


Figure 36: 2003 Plan of SA1

In the 2003 Conservation Revision Plan, the square is also proposed as one of the “Urban Design Area” in the town. The important decision about the place is the commercial functions around the square. With the incoming commercial functions, increasing service and parking demands should be considered in the area. From an optimistic point of view, in the long term, the character of the place can be strengthened and protected with its new functional and aesthetic design. On the other side, the potential of the square can also be wasted for the economic profit of the investors, then this kind of risks should be foreseen and managed about to sustain the identity of the place.



Figure 37: Kumbahçe neighborhood in 1964 (Source: Cemile Erdem's archive)

3.2.2.2. Study Area 2 in Kumbahçe neighborhood

The second study area (SA2) is in Kumbahçe neighborhood, which is also known as Cretan neighborhood, on the eastern side of the town. The area includes Cumhuriyet Street through the shore between Çilek Street and Papatya Street. The formation of the neighborhood is singular with its pedestrian oriented narrow streets at right angle to the seashore. Since, this distinctive street pattern forms the identity of the area with adjacent houses near after each other. This layout ends up where the topography becomes steep.

In this part of the town, generally courtyards take the position of the gardens and provide relation with the nature. Cobble paved courtyards are also the incoming places to the houses and the outdoor living spaces for people. White washed standing walls higher than 2 meters also provide privacy for courtyards.

Mansur describes Kumbahçe neighborhood in 1960's; "The shape of the houses is Aegean, square white cubes placed side by side or on top of each other. The wooden shutters and doors are painted blue, red tile roofs are increasingly popular" (Mansur 72:18). Today, in this part of the town, some of the street perspectives still have the ambience of the previous Bodrum.



Figure 38: Street perspectives from Kumbahçe neighborhood

A water-cistern is also placed in the study area; however, nowadays it has no functional use. (Fig 9) 1982 Plan foresees a green area where sloppy topography starts near after the water cistern. In 1999 map, the formation of a playground is also seen as it is in Türkkuyusu square. However, this area needs a better design with strengthening the existence of the water cistern, solving the parking problem, and redesigning the playground formation. 2003 Plan enlarges the green area around water cistern and unifies with the playground. However,

this proposal can not be applied with also increasing the commercial functions, service and parking demands.



Figure 39: 1982 Plan of SA2



Figure 40: 1988 Base map of SA2

Figure 41: 1999 Base map of SA2

In Kumbahçe neighborhood, on the way to SA2 and Halikarnas disco, the pedestrian corridor of Cumhuriyet Street ends up near after Azmakbaşı and continues parallel along with the seashore. In 1960s, in this part of the street, there was nothing but only the “south-facing outdoor” of white houses.



Figure 42: Seashore of Kumbahçe in 1964 (Source: Cemile Erdem’s archive)

After 1980s, with also the tourism oriented plan decisions, the land use character started to be transformed from residential to commercial functions through the seashore. Today, hotels, cafés, pubs, their outdoor spaces, and the seashore are in crowd through the day and the night. The patterns of Alexander like “street cafes” during the day and “beer halls” at night densely function in the area. Especially in peak months, the problems like parking and noise pollution becomes disturbing in surrounding streets and residential units in the neighborhood.



Figure 43: Illegal construction views from SA2

Through out the time, in Kumbahçe neighborhood, as it is been perceived in the whole town, the illegally added constructions and wrong applications to the houses became the most important problem of the area. In considering the proportions and dimensions of the buildings, additional structures put forward ugly views both in the perspective of the streets and in the silhouette of the town. Since 1975, the conservation committee reports 639 conservation decisions about Bodrum city center according to the 2003 revision plan report. It is noticeable that, in 25 years, only two illegal constructions were recorded in the town (Gündüz 01:135). This situation can also be evaluated as the insufficiency of the municipal control mechanisms about illegal constructions in the center of the town, which directly lead to permit the destruction of the architectural identity. 2003 Plan proposes commercial functions in SA2, however the expansion of the commercial functions bring the problems like access, service and parking to the site, where is high in density.

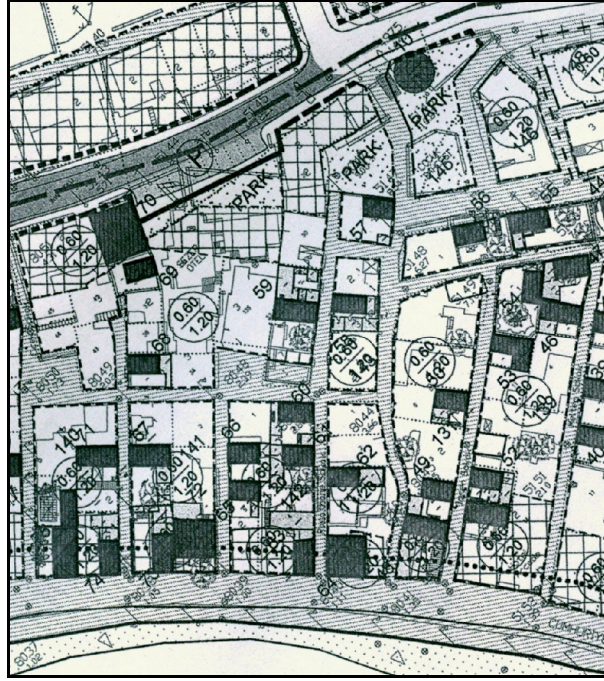


Figure 44: 2003 Plan of SA2

3.2.2.3. Study Area 3 in Çarşı neighborhood

The third study area (SA3) is in Çarşı neighborhood between Taşlık and Uslu Street including Dr Alim Bey Street through the shore. The distinctive characteristics of the area were; Taşlık Street was singular by the means of its rocky and topographic formation. As Akcuras also pointed, the conservation of the street with its distinctive character in this plane shore neighborhood was essential about protecting its unique character. However, by the time, the rocky formation of the street was destructed with additional concrete pavements that lead to lose its distinctive structure. On the other side, Uslu Street that is proposed, as the only “registered street” of the 2003 Conservation Revision Plan, is singular with its originally protected arches that define the street from two sides.

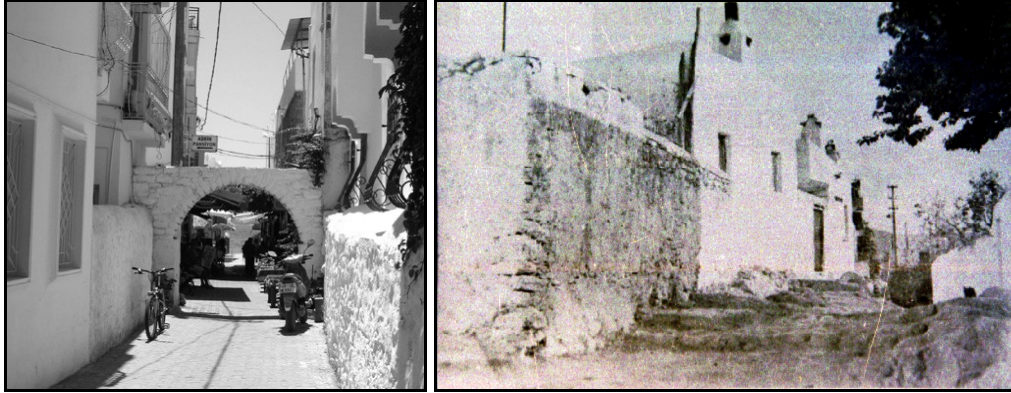


Figure 45: Perspective from Uslu Street

Figure 46: Taşlık Street in 1970s (right) (Source: Municipality archive)

The study area includes the plot of Hagia Nikola Church, which is also seen in 1847 map of Captain Spratt (Fig 6), was demolished in 1965. After this unfortunate situation, the neighborhood had lost not only an architectural structure but also the symbol of the sacred values of Cretan people who were living in the town. The building, which was constructed in the plot of the church, is Community Education Center in Hilmi Uran Square.

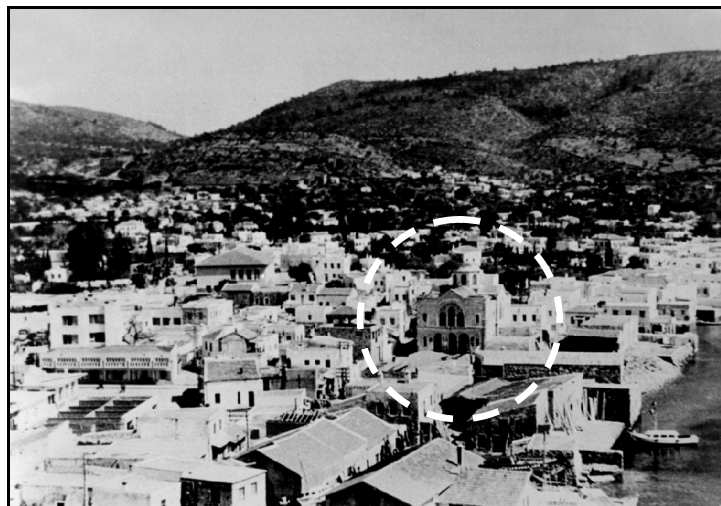


Figure 47: Hagia Nikola Church in Çarşı neighborhood before 1960s (Source: Municipality archive).

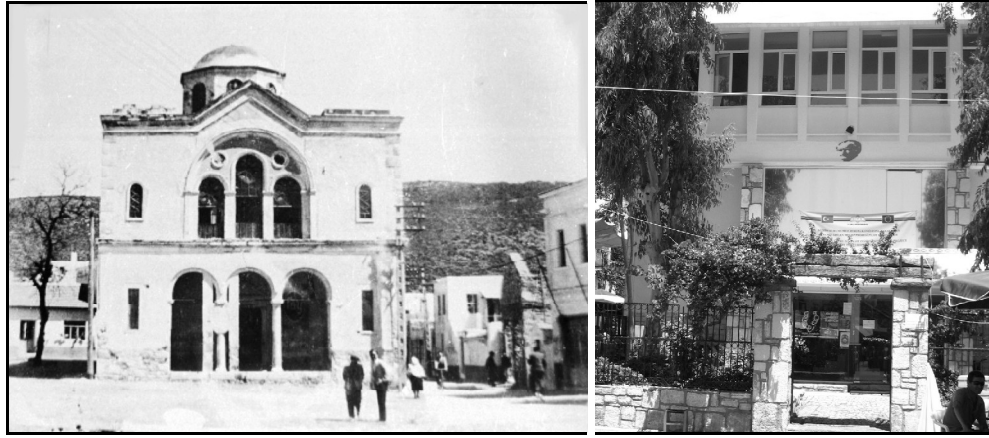


Figure 48: Hagia Nikola Church versus Community Education Center

However, it is hard to talk about the harmony of the building with the local architectural typology. Neither by the means of its scale nor the style is appropriate to the architectural typology in general layout of the town. In that sense, 2003 Plan proposes the restitution of the church with the previous data and documents. On the other side, a second church, dedicated to St George, had been started in the early years of this century but the project was abandoned when the town's Greek population left during the Turkish War of Independence (Çalışlar 99). Today, the building is the main part of Halikarnas Disco.

In spite of its existing distinctive spatial features around, this site lived the most remarkable transformation among three study areas. It is because, in plan period, SA1 and SA2 were already structured, however, SA3 was an empty field in the center of the town and in the most valuable part of the town. Then, through the plan decisions, new layout of the area turned out to be contrary to general morphology of the town.

In considering the 1974 plan, and after all the 1982, the decision of an official institution area had foreseen an introverted structure in the middle of the block and nearby the sea. Erez criticizes the occupation of the shores with the official buildings and lodgings that nearby the Community Education Center, the lodgings, and buildings of Forest and Customs Institutions also occupy the seashore (Erez 96:162). These buildings also prevent the visual and physical contact with the sea from the Hilmi Uran Square. 2003 Revision Plan foresees this relation with the sea, by removing the Forest Institution Building from the site, however, with the decision, the side-facade of the over scaled structure of Community Education Center is going to be revealed in the silhouette of the town, which should not be preferable.

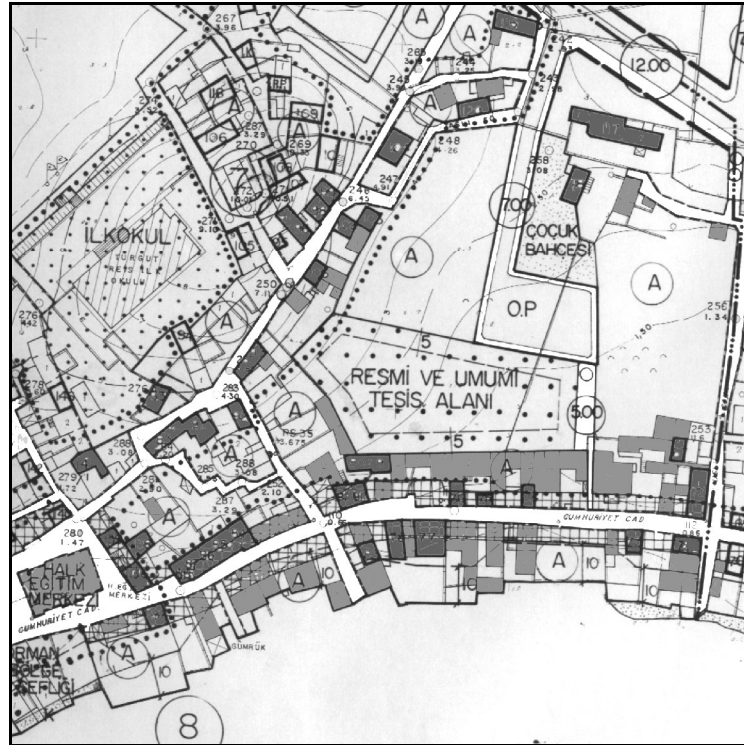


Figure 49: 1982 Plan of SA3

Today the lodging of security members is located in the middle of the block and the parking lot which is proposed in the plan of 1982, is functioning with full capacity. In the map of 1988, and after all in 1999, the formation of the hotels is also seen in the north side of the lodgings. It is hard to talk about the contribution of those introverted structures to the local character of the town. Then, the decision also rejects the formation of a street layout in the area.

Through the dead-end street decision, and wrong land use proposal of the plan about the fields, the site totally becomes the private space of the hotels and lodgings. This is most important reason behind the distortion of the urban pattern character in this part of the town. With the placement of this introverted layout, the connection of Taşlık and Uslu Street was also underestimated. A pedestrian linkage between these two unique streets could be proposed as an alternative to Dr. Alim Bey Street that was also unnoticed.



Figure 50: 1988 Base map of SA3

Figure 51: 1999 Base map of SA3 (right)

Importantly, the unique urban character of the town was ignored in planning processes. The pedestrian access to the sea and around streets was also overlooked. 2003 Revision Plan Report points out the problems about the construction proposals of the 1982 plan. The main point about this issue is; the harmonious transition from older city pattern to newly structuring empty spaces was not truly projected. Today, as the result of this approach, imitated and repeated structures, in an introverted layout and function causes to the loss of identity in urban pattern.

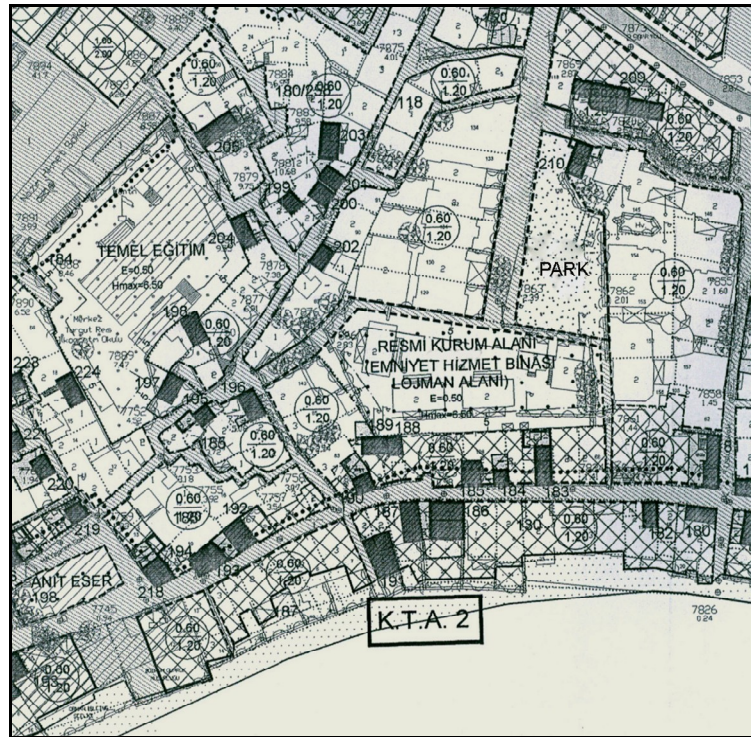


Figure 52: 2003 Plan of SA3

On the other hand, in 2003 Revision plan, the decision of transforming the half of the dead-end street into a green area seems encouraging about the increase in urban green. However, this can also cause new problems about the

service access and car parking requirements of two hotels and lodgings especially in peak months. The proposal of commercial functions in Atatürk Road will also bring new requirements to the area. Moreover, the future of those green areas can be similar as the empty playgrounds in every part of the town. Since, in planning processes, it is important to consider the requirements of the users in urban space for the efficient usage of the places.

Therefore, three of the study areas that are in urban historic site deserve better conditions about their identity features. Under the pressure and impact of the urban problems, the unique characteristics of the buildings, squares, street formations, landscape features were lost in study areas. Through new designs and arrangements, the distinctive character of the places can be revived. Since, Türkuyusu Square should be projected considering surrounding relations, pedestrian access, parking problem, and probable service problems with the coming commercial functions. Hilmi Uran Square should also be redesigned with the removal of the institution buildings and Community Education Center as it had been done in the past, relation with the sea should be emphasized. The character of the Uslu and Taslik streets can also be strengthened with changing the pavement material and increasing the native plants with the efforts of the existential users.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, the transformation of urban identity was examined in the case of Bodrum. Three decades before, the developments in tourism were seen as an opportunity for the economic growth of the town. The expansion of the town was also supported with the plan decisions. Then, after 1970s this unique small fisher town, started to become the one and only attraction point of the whole peninsula. Since, the urban identity of the town gave shape and direction to tourist attractions nevertheless tourism shaped the urban environment and identity as well. As the outcome this dependence, tourism became a dominant economic activity all around the peninsula with all the destructive impacts.

After 1990s, with the over development of the sector, economic and functional transformations had occurred in town, the urban space started to lose its distinctive features through the means of its identity characteristics. In a sense, unplanned developments in tourism sector and management lead to the distortion of the urban environment. Especially in the urban historic site, through the rising land values, increasing tourist oriented investments, differing urban functions,

population rise, illegal construction efforts and with the increasing infrastructural and environmental problems; the identity of the town was started to be lost.

Today people, who lived this transformation period, memorize the previous situation of the town with desire. When Tuan considers the relationship between time and place, he describes the reason behind this yearning. “What can the past mean to us? People look back for various reasons, but shared by all is the need to acquire a sense of self and of identity. To strengthen our sense of self the past needs to be rescued and made accessible” (Tuan 77:186). The previous situation of Bodrum, from the viewpoint of Bektaş, summarizes briefly what people desire from the past and the distinctive urban features that structure the identity of the town in 1970s.

One of the loveliest aspects of Bodrum, perhaps the most striking one is the way in which the houses are grouped, forming a harmonious whole. A section of a street, both in terms of declination and perspective, is so beautiful you cannot take your eyes off it. The narrow, shady, mainly cobbled streets, completely in harmony with their surroundings, the white garden walls over 2 meter in height, the comely, well-proportioned windows and doors, purple flowers cascading from the garden walls, oleanders and other flower, trees such as pomegranate, fig and mulberry, all as beautiful as the interiors of the homes, together reflect the Mediterranean (Bektaş 79: 56).

Bektaş considers every spatial segment of this unique character in those years. The common viewpoint of the narrators who illustrate the characteristics of urban landscape and life styles of those times shows that, until that period before the development of tourism, the town had a strong character and identity of its own with its distinctive historical, morphological, socio-cultural, and functional

characteristics. However, in time the meanings that people, whether outsider or insider, charge about Bodrum also became differed.

Today, “mass identity” of the town and peninsula is superiorly popular. Therefore, Bodrum became an entertainment place and popular vacation site. However, it is probable that, after three decades, the image of “today’s Bodrum” will also be desirably memorized, as it is being done today. The important point is, in following decades, in spite of all the developments that will occur in town, the preservation of the character of the town with its distinctive spatial features, architectural character, monuments, traditional activities and the meanings, should truly be managed. Since, the town had lost some of the unique urban and local values, during the preceding three decades.

- Distortion, degeneration, and monotony in architectural typology,
- Decrease in spatial quality with insufficient infrastructure and unaesthetic structuring,
- Undefined, similar, and repetitive places especially in newly built areas,
- Loss of the coastal and natural habitats,
- Loss of flora with the destruction of urban green,
- Disintegration and isolation of historical and archeological heritages within the dense urban pattern
- Disappearance of traditional activities and socio-cultural values lead to lose and transform the identity of the town.

The reason behind most of these emerging urban problems was mentioned in third chapter under the heading of the impacts of tourism. The point is, when considering the future of a town, the priorities should not just be restrictively determined by economic criterion from the viewpoint of the investors

and financiers. Eke evaluates the sustainable tourism development in coastal areas of Turkey accordingly she criticizes the planning procedures, which are far from ecological and aesthetic values and based on economic criteria (Eke 98:215).

Especially places, which have distinctive urban and environmental character and identity, ought to be planned and truly managed through the cooperation of the planners, architects, archeologists, landscape architects, economists by considering the requirements of the local community with their support. In that sense, the cooperation of “existential insiders and objective outsiders” should be strengthened for the sustainability of the urban character.

İdikut examines the co-management in coastal areas in the case of Bodrum Peninsula. She interrogates the partnerships between government, local communities, NGOs, and private sector, which can improve sustainable resource management in coastal areas. In this sense, by dealing with Bodrum peninsula, she suggests the strategy for developing sustainable tourism, in five elements, which are the promotion of local capacity and besides authority, the linking of the natural, and man made environments, the preservation of the ecosystem’s natural recovery capacity and historical heritage, and the involvement of all stakeholders in all these frameworks (İdikut 03:341).

The Report of the Commission of the European Communities (2004), towards a thematic strategy on the urban environment also deals with the importance of sustainable urban management at the local level with the co-operation of different levels of government (local, regional and national), between different departments within local administrations, and between neighboring

administrations, as well as increasing citizen and stakeholder participation.
(www.europa.eu.int)

According to Goldsteen, for the maintenance, protection and appearance of the cities, the limits of the governmental control and municipal responsibility has to be taken into consideration as an important asset (Goldsteen 94:6).

In that sense, it is noticeable to say that, for providing a carefully managed transformation process, the long-term risk analysis of the town should be done. Economically, spatially, environmentally and ecologically the existing condition of the town should be defined with all its potentials and problems. It is important that, through the generations, the sustainability of the environmental, morphological, functional, and local values in urban environment can truly be planned and managed, for an accurate future.

In considering the issue from the viewpoint of the tourist, if the tourist cannot discover and find the distinctive pleasure that, he/she requires, and then looks for better choices. The distinctive pleasure of the tourist, those Urry states, is the unique character of urban environment with its functions and meanings. The reason why tourists prefer Bodrum is mostly the entertainment functions of the town. However, this mass identity could be temporary, than apart from the attractive urban functions, the urban space should also have and preserve the architectural, spatial and historical uniqueness. The amalgamation of the distinctive functions and meanings in urban space can create that unique character and attractiveness for the user. Than the balances and priorities of the town should

be thought from that view, otherwise if the problems like monotony, repetitiveness, and similarities combine with poor-quality, polluted and dense areas, than it would be hard to talk about the identity of that place. The question is indeed how to prioritize the preservation of traditional urban pattern, activities, and meanings with the conscious viewpoint of the authorities and local community. This is also a process of managing the town with an accurate urban consciousness. Since, through that process, some suggestions regarding the *urban morphology, urban functions and meanings* can be given to increase the sense of place and strengthen the distinctive identity characteristics of the town.

In considering the urban morphology, the problems, which threaten the identity features of the historical heritage, public places, architecture and landscape features, can be solved with the precautions and efforts of the local people and authorities.

- Local authorities should increase the control mechanisms to prevent the illegal construction and altering efforts on registered buildings,
- Urban design areas in urban historic site need a distinctive design with mixing the traditional values and new urban values to increase identity features,
- Surrounding landscape design and usage of windmills and water cisterns should be projected to emphasize their structural value,
- Existing plant material should be protected and increased in urban design areas and suitable public spaces,
- The existence of the historical and archeological sites should be highlighted,

- Not only in building level but also the unique street formations and influential public places should also be taken into consideration in conservation process,
- The dimension and usage of shop signs should be restricted especially for the facades of registered buildings,
- Furniture and pavement material should reflect the local character especially in the urban historic site,

In considering the urban functions and meanings, suggestions for increasing the local and traditional values and activities of the inhabitants can be given that, those are also crucial for the sustainability of urban identity.

- Local community should be encouraged and supported to sustain their local and traditional working activities,
- The consciousness of the new generations in local community should be increased by informing about the historical, archeological, and urban values of the town,
- Traditional values has to be revived with local rituals, festivals and activities,

As a conclusion, the sustainability of urban identity should be seen as the priority of the town. As if, the development of tourism and expansion of second housing can be restricted in the town and in the whole peninsula, and investments are directed to the environmental protection, urban quality and conservation of the historical, architectural and spatial values and meanings, then the earnings of those savings will turn to be a memorable and unique urban environment in mind in the long term.

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