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Sustainability versus Development: Mudanya's War of Survival as a Liveable City

Sustainable development assumes that the natural and historical resources of a city which constitute to its local characteristics, will not yield to urban and regional pressures.

Economies of the advanced capitalist countries are more or less equal and efficient and sustainability can be developed as a criteria but what about the developing countries? Will they sustain their inequalities and inefficiencies?

This concept assumes that every settlement had reached to a certain level of development so is far away from all the pressures of growth. But in developing countries such as Turkey, the basic concern is not the sustainability but the survival of local characteristics. Our anxiety is to regain the liveable characteristics of our cities which have already been dismissed and to achieve a certain level of liveability by increasing the quality of life. The most important problem of developing countries is the physical pressure originating from their level of growth not reached to a point of saturation. Mudanya, Turkey, lives this occasion in such a process worth to discuss.

The current developments in Mudanya accomplish a striking example to an urban settlement's war in order not to lose its liveability against metropolitan growth. Deterioration of local values has gained speed especially with the planning of this settlement in Bursa Metropolitan Area. These values can be summarized as sea, the productive agricultural lands and cultural property. The paper will discuss the concept of survivability within the example of Mudanya by conserving/protecting these values

SUSTAINABILITY VERSUS METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT: MUDANYA'S WAR OF SURVIVAL AS A LIVEABLE CITY

1. The Meaning of Sustainability in Developing Countries

1.1. Sustainability Concept

Sustainable development is described as an economic activity which increases social welfare with minimum environmental degradation within the framework of economic, technical and social limitations (Adams,1990:2).

There are two basic anxieties; firstly, human beings in their quest for economic development and enjoyment of the riches of nature, must see the reality of resource limitation. Secondly, planners develop the schemes for the future of cities: Are their planning principles provide an ecologically sustainable development or their decisions destroy the environment! This type of an understanding gives way to a discussion of all production and consumption processes within the dynamics of environment and ecology.

Yet, sustainable development concept can not be limited in the sphere of environmentalism. However, it includes the necessities of the future in addition to the necessities of the present, in the use of resources, management of investments and technological development and institutional transformations. Stress is laid on the need for sustainable use of ecosystems and species to ensure their continued availability. So, sustainable development becomes a balanced and harmonious transformation process instead of a condition of stable adaptation by also adjoining two principles of environment and development in the global dimensions.

Histories of environmentalism have tended to focus on Europe or America. However the history of sustainable development thinking must embrace the way these essentially metropolitan ideas were expressed on the periphery in the present century, initially on the colonial periphery and latterly within the countries of the independent Third World. This

focuses attention in particular on the rise of international conservation and global thinking about the environment. Globalism embraced both the recognition of environmental problems outside the national boundaries, notably pollution and spread of concern about the environment outside industrialized countries.

These discussions bring environment and development as one single issue. Thus, environmental problems can be clearly defined within the framework of the factors underlying world poverty and international inequality, poverty being seen as a major cause and effect of global environmental problems. Nonetheless, it is poverty which fosters population growth and puts pressure on the Third World environment, and it is economic growth which will remove that pressure. For instance, debt, poverty and population growth restrict the capacity of developing countries to adopt environmental policies.

Traditionally, as a reflection of the major problems affecting developing countries, two criteria have most frequently been applied to development projects: allocative efficiency and equity (distribution). Despite economic and social progress in several parts of the Third World, poverty and inequality continue to be characteristic features of many developing countries. Sustainability discussions have illuminated the rise of a third challenge to poor countries, for the need to combat the rapid deterioration of the environment(Pelt,1991:2-3).

1.2. A Critical Approach to the Concept of Sustainability in Developing Countries

Some authors claim that sustainable development concept has some repercussions.

“Firstly, this concept gives importance to justice on a time scale but not justice in its spatial meaning. Justice on a time scale considers equity in generations but what about equity between different locations, regions, cities, urban systems, countries and social groups that should be the basic concern of spatial justice. Thus, sustainable development concept intensified these inequalities and made the cities, regions, countries and social groups that were in an advantageous position to protect their power. So it can be said that this concept reproduces the current inequalities. Secondly, sustainable development concept explains the ways of achieving the sustainability of environmental goals equally to all generations so it does not give an idea on the redistribution of income. It only connects the process of production to the environment and does not deal with the concept of equity neither on a global nor national scale. As a result, this concept means the protection and redistribution of the existing inequalities.” (Güvenç and Işık, 1995, 1)

So, when sustainability is considered in a global dimension, as not all the countries are equal in advance, advanced countries will sustain their position. Economies of the advanced capitalist countries are more or less equal and efficient and sustainability can be developed as a third criteria but what about the Third World, will they sustain their inequalities and inefficiencies? So, sustainability appears to protect the advantageous position of the developed countries. This concept assumed that every settlement had reached to a certain level of development and so is far away from all the pressures of growth (Dündar,1997:5).

But in developing countries such as Turkey, the basic concern is not the sustainability but the survival of natural and man-made local characteristics. The anxiety is to regain the livable characteristics of the cities which have already been dismissed and to achieve a certain level of livability by increasing the quality of life.

1.3. New Definitions Complementary to the Sustainability Concept: Livability, Survivability, Equity

A critical approach to the concept of sustainability in developing countries brought new definitions complementary to this concept based on discussions about the inner dynamics of underdevelopment and its reflections on physical space. As a matter of fact, the most important problem of the developing countries is the physical pressures originating from their level of growth which has not reached to a point of saturation. For instance in Turkey, most of urban and rural land has been losing its liveability criteria against dispersion of cities in the form of oil-slicks in all directions towards natural lands especially productive agricultural lands. This occasion also increases densities in the inner-city areas by applying pressures on open areas and on cultural property. Thus, the basic concern of the developing countries is broader than the conceptual basis of sustainable development, putting forward new definitions.

Most of the settlements in Turkey have been trying to survive their local liveability characteristics. In Habitat report first the relation of the two concepts sustainability and liveability has been stated as follows:

“Sustainability is a condition that must be realized. It does not bring a binding element about how settlements should be. Sustainability is a condition which can be realized by settlements with very different characteristics. It does not give ability to make a choice among these. Sustainability can have a meaning only with the principle of liveability.” (Habitat II, 1995:81)

Liveability principle which describes the characteristics of a “good community”, was proposed by the Turkish delegation during the preparation works of Habitat II, as complementary to the principle of sustainability. The aim was to determine the characteristics of a liveable city that will be sustained with the principles of equity and civic engagement. (Habitat II,1995:79-81). In another word, the principles of sustainability, liveability and equity will be considered in interaction.

Liveability can be described with the performance of settlements on which people come to an agreement as such a description is flexible to develop in time and is open to local physical and cultural conditions of change. In this respect liveability should be based on the human rights. People want their neighborhoods and their cities to be renewed because they are now aware of their close ties with their settlement areas. In another word, liveability is related with the spatial characteristics of settlements which directly make contribution to individual and social wealth and happiness and to the sense of satisfaction of individuals with being a part of settlement life. Settlements should be designed, developed, governed, conserved and upgraded in such a way that they can satisfy all the needs and wants of all children, women men and the others with respect to liveable settlements (Habitat II,1995:79-81).

On the other hand, sustainability is a principle of justice through generations. Habitat II report brings a third principle in addition to sustainability and liveability: The principle of ‘equity’ is very important for all settlements as it is a must for a society to be sustainable and liveable. This concept brings justice during the life time of a generation for all people, from women and men to the children and young population, without racial, religious and political discriminations.

“This concept brings the elimination of poverty, equal opportunity of all human beings in all aspects of life, equal responsibility for all human beings in the conservation of natural and cultural sources and in the formation of livable settlements, etc.” (Habitat II,1995:79)

2. Sustainability versus Metropolitan Development in Mudanya

All through the world, global forces have been transforming the economic base of cities, in turn bringing changes in land use and social occupation. New concepts of the global economy and its reflections on social and physical space, leads to important adaptation problems of urban settlements. In fact, cities preparing themselves for the 21st century, are under the pressures of such restructuring processes and are in an anxiety of survival of their local values and urban space. To create a sustainable and livable urban environment for all the human beings is the main goal of governments.

Mudanya presents a good laboratory for such a discussion on the survivability of local values, under the pressures of economic transformations and their effects on social and physical space. The development patterns of Mudanya which prepares the necessary grounds for such an anxiety can be summarized under two headings:

1. Development dynamics under the effect of Bursa metropolitan growth

- rapid economic development
- migration

2. The effects of these development dynamics on the settlement

- rapid population growth
- changing populational characteristics
- density pressures on the built-up area, especially central areas
- spread on peripheral lands (agricultural lands, coasts)
- increasing rates of economic dependency (settlement patterns in accordance with the condition of metropolitanization: secondary houses, harbor, tourism, etc.)

2.1. The Local Characteristics of the Settlement

Mudanya is a littoral settlement across the Marmara Sea, within the boundaries of Bursa. It has presented the characteristics of an urban settlement since the antiquity. Within this process, the settlement gained an identity with a variety of local characteristics which

provided a value for it, as an important locality in its region and in Turkey. These local characteristics are as follows:

1. Historical Characteristics:

- Ruins from the antiquity period (harbor, archeological site which has not been excavated yet)

- Examples of vernacular architecture belonging to the Ottoman period (Tahir Pasha Konak/Residence belonging to the 18th century, traditional house and pattern, church, etc.)

- Mütareke House; The most important symbol of the history of the Republican period (The first treaty with the Entente Powers after the Turkish War of Independence, was signed in this house)

2. Natural Characteristics:

- Coast

- Microclimatic characteristics (The settlement is shown as the second center in the world asthma map, its weather is recommended to people who complain about asthma, hearth disease and hypertension. Secondly, because the number of windy days is 300 in a year, the weather in summer is not sweltering.)

- Hills parallel to the coast, passing approximately after one km., covered with olive yards and scrubs.

- Vineyards: One entering the city from Bursa gate meets with vineyards, presenting a natural entrance. Hamilton stated that the best quality wines were produced from the grapes of Mudanya and Trilye, a small settlement on the west of Mudanya, in the Ottoman period (Hamilton,1842:68-70).

3. Social Characteristics:

- Existence of a versality of cultures and their different life styles which shapes up the urban space. (The migrants from Crete, at the beginning of the 19th century, settled in a grid-iron pattern, however the inhabitants of Mudanya settled in an organic pattern, presenting a dual structure in the settlement pattern of the city. Simultaneously, the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire preferred the grid-iron pattern as well and this

situation was reflected on space in the formation of two neighborhoods, one was the Muslim neighborhood and the other was the non-Muslim neighborhood.)

-A life pattern closely related with sea and nature, a high level of social consciousness with the power of citizenship, a long tradition of togetherness (There are a lot of civil society organizations active in the city.)

2.2. Mudanya's Growth Patterns

The growth patterns of Mudanya are dependent upon the development of Bursa metropolitan area.

2.2.1. The Effects of Bursa Metropolitan Development

In addition to the characteristics of Bursa originating from its long history as the capital of the Ottoman Empire (until the 14th century), it has become an industrial and agricultural center as a reflection of the developments in these two sectors after 1960. Thus with an ever increasing rate of industrialization and population following 1960s, the hinterland of Bursa expanded through Istanbul, along the coast line of the Marmara Sea.

“Bursa has an important economic power for the economy of both its region and the country, especially with the diversity and richness of its industrial production... The importance of manufacturing industry in Bursa, has been increasing as a result of its employment rate over the country level, its high level position in the national hierarchy of the industrial sectors and its high rate in total export incomes. Food, machinery, chemical and automotive industries have been developing in addition to Bursa's traditional production, textile industry, with an increasing number of establishments using high-technology. These industrial sectors have become competitive in the international markets as well.” (Bursa Raporu,1997:35-45)

Mudanya has been developed as an important harbor in this context, connecting Bursa to Istanbul. The export and import relations of Bursa are provided from Mudanya harbor which is also the most important port on the shipping lines, connecting the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. Nonetheless, Mudanya appears to be one of the growth corridors of this industrial city. Yet, industrial areas have chosen place to themselves along the road through Mudanya, at the fringes of Bursa.

These developments brought an impetus for the growth of ancillary facilities in Mudanya as a reflection of this settlement's increasing dependency in economic terms to Bursa. The economic structure of this littoral settlement which was dependent on agriculture once upon a time, is currently dependent on a developing service sector. (Table 1) Especially tourism has been one of the basic sectors since the beginning of 1970s. It was also an essential activity in the 18th and 19th centuries when this settlement was started to be used as the summer place of Istanbul. But in the first years of Bursa's development as an important industrial city, Mudanya lost its local values as a tourism center and soon became the dormitory town of Bursa.

Table 1: Sectoral Division of Mudanya in 1990

Sectors	Percentage (%)
Agriculture	4
Industry	42
Service	54
TOTAL	100

Source: 1/1000 Ölçekli Bursa 2020 Çevre Düzeni Strateji Plan Raporu, 1997, Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Nazım Plan Büro Başkanlığı, Bursa, p.87.

Population of Mudanya has been increasing with a percentage of 44%o, which is more than Turkey's rate of population increase with 24.75%o. This leads to an increasing density in the built-up area and thus applies pressure on the living population and changes the characteristics of the population.

Mudanya gains population not only from other urban settlements in and out of its region, but from rural settlements as well. Urban-rural population rates increased from 24.8%-75.2% in 1950 to 41.1%-58.9% in 1990 (Table 2). Secondly, fertility rate of Mudanya's population is 89% which is lower than 119%, fertility rate of Turkey. Thirdly, the age pyramid shows an agglomeration in the ages of 35-40 which coincide an economically active population. The mean family size is 3.6, defining a nuclear family type. These prove

the fact that Mudanya pulls an economically active population. One of the reasons of such a changing population is the development of service sector in recent years. At the other end of the spectrum, an urbanization experience integrated with Bursa, one of the most important industrial cities of Turkey, brought with itself an increasing percentage of middle and upper-income groups to Mudanya. These income groups show a different structure as well.

Table 2: Urban-Rural Population Rates in Mudanya (1950-1990)

Years	Urban (%)	Rural (%)
1950	24.8	75.2
1960	24.1	75.9
1970	31.1	68.9
1980	36.4	63.6
1990	41.1	56.6

Source: 1/1000 Ölçekli Bursa 2020 Çevre Düzeni Strateji Plan Raporu, 1997, Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi Nazım Plan Büro Başkanlığı, Bursa, p.87.

So, not only Bursa grows through Mudanya but Mudanya grows through Bursa as well, on the olive yards and agricultural lands. One of the reasons of such a growth pattern, is the increase in property values, especially in central areas as a result of an increasing housing demand of the migrant population.

It is a fact that there will be a transformation in the social structure parallel to the changes in the population structure of Mudanya. This phenomenon can be observed as a negative interrelationship of different social groups with each other. Especially alienation of the inhabitants has been continuing in addition to their withdrawal from crowd and migration to Bursa. An increasing labor population employed in industrial sector in Bursa (a rural population migrated from different regions of Turkey) prefers Mudanya to settle, because of low rent levels compared to Bursa. However, the inhabitants of Mudanya leaves the settlement. There is another population flow in summers, with the opening of tourism season. A group of high-income population of Bursa prefer, Mudanya for their secondary

houses and this group coincides to a third kind of social structure. These three different populations provide conflict on space.

2.2.2. Identity Loss in a Process of Metropolitan Interaction

The problems of growth which have been discussed above, point out to the fact that the local, historical, geographical and natural values of this littoral settlement have been deteriorating especially since 1960s, under the pressures of economic development.

The primary result of this occasion is the pressures of an increasing density on the built-up area, especially on the historical urban fabric, which can be clarified as one of the most important locational characteristics of Mudanya. The residents of these houses leave them to decay because of a series of reasons. The historical urban fabric is under the pressure of central activities because of its location in the city center. Inefficiency of a mature conservation consciousness, the unsuitability of space organization of the buildings to contemporary life styles, financial problems, unavailability of state support are the primary reasons of this deterioration.

Secondly, Mudanya grows without a plan on the olive yards and agricultural lands. Urbanization not only covers up the land but also endeavors the sea as some part of the coasts has been filled up to make pedestrian alleys and for the harbor facilities. Most of the land is not appropriate for settlement because of topographic thresholds.

Thus Mudanya has been losing its identity as a summer place resulting from an increasing environmental pollution, especially water pollution, which have begun with industrialization. For these reasons, Mudanya has been developing as a sub-region of Bursa metropolitan area. It has not only been losing its locational values but can not evaluate its existing potentials as well.

3. Mudanya's War of Survival as a Livable City

Sustainable development must be global and internationalist in its context. This requires first guarantee of sustainability of ecosystems on which the global economy depends and second, equitable exchange between nations. This form of sustainable development further requires a restructuring of national politics, economics, bureaucracy, social systems, systems of production and technology and a new system of international trade and finance.

However, the key aspects that have been clarified above, should be reevaluated according to the realities of the locality, the citizens and to time, in the name of liveability. Thus, restructuring should take shape parallel to this approach.

The local values/characteristics of a settlement are the primary indicators of liveability. Besides, as it has been clarified in Part 1.3, the correlation between sustainability and liveability should be stressed on, within the framework of survivability criteria. Within the context of such a correlation, survival of the local values should constitute the backbone of the debates on sustainability, especially in developing countries.

At this point, the existing local values should meet the needs of contemporary man related with urban life (in spite of metropolitan growth). In another word, an urban settlement should provide the survivability of its local values in order to reach its liveability for its population. Liveability which could have not been achieved in Mudanya is the result of a such a negative development pattern.

The local values of Mudanya which determines its liveability characteristics are under the pressures of metropolitan development. Because economical expectations are in front of such considerations in a developing country. Inefficiency of income levels is the primary point of discussions in Turkey rather than the sustainability of local values. In fact the concept of sustainability appears to be inappropriate in determining the conditions of developing countries.

Within this environment, Mudanya is in a war of survival to regain its liveability characteristics.

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