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MASS TOURISM EFFECTS ON A COASTAL HISTORICAL TOWN: BODRUM CASE (TURKEY)

Tarihsel Bir Kıyı Kasabasında Kitle Turizminin Etkileri: Bodrum Örneği

Sibel ECEMİŞ KILIÇ

*Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, Buca-İzmir
sibel.ecemis@deu.edu.tr*

Muhammed AYDOĞAN

*Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, Buca-İzmir
m.aydogan@deu.edu.tr*

Öz

Tarihi kent dokuları, toplumların yaşayışlarına, sosyal ve ekonomik yapılarına ait bilgilerin gelecek nesillere aktarılabilmesi için son derece değerli alanlardır. Ancak koruma faaliyetlerinin yarattığı yüksek maliyetin karşılanması, gelişmekte olan ülkeler için önemli bir sorundur. Bu nedenle "turizm" tarihi dokuların korunmasına yönelik finansman yaratmak için bir fırsat olarak görülmeye başlanmıştır. Bu çalışma ile turizmin geliştirilmesi ve tarihi dokunun korunmasına yönelik çabaların birbirini tamamlayan ve çelişen yanları ile birlikte değerlendirilebileceği bir örnek alan olarak, hem sahip olduğu tarihi özellikleri, hem de mevcut turizm potansiyeli ile Bodrum (Türkiye) seçilmiştir. Böylelikle turizm potansiyeli taşıyan tarihi dokularda turizm ve koruma konusunda dengenin sağlanmasına yönelik önerilerin geliştirilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Geleneksel yerleşimler, turizm, koruma, Bodrum.

Abstract

Historical town fabrics are significantly valuable areas in that they are able to convey information regarding the social and economic structures and the life styles of communities to future generations. However, the high cost created by conservation operations is an important problem for developing countries. Because of this, "tourism" has been seen as a likely source of creating funds for the preservation of historical fabrics. In this study, Bodrum (Turkey) with its historical features as well as its current tourism potential has been selected as an example area where the efforts towards developing tourism and preserving the historical fabric may be evaluated along with both complementing and conflicting aspects. Thus, developing proposals towards providing a balance between tourism and conservation in historical fabrics that carry a potential for tourism has been intended.

Keywords: Historical towns, tourism, conservation, Bodrum.

1. Introduction

Enabling the continuity of the physical environment located at the junction of the past and future would also mean ensuring the continuity of the culture that has grown richer stretching from the past to the present. This continuity ensured naturally in the past, has been fractured with the economic and social transformation undergone in the period of Modernism. This situation has initiated a radical period of change in towns and has led to the corrosion of historical town fabrics. The concept of urban conservation arose by becoming aware that this rapid spatial transformation would affect the cultural constancy and since the early twentieth century it has gained effectiveness as an action in many European countries.

Alternatively, it is possible to assert that the concept of “conservation” has been produced from the same source as the concept of “tourism.” It has been observed that during the period when the concept of conservation arose, the curiosity for learning that various historical circles had, initially beginning in Europe, led to the development of tourism. However, within time the two areas grew distant from each other, and while preservation and restoration architecture became a discipline, tourism developed into an industry becoming the subject of business (Kuban, 2006).

The rapid development of tourism after WWII created mass tourism. Each area attracting the attention of travellers with its differences, natural beauties and cultural values, has also kindled the interest of tourism investors in a short period of time. In the beginning due to the number of tourists being low, tourism had not created a negative impact on historical, archaeological and natural areas, and due to the economic return, it was significantly encouraged.

In the same period, the conservation concept underwent a diverse developmental period. In the beginning, efforts to conserve only the structures considered to be “monumental structures” were seen. After observing that structures preserved in such a manner became independent to their environment and unrelated to the town, it was

discerned that structures could not be conserved detached from their contexts. After this stage, efforts began regarding the conservation of historical settlements “as a whole.” At the end of the concept’s development period, it has been observed that the aim in urban conservation was not only to preserve the spatial structure but also to conserve the information regarding the social and economic structure that creates the spatial structure as well. Yet despite the increase in interest and efforts throughout this period, many historical town fabrics have deteriorated, been abandoned, transformed or have perished due to the rapid development of towns and the radical changes in the citizens’ lifestyles. (Ecemis Kilic, 2008)

In this period, “tourism” was considered to be a strong utilisation in creating funding for historical town fabrics. In funds that have the essence to guide conservation and in almost all of the conservation plans made for historical fabrics situated in the centres of urban settlements, tourism has been encouraged as a salvaging utilisation. Settlements, not only with development plans but also with local administrative policies, have begun competing with each other in acquiring a greater share from tourism.

The encouragement of tourism in Turkey, especially in the conservation plans, has been supported by both local and central administrations. As the applications increased, tourism has been perceived as the fundamental tool in reviving historical fabrics. Yet the negative impacts created on the historical fabric by rapid urban development have also been observed similarly in many settlements that encountered a rapid increase in the sand-sea-sun tourism. The historical fabrics of the coastal settlements with a touristic identity such as Bodrum, Side, etc. have been demolished equally to the historical fabrics remaining in the large city centres. In this period, many touristic areas have begun to lose their authentic qualities that made them distinguished and unique and have started to adopt new artificial qualities. Even though a multiple storey structuring demand is non-existent, the intensity of demands and the spatial changes required by tourism have led to the loss of perceiving the historical fabrics of these settlements with their distinctive qualities.

The intention of this paper is to examine the relationship of conservation and tourism development in historic towns. With this in mind, the opportunities and the possible risks created by tourism in conserving the historical fabrics will be examined through the example of Bodrum which is one of the most important tourism centres in Turkey.

As much as tourism and conservation have aspects that provide support and complement each other, they also possess contradicting demands and qualities. In this case, the question of whether it is possible to find a balance between these two actions without sacrificing one for the other becomes quite significant which is the main concern of this study. Is it possible to establish balance between the local user and visitor, and among economic income, social and environmental costs? Can local users, tourists, local administrators and investors move towards common goals with the co-decision process?

As answers for these questions are being formulated, the relationship between the historical fabric conservation efforts in literature and the development of tourism will be principally considered. Here both the perspective of tourism on the historical fabric and also the viewpoint of protectionists or cultural heritage management will be mutually evaluated. Correspondingly, by evaluating Bodrum, which is one of the significant tourism centres in Turkey, the current and possible effects tourism has on this town in conserving its historical values will be assessed. Thus, the involvement of tourism within the conservation policies, the potentials and risks of tourism will be discussed; and in the last section, proposals will be presented on how a balance may be sustained between culture and tourism.

2. Tourism Development and Its Relationship with the Historical Environment

While the foundations of tourism were shaped with the inquisitiveness towards different cultures, which was considered to be one of the main reasons for pre-twentieth century travels, the desire of learning one's own culture and passing it on to future generations was what caused historical

environment conservation awareness to emerge. In the mid-twentieth century, both areas experienced important developments; stemming from a similar source and developing parallel to one another, both areas grew apart during the developmental period gravitating towards different objectives.

Culture has ceased to be the objective of tourism since the beginning of the 20th century when the concepts of tourism occurred and its usage was widespread. (Richards, 2001) *Mass* tourism has also become widespread in second half of 20th century and has had important part of the world economy. Following the Second World War, tourism became a global phenomenon that characterizes aspects of post industrial society. (Tosun, Timoty & Öztürk, 2004) While international tourism market has grown rapidly, competition has also increased among countries who want to raise their part.

With the increase of transportation facilities brought by technological development, tourism itself has become an important leisure activity where more and more people travel with different purposes. "The emergence of the holiday camps and inclusive tour packages after World War II is characteristic of the development of mass tourism; where there is mass marketing to underdifferentiated clientele and the holiday is consumed en mass with little regard by tourists of unique environments and culture." (Poon, 1993)

This type of tourism initially requires an element of attraction such as natural, historical, urban or a fascinating aspect related with the current state of affairs. As much as this aspect of attraction may be the sea, sand, sun, mountains, rivers, forests, lakes, historical town fabrics, archaeological areas, it is also possible that a locality such as a celebrity home, or a site that has been the backdrop to a novel or movie is this appealing factor. Yet, among all of these attractive features, it is without doubt that during the summer months "sea, sand, and sun" are the greatest appeal.

In this developmental period, tourism and culture complete each other at times and both are mutually in need of the other. However, tourism and cultural heritage conservation often have opposing views. "The opposing views reflect different extremes of the conflict/cooperation dichotomy. Traditionally,

cultural heritage management has been responsible for the provision of cultural assets, while tourism sector has assumed the product development and promotion role” (McKercher, Ho & Cros, 2005).

Tourism, as an industry directed toward material gain, incorporates its own peculiar logic and organisation, whereas conservation aims to benefit socially by ensuring cultural continuity. “One comes with a new life definition. The other may be willing to accept a limited development” (Kuban, 2006, p.18).

On the other hand, economic revitalization is an important issue for conservation efforts. Tourism is moving from being an ‘add-on’ economic benefit to playing a significant and sometimes powerful role in conservation and economic regeneration in the historic towns. (Orbaslı, 2000, p.13) As the historical fabric became a valuable income, both local and national agents became aware of the significance of looking after and protecting these areas.

However, while the income from tourism contributes to the physical conservation of the area, it also causes a threat to the continuity of the social structure and the cultural properties forming the fabric. Transforming the environment into a product that may be used for tourism generally produces a conservation concept based on appearance.

Like Orbasli said “Medieval towns and nineteenth-century industrial ‘heritage’ centres are beginning to look very similar with their newly laid cobbled streets, catalogue ‘heritage’ street furniture, retro architecture and chain retail outlets. The objective of conservation in many places appears to be moving from ‘continuity of the lived-in environment’ to more aesthetic and external qualities, intended to appeal to the visitor’s perceptions in the external realm.” (Orbasli, 2000, p.13)

With these developments many European Cities are subject to the dangers of commercialization and cultural uniformity, which destroys their own individuality and identity. Ill considered adaptations to the mass tourism cause serious damage to the structure and social life of towns and cities. (European Commission, 1999)

The main issues that are encountered in developing tourism in historic urban quarters are:

- The problems of all cities potentially becoming alike and not developing their distinctive and special qualities.
- The problems of relying on the long term viability of a purely tourism-based revitalization strategy, because of increasingly fierce inter-place competition for the tourist market
- Balancing the conflict between promoting and resourcing tourism for visitors versus providing for the local community
- Environmental issues such as the sustainability of tourist development in cities, in the terms of pressure on infrastructure, congestion and pollution which have become increasingly important. (Tiesdel, Taner, & Helth, 1998)

In sum, the tourist increases the pressure on the delicate environment and may be seen as a threat to the continuity of the cultural and societal social unity. Yet, tourism is also an opportunity. Consequently, it is not possible to easily dismiss it in regard to conservation studies and also in regard to the settlements economic input (Orbasli, 2000). Thus, while the development of tourism activities are encouraged in a historical settlement “the effects tourism may have on this settlement’s cultural heritage, cultural elements, activities and dynamics should be taken into account” (Arvanitis, 2002, p. 712).

This relationship between tourism and culture and the problems encountered has made new pursuits a current issue. When the possible risks tourism may have on the historical fabric are taken into consideration, it is obvious that if the main objective is to preserve the historical and cultural values, then some restrictions regarding tourism will be necessary. As much as these restrictions may be quantitative, they may also be qualitative. In such areas, instead of mass tourism oriented towards comfort and consumerism, supporting tourism activities that are based on the recognition and experiencing of culture will, albeit partially, decrease the difficulties in conserving the cultural structure and the traditional fabric.

On the other hand, “*there is a wide spread acceptance that following both the broad changes within the post-industrial economic regime and the pluralistic ideology of post-modern societies, tourism has gradually advanced from the highly organized forms of mass tourism characterizing the post war period towards alternative – fragmented and flexible- forms of tourism reflecting new modernity, individualization and diversity.*” (Gospodini, 2001, p.925) The rising share cultural tourism holds within the new tourism trends is encouraging.

“In recent years more and more people are, particularly, interested in culture and the other forms of consumption that differ from contrived forms of tourist experiences that are being marketed by tour operators and travel agents. Consequently an increasing number of tourists is moving away from conventional mass tourism and are now demanding more individualized forms of travel, and unique tourist products and services” (Akama & Ondimu, 2001, p.57).

The tourism concept defined by Alegre and Cladera (2006) as “new tourism” which is more flexible, directed more environmentally, and that allows the tourist to have much more experience and freedom is different from mass tourism in that it possesses the possibilities of providing a more compatible relationship between cultural and historical fabric conservation and tourism.

3. Bodrum Historical Town Centre Area

From the prehistoric age till today, Bodrum and its environs, with its distinctive geographical location, has been under attack by forces wanting to acquire the region and has therefore passed through many hands. It is known that countless civilisations such as Mycenaean, Persian, Carian, Median, Egyptian, Syrian, Macedonian, Roman, Byzantine, Rhodian, and the Beylik of Menteşe have in various periods inhabited this settlement that has a rich history spanning over 5000 years (Kiper, 2006).

Halicarnassus, which was one of the most famous cities of the Classical period, was also one of the most significant cities of Caria (See Figure 1). When King Mausolus came to the throne of Caria in 377 BC, he moved his capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus. The eminent architect, engineer and

writer Vitruvius records his admiration for the design of Halicarnassus.

“He held up Halikarnasos as an example of refined urban design in which the natural topography was cunningly related to strategic factors. It’s *venustas*, pleasing and elegant design, exploited the *firmitas*, geographical foundations, the natural harbors, and amphitheater shape of the land, in relation to *utilitas*, the strategic functioning of Hellenistic city” (Linzey, 2003, p.57)

Bodrum was made a part of the Ottoman Empire during an expedition to Rhodes led by Suleyman the Magnificent in 1522. As the Empire had a very broad shore line and it was difficult to reach Bodrum by land, Bodrum gradually lost its commercial prominence and magnitude, transforming into a small town on the shore while the coastal towns in the north such as Izmir and Istanbul thrived. However, the physical appearance of Bodrum began to change when the non-Muslim Anatolian Greeks, subjects of the Ottoman Empire, were settled in Bodrum with the Sultan’s decree. The Bodrum houses previously daubed with mud was later plastered with lime introduced by the Greeks, gradually lending the town a characteristic feature with flat-roofed, wooden shuttered, whitewashed houses (Kiper, 2006). These features still being preserved today may similarly be seen on some of the Greek islands.

During the first years of the Turkish Republic (after 1923), Bodrum was a small town which carried out its means of livelihood through fishing, sponge diving and agriculture; and it was utilised as an area for exile, similar to the last few years of the Ottoman Empire. It was this infamous characteristic that led to the recognition of Bodrum during those early years steadily contributing to its popularity in the following years. In 1925, the writer Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (the Fisherman of Halicarnassus), one of the dissident names of the period, was exiled to Bodrum for three years; yet, he transformed the life he led in Bodrum to one of pleasure rather than punishment, and after his sentence he stayed in Bodrum playing a significant role in the development of the settlement. The writer has been effective in the recognition of the region with his writings on the district, the sea and the Blue Cruise.

4. Development of Bodrum Historical Town Centre Area and Bodrum Peninsula with Tourism

Bodrum is a natural centre of fascination for tourism with its historical surroundings and 174 km shoreline, its appropriate climate for sea-sand-sun tourism, its situation meshing the sea and land ecosystems; its natural bays, islands and harbours; its natural beauties and cultural values. The perception of this situation led to the rapid development of guest houses that appealed to local tourism in the 1970s. In the 1980s (among middle and upper classes) the tendency to own second homes became a trend, causing Bodrum to be one of the most desired areas for summer housing. While the preference shown by artists and intellectuals for Bodrum caused this place to be a tourism area recognised and known nationally, the region concurrently became the centre of attention of the magazine media.

Initially beginning in the 1970s with fishing boats, and later continuing with foreign flagged yachts that were given the opportunity to dock in Turkey and operate freely in tours and sports with the Law for the Encouragement of Tourism in 1983, an international competitive environment that added a new dimension to the “blue cruise” was created (DPT, 2001). A significant development regarding the yacht tourism in Turkey was observed with this regulation. Yet again, the bays of Bodrum attract an important percentage of the yacht tourism that specifically increased worldwide and in Turkey after the 1980s. Especially having recently expanded the yacht harbour located in the city centre, and having added two new yacht harbours to Yalıkavak and Turgutreis, the yacht capacity has been augmented. As a result, the share Bodrum peninsula receives from international yacht tourism has increased exponentially (Table 1). The blue cruise initiated by Cevat Şakir has become an important tourism activity in Bodrum today (Kiper, 2006, pp. 192-193).

While the population of the Bodrum district covering the Bodrum peninsula was 20.000 in the 1940s, it is over 100.000 today (Figure 2). This fivefold population increase is striking. However, while the number of foreign tourists that had visited the area at the beginning of the same

period was expressed by the hundreds, today this value has reached about 700.000¹, and this indicates a growth of approximately a thousand-fold. Specifically the construction of the Bodrum – Milas airport in 1997 has added to its attractiveness as a settlement for foreign tourists as well. In the past 60 years, the winter population of the Bodrum centre has increased 6 fold and the summer population, including those staying in summer homes and touristic facilities and also those that come for a single day, has reached over 80.000 (İller Bankası, 2005). Besides this, the other 10 town municipalities connected to the borough of Bodrum have similarly grown rapidly; the total population of these municipalities which was below 10.000 in the 1940s has increased to over 55.000 in the year 2000.

With the increase of the demand in tourism, house and land values have rapidly risen and this has caused a period in which these assets swiftly changed hands. With all of these improvements, the settlement has shown growth in only a single sector; tourism and its sub-sectors have defined the settlement’s identity. The number of municipality certified and ministry certified tourism facilities have reached 289 and the number of beds to 43.341 (Table 2).

The distribution of business lines of the enterprises within the Bodrum Municipality in 2006 also reflects this situation. According to the Bodrum Municipal Police Department Records, 3 business lines within 20 have a significant place with a ratio of 37%: these are mainly places that provide accommodation, food (restaurants, diners) and entertainment (bars, clubs, discos).

Yet again, in this period where a rapid increase in the town’s population due to tourism was experienced, traditional economic sectors such as agriculture, fishing, and sponge diving have lost their places within the town economy. The market chains and shopping malls, which began

¹ According to the records of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the number of arrivals of foreign tourists in the establishments which located in Bodrum is 647.913 and the number of citizen tourist is 319.233 in 2007.

developing after 1990 and that have now reached a number of 36 throughout the peninsula as of 2006, are an indication of this transformation. These developments have not only transformed the shore town into an urban structure, but (similar to traditional production forms) have also caused traditional trading relationships and small traders to disappear.

The rapid development period of tourism in Bodrum not only affected Bodrum and its near surroundings, but affected the whole peninsula. The density brought to the Bodrum Peninsula by tourism is not only population related. The increase in structures resulting from being used both for tourism and as second homes for short periods of time during the year, even those that are never used at all, is above the population increase. The second home complexes have surrounded the nature bays and shores. This structuring, encompassing vast areas compared with the amount of users and periods of usage, has irrevocably destroyed the natural environment (Figure 3).

Prior to 1980, while the number of municipalities on the peninsula shoreline was 3, 7 more municipalities were added during the period from the late 1980s to the year 2000, increasing the total to 10. Thus, the structure of the peninsula fashioned by a shore town and the agricultural areas lying in its hinterland along with the rural settlements was changed drastically.

The settlement areas growing along the shoreline, tourism facilities and secondary housing have all given the peninsula an urban appearance. This development which began in the 1980s has rapidly increased in the 1990s significantly transforming the area. Rapid tourism growth and population increase have mirrored the plans; the peninsula's macro plans have been renewed at frequent intervals and more and more areas have been allocated for housing and tourism. Moreover, besides areas specifically along the shoreline that are absolutely housing-restricted (natural and historical areas that are protected by law), almost all the rest of the coast has been allocated for these purposes (Figure 4).

Within this period, another striking subject is the role donned by the drawn zoning plans during the structuring process. When the change of

dimensions regarding the areas open to development in the Master Plans formulated in different periods are analysed, the remarkable growth rate of these areas can be clearly seen. A significant factor of these housing areas are areas that although having been formed of local zoning (segmental) plans due to the slow paced planning process, have been processed under the master plan in order to be legalised. With these plans, suggestions for large homes, second homes and even areas for tourism are being made and it seems as if the housing race ensuing on the peninsula is being encouraged. (See Figure 5, Figure 6 and Figure 7)

With the latest plan (2008), 59.2 % of the 500 metres wide area parallel to the shore surrounding the Bodrum peninsula has been opened to urban settlement, and almost all of the remaining areas (83 % of) have been deemed impossible for housing due to legal reasons. (Figure 9) Although the density of the development recommended by the plan is remarkable, it has only just reached the current growth speed.

5. The Positive Effects of Tourism Regarding Historical Fabric Conservation

The initial conservation decision made for Bodrum in 1975 was defining the borders of the protected area and identifying the structures to be conserved. This situation was one of the initial reflections of the historical fabric conservation awareness that is recently being revitalized in Turkey. Another indication of this situation is the fact that 3.19% of the areas declared protected in Turkey are located in Bodrum in the period between 1973 when the legal regulation regarding the conservation of protected areas in Turkey went into effect and the year 1983 when the Law on the Protection of Cultural and National Heritage (no. 2863), which is still in effect today, was passed (Table 3). Especially when one considers that the town of Bodrum covers an area of 0.068% and is only one of the 922 districts in Turkey, the significance of this value regarding Turkey's development can be clearly perceived. The early realisation of the necessity of preserving Bodrum, which was a considerably small settlement in those years, was mainly due to artists and intellectuals especially, selecting Bodrum as a place to travel and settle in

that period. The affection these artists and intellectuals had for the district instigated and embedded the early development of conservation awareness in Bodrum.

With the constructive effect of this awareness, a plan that took the settlement's natural, cultural and archaeological values into consideration as early as 1982 in Bodrum was approved by the Ministry of Development and Housing after obtaining the assent of the period's "Immovable Ancient Art and Monuments High Commission" (before both the decision in 1983 stating that "Reconstruction Plans for Conservation" were to be carried out by municipalities and the law that created the fundamental aspect of the legal framework regarding the conservation of the natural and historical environment till today). It has been observed that the borders of the protected area within the plan and the registered structures were taken into consideration, and the new structuring was defined in a manner compatible with the old fabric (2 storied, flat roofed, cubic, white) (Kiper, 2006).

Plans thus prepared in Turkey harbouring conservation among its objectives, were very limited in number in the early 1980s. Considering that plans on this level were not made even in the country's metropolitans, having such a plan in Bodrum is a clear indication of conservation awareness in this region.

Instead of the type development regulation which many of the municipalities still continue to use today in Turkey, the Bodrum Development Regulation, based on the decision of the "Immovable Ancient Art and Monuments High Commission" aiming to maintain the district's distinctive qualities, became effective approximately 20 years ago (Bodrum Municipality, 2001). This case is an indication of the existence of a sensitive local government regarding the continuance of the traditional fabric.

The traditional structuring of Bodrum may be summarised as terraced houses facing the street, usually 1 or 2 storied, whitewashed stone structures with a garden. When the current structuring of the historical town centre of Bodrum is analysed, it is apparent that this style has been substantially preserved (Figure 10, 11). Yet, the

actual success of the plan lies in the fact that the demand to increase the number of storeys and structuring density were stopped. As a consequence, the conservation of the physical space as a part of the town's image has been significantly sustained.

As a consequence, the most significant contribution of tourism observed in the Bodrum domain was enabling the conservation activities regarding the historical fabric to begin in an early period. The second contribution would be the prevention of abandonment and financial decline due to ageing as other historical towns in Turkey have suffered. When these results are evaluated, and the difficulties in the period of conservation of historical fabrics in Turkey's domain are considered, these developments achieved in Bodrum are regarded to be a success.

6. The Negative Effects of Tourism Regarding Historical Fabric Conservation

"Evidence from numerous assessments of tourism impact reveals that tourism activity and development have both positive and negative impacts on local communities and their cultures" (Fagance, 2003). A similar situation has been observed in Bodrum. The negative effects of tourism regarding the natural and historical fabric besides the cultural structure will be evaluated under two separate categories: (1) the historical town centre and, since they have an economic and social interaction, (2) the areas throughout the peninsula surrounding this centre.

6.1. In the Historical Town Centre

The sharp rupture in the cultural structure reigns highest among the negative effects. The winter population of Bodrum has increased three-fold in 20 years (1980-2000). When the summer population is also included, encountering an incisive fracture in the cultural structure with only a rapid increase of population is inevitable. In order to meet the needs of both various groups that arrive in Bodrum as tourists (local, foreign, excursionist, summer house vacationist) and the service requirements these groups create, the population that comes to Bodrum from Turkey's various regions has created a new and cosmopolite culture. This is a result of the imbalance created

between tourism and the local population along with the cultural structure in favour of tourism.

Alternatively, the urban rent increased with tourism has amplified properties changing hands. In addition, activities that used to be the livelihood of the inhabitants such as agriculture, fishing, and sponge diving have not been able to resume do to the effect of tourism, and this has resulted in the transformation of the social structure. This has revealed that although the physical structure was preserved in image, it was drained of content.

In the town of Bodrum where the societal structure has altogether changed, the physical structure is endeavoured to be conserved with its symbolic features that are tourism oriented. This condition is not altogether that different from the first stage of the conservation approach that formulates the preservation of monumental structures. Although this time it is not the preservation of a few structures that have been monumentalised but it is limited to maintaining the existence of a few features that have been generalised such as white colour, two storied, terrace roofed, etc.

The demand for what is historical has caused certain structure types at the centre to become the "Bodrum house" image, initiating the artificial duplication of some symbols and dissolving the distinctive variations created by the differences in the historical fabric. New structures within the fabric and structures with a historical value are very similar to one another making it difficult to easily distinguish them. The usage of traditional structure typologies, the colour and material features in these new structures is one of the reasons for this uncertainty. Another reason is the attempt to apply the expressional language simplified for improvement areas to the historical structures.

"This situation may specifically be observed as the ramparts located partially among the houses in the Centre of Bodrum, even historical wells, fountains and also the marble inscriptions being covered in white paint. In some land plots, columns, column heads and even front plates located in the façade of structures that give the impression they are relics of the ancient Halicarnassus city have been painted over and even covered with plaster from time to time. While attempting to create a town

identity, having the most fundamental aspects of this identity covered and even damaged creates a paradoxical situation." (Aydoğan & Kilic, 2007)

As a consequence, the conservation of the physical space as a part of the town's image has been significantly sustained. On the other hand, the life, lifestyle and culture within this fabric has been completely transformed and destroyed. Especially when the growth rate experienced in the tourism sector is taken into consideration, a contrary development does not seem to be possible. In this period, the historical Bodrum has been preserved as an image (like a picture or statue); however, the bonds between this historical town fabric and the culture of Bodrum have been severed.

6.2. Throughout the Peninsula Surrounding the Centre

The rapid development of tourism in Bodrum not only affected Bodrum and its near surroundings, but affected the whole peninsula. The natural environment surrounding the historical fabric was introduced to settling by the increase of value with tourism. The virgin shore and bays that were subject to novels and songs in the past have now turned into an urban region structured with second homes and tourism facilities.

Some urban problems necessitating a joint solution on the peninsula that has become an urban region have surfaced as a natural result of this rapid developmental period. Besides problems related to the infrastructure, the loss of agricultural lands to tourism facilities and second homes, not being able to provide the continuity of agricultural activities due to the increase of land values, the deterioration of the natural structure, sea and land pollution are other issues that threaten the peninsula. "Uncontrolled tourism has been the cause of rapid deterioration of local environment, as the important agricultural areas and agricultural products were being allocated to non-agricultural functions including secondary housing and tourism." (Gül, Gezici & Alkay, 2005) All of these problems have surfaced through supporting the plans made due to the high revenue of the tourism demand surmounting the peninsula's carrying capacity.

On the other hand, the increase in the number of municipalities to help ensure the effectiveness of service for the increasing population has made it difficult to generate solutions regarding the mutual problems. While central administration naturally does not produce solutions for the region's local problems, local administrations that are fragmentally structured find it hard to develop policies related to the whole.

The new growth areas covering vast spaces that are incomparable to the historical fabric have been created by taking one of Bodrum's traditional physical fabric symbols (such as only one of the three historical housing types in Bodrum) and recreating it by the hundreds. The hills surrounding the bays and the agricultural areas have been swarmed by summer houses that, besides the difficulties in physically reaching the sea, do not even have a slight sea-view have been marketed as part of the Bodrum trademark and they have covered the whole peninsula (See Figure 12).

It is very ironic that these complexes setting a "negative example" regarding parameters such as slope, orientation, accessibility are structures that have been constructed under the conditions of the conservation development plan that was previously mentioned as being successful. These complexes, along with the structures in the improvement areas, were set under the condition that they were to be two-storied and white, ensuring their compatibility with the historical fabric. They are, nevertheless, live examples reminding that sustaining spatial identity requires detailed study.

7. Conclusion

Therefore, tourism's rapid development has unearthed a similar process that large cities encountered with industrialisation and urbanisation in the traditional coastal settlements. In this regard, many examples may be given from Turkey besides Bodrum. Various coastal settlements such as Side, Kuşadası, Alaçatı have become renown with tourism, yet again due to tourism they have been significantly alienated from their traditional identities and cultural structures even though their historical spatial fabrics were partially

conserved. This circumstance is without doubt a result of rapid and unplanned tourism development.

Considering that the conservation of historical structures and partially the fabric (street features) and the new structuring were improved with characteristics similar to that of the historical fabric was a success, it would be inaccurate to state that tourism created many negative consequences in Bodrum. Yet, if the conservation concept is considered an a more broader scope as the conservation of the local culture, transferring this cultural structure to future generations, therefore ensuring cultural continuity, then the success of preserving Bodrum and the effects of tourism may be evaluated from a different perspective.

The Bodrum example indicates that this form of tourism weaved into historical fabrics causes more damage than benefit for the historical fabric and natural environment. Tourism that has become a key sector in this manner also threatens its own continuity due to the damage it does to the agricultural, archaeological and natural environment surrounding the historical settlement. For this reason, the development of policies that would minimize the negative effects of tourism on the historical and natural environment is important both for the conservation of the historical environment and for the continuity of tourism as well. While tourism activities are encouraged in settlements where historical values are concentrated, "balance" should be considered a key factor. In order to achieve a balanced development, a series of proposals may be developed from the universal platform to national policies, from national policies to local applications deriving from the Bodrum example.

- A balance should be obtained between the tourist and local population, and precautions should be taken to prevent the locals that would ensure the continuation of the local identity from totally abandoning the area.
- The effects of tourism on the social structure and natural / historical environment should be evaluated as much as the revenue brought in by tourism; and the region's carrying capacity should be

taken into consideration when establishing the quantity and quality of the tourism activities to be developed in the region.

- Local users, tourists, local administrations and investors should be made aware that the conservation of the historical and natural environment is important for the continuity of tourism as much as it is for cultural continuance.
- It should be noted that in traditional settlements the thing requiring conservation is not that which may be generalised but the variation that comes filtered in time. Thus, it is important to develop tools that would provide continuity by enriching the diversity instead of extending some features (whitewash, double-storey, housing types, etc. in the Bodrum example) within the historical fabric and to new development areas with the plan decisions. Regarding this matter, tools such as a design guide may be used. (Taner, Kılıç Ecemiş&Aydoğan, 2003)
- In tourism destinations that stand out with their natural and historical potential, a transition must be made from tourism policies that are focussed on attracting tourists in the short term to tourism policies that are more sustainable. It is possible to decrease the pressure on the shores by spreading tourism to different regions and to different seasons through directing the tourism demand centred on

the sea-sand-sun to various focal points, and it is also possible to procure the continuity of tourism activities in the long term.

- Specifically in settlements carrying a historical value, the current mass tourism trend on the international platform should be extinguished, and alternative tourism activities along with forms of tourism sensitive to local values should be encouraged.

As a result, in historical settlements harbouring the diversity accumulated throughout the centuries, **recognising tourism not as a purpose but as a tool focussed on the conservation of the historical, natural and cultural environment would be the key step in providing a solution to a great majority of the specified problems.** It would be possible to curb tourism investors who consider all actions permissible in attracting tourism and to raise the awareness of local administrators with this point of view. Otherwise, even if it is possible to attract tourism to one region with current shallow planning and uncontrolled encouragement policies, this would be a short term attraction and benefit. In this period after the elements of attraction have been consumed, a great decline will be experienced in the sector-specific dimension besides historical and natural factors in the long term. Therefore, the conservation approach is the key to the sustainability of the tourism sector as much as in the ecological and cultural sense.

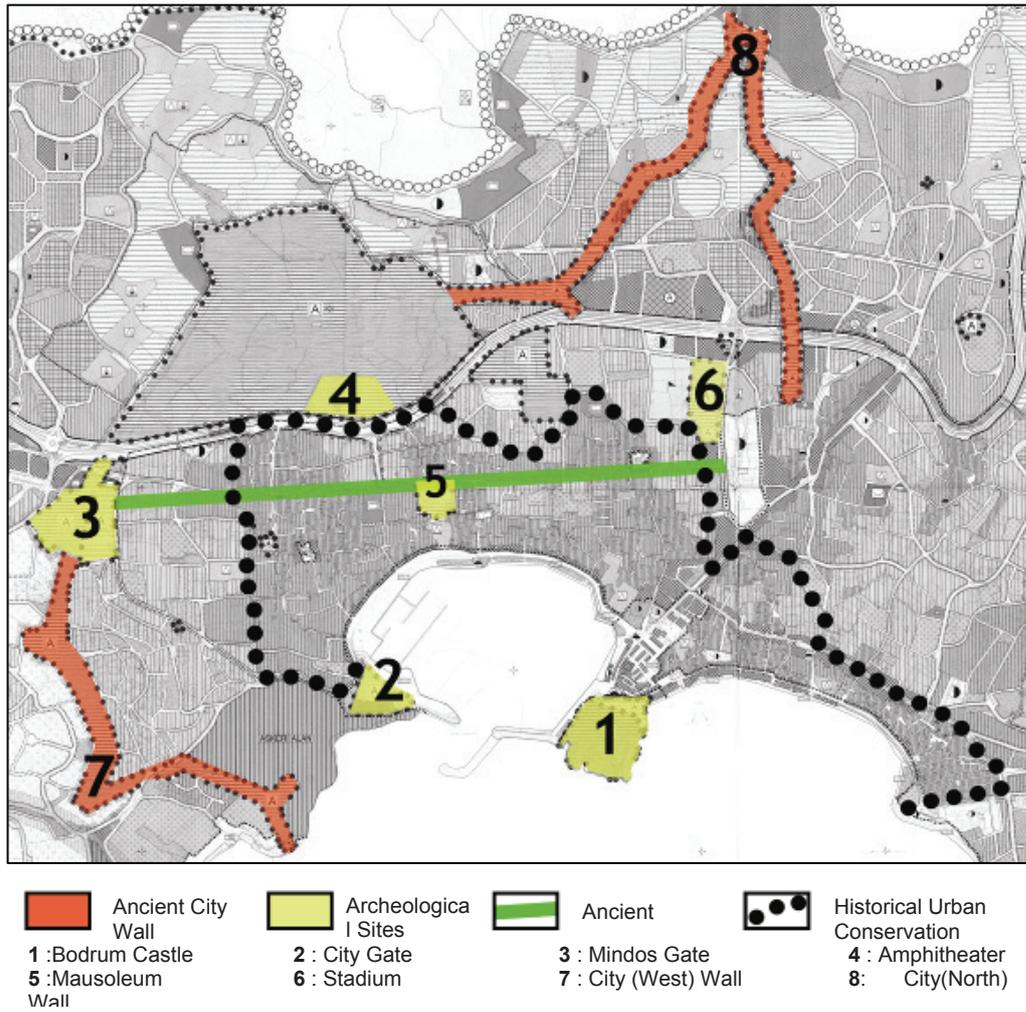


Figure 1. Archaeological and Historical Values of the Settlement of Bodrum Historical

Table 1: Number of commercial and private yachts that have recently moored at Bodrum harbours (Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism Statistics)

	2003			2007			
	Bodrum	Turgutreis	Total	Bodrum	Turgutreis	Yalıkavak	Total
Foreign Yachts	305	2	307	1307	410	64	1781
Turkish Yachts	586	5	591	3040	102	4	3146
Total Yachts	891	7	898	4347	512	68	4927
Foreign Yachts	717	36	753	926	713	49	1688
Turkish Yachts	253	8	261	464	127	2	593
Total Yachts	970	44	1014	1390	840	51	2281
General Total	1861	51	1912	5737	1352	119	7208

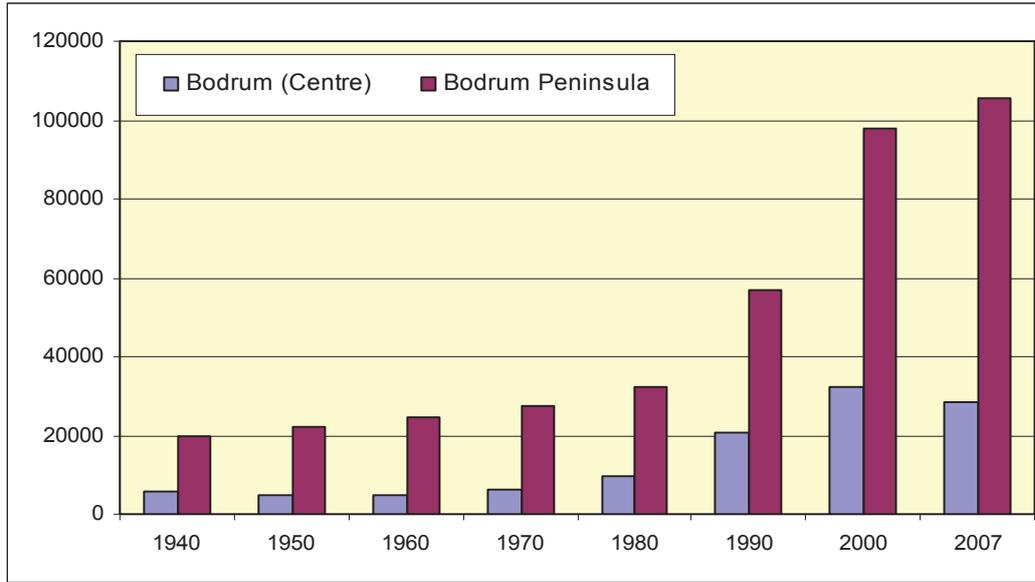


Figure 2. Population Exchange in Bodrum (TUIK, 2007)

Table 2. Increase of Tourism Facilities and Bed Numbers in the Bodrum District (References; Güner&Girgin, 1998 and Republic of Turkey Muğla Governorship Province Culture and Tourism Directorship Records, 1987&2006)

Year	Number of Tourism Facilities	Total Number of Beds of Tourism Facilities in Peninsula	Average Number of Beds by Facilities	Time Period	Elapsed time (Year)	Annual Increase of the Number of Beds
1963	8	100	12,5	1963-1976	13	120
1976	24	1659	69,1			
1987	60	5707	95,1	1977-1987	10	368
				1988-1994	6	4212
1994	240	35193	146,6	1995-2006	11	679
2006	289	43341	150			

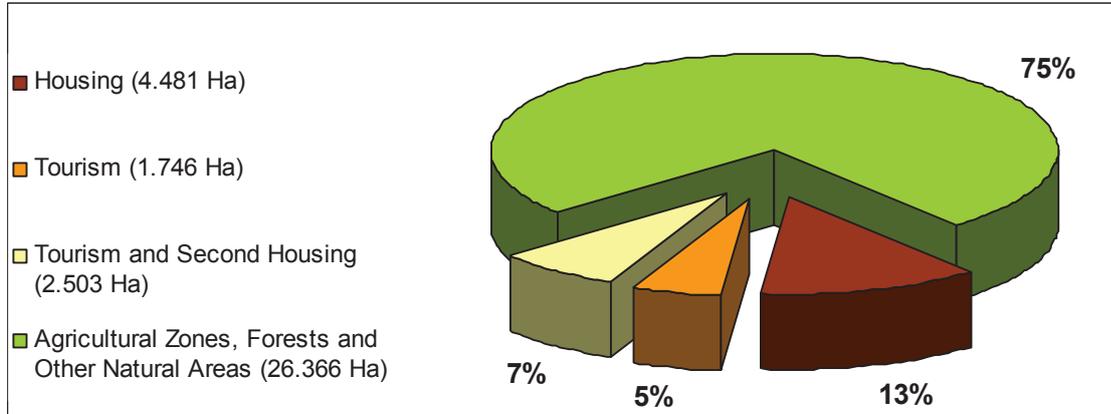


Figure 3. Distribution of Basic Utilisation Types of Settlement Spots Located on the Bodrum Peninsula Today (These values have been calculated by digitising the 25000 scaled regional land use map and by using the ArcGIS programme).

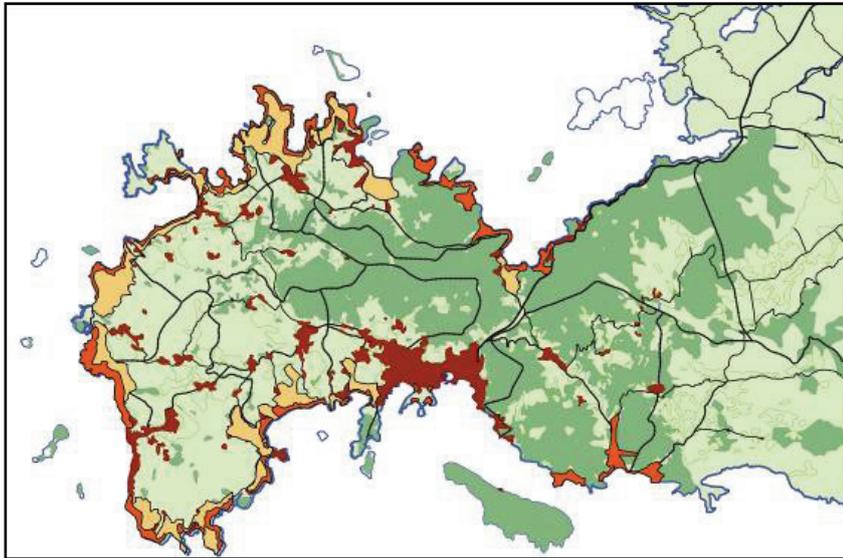


Figure 4: Current Land use of Bodrum Peninsula

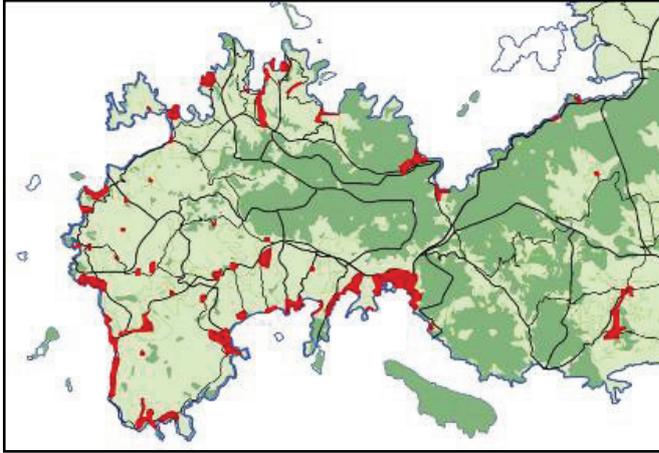


Figure 5: Settlements in the 1982 Master Plan

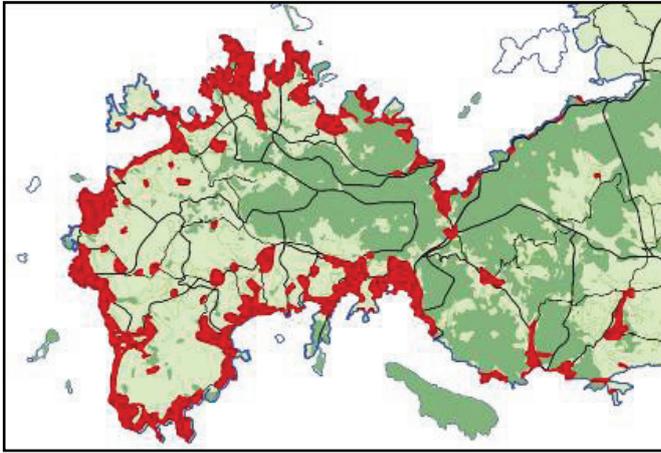


Figure 6: Settlements in the 1991 Master Plan

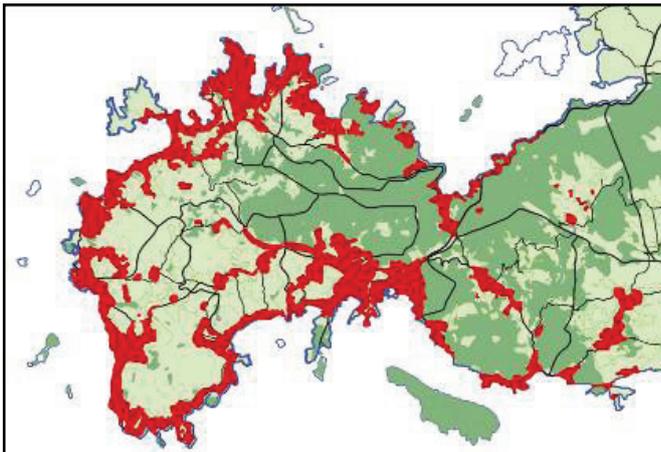


Figure 7: Settlements in the 2008 Master Plan

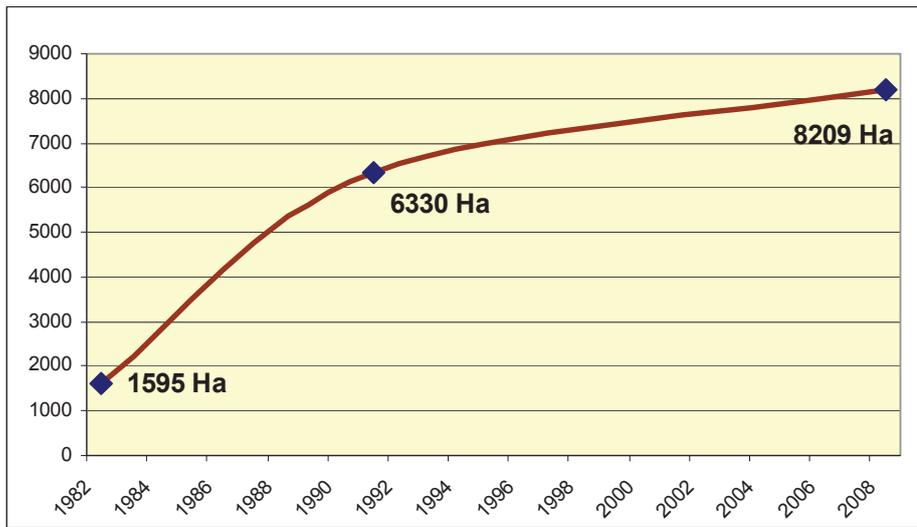


Figure 8: Development of tourism, second housing and settlement areas on the Bodrum Peninsula

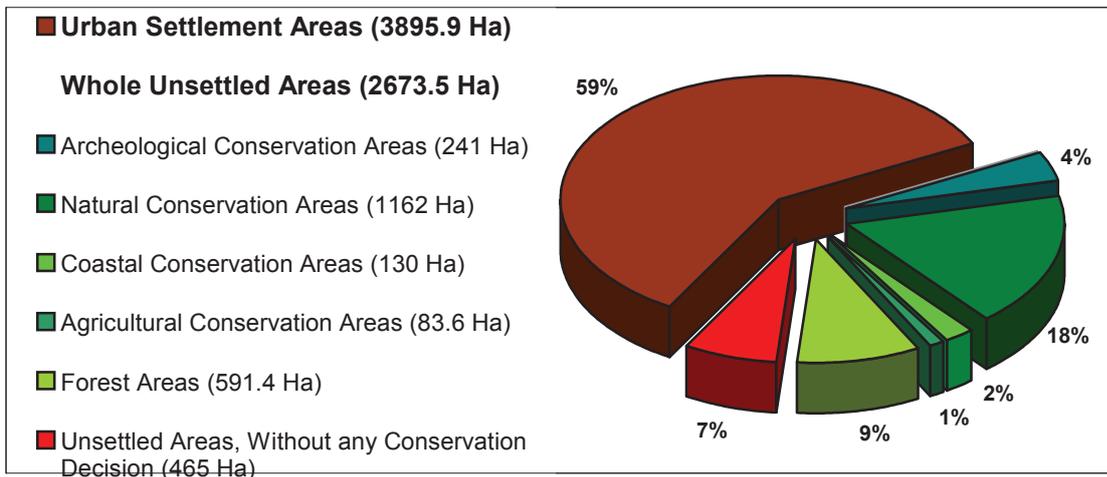


Figure 9. Range of Different Landuse Types of the Coastal Area (first 500 metres from coastline) of Bodrum Peninsula (These values have been calculated by digitising the 1/25000 scaled Master Plan (2008) and by using the ArcGIS programme).

Table 3. Number of New Protected Areas in the Town of Bodrum according to Periods

Period	Declared Number of Protected Areas in the Town of Bodrum	Percentage of the Town of Bodrum in Turkey (%)	Declared Number of Protected Areas in Turkey
From 25.04.1973 to 23.07.1983	33	3,16	1044
From 23.07.1983 to 17.06.1987	6	2,42	248
From 17.06.1987 to 14.07.2004	132	2,16	6125
From 14.07.2004 to 14.07.2008	2	0,37	538



Figure 10. View from the Bodrum Castle



Figure 11: View from a typical Bodrum Street.

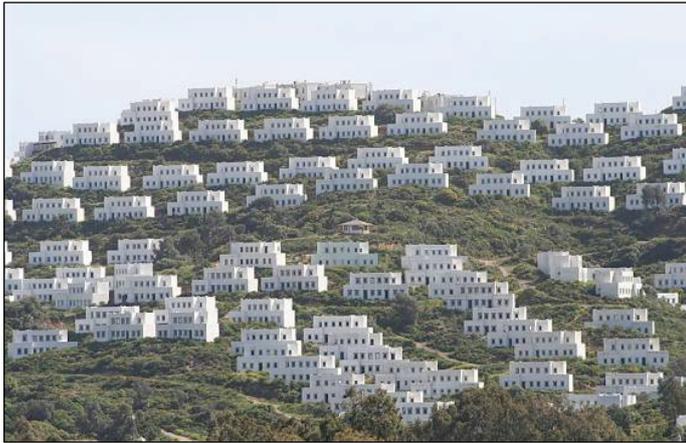


Figure 12. View of a Housing Complex in Bays Surrounding Bodrum (Mavi Yol NGO, 2007)

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