e-ISSN: 2279-0837, p-ISSN: 2279-0845.

www.iosrjournals.org

Developing Strategies for the Sustainability of Bodrum: Exploring The Opportunities

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Abstract: Today, besides globalization, it is important to increase the awareness of local and authentic cultural richness to be shared and protected in order to provide sustainability in the cities. Cultural heritage is the place where human and nature's common activities are integrated and unified in a holistic approach which also compose the milestones of the sustainability of the places, because cultural richness and identity of a place are one of the main elements of sustainable life. However, these values are damaged as a result of the rapid increase of population in the cities, which has had cultural richness and identity, they face many problems damaging their social and cultural sustainability. Bodrum is a representative case of these cities which has its own spatial qualities as the identity such as natural, agricultural and historical with its own social and cultural structure and its cultural heritage values are damaged because of mass migration of tourism. The aim of this study is to analyse the potential of human value and cultural fields and suggest management strategies including social innovation in order to revitalise social and cultural sustainability in this city. As a methodology, a theoretical discussion has been conducted in the context of cultural heritage related to alternative tourism and social innovation. In this context, firstly, management strategies specified for Bodrum are developed in order to revitalize its identity. Secondly a district from Bodrum has been determined as a representative case study to demonstrate this revitalization to get the approach from macro to micro scale. Some strategies, which alternative tourism method is one of them, have been suggested to reveal the authenticity/identity of this place and provide sustainability of this area. As a result, this research analyses the conflicts in Bodrum's rural settlement and recommends potential solutions for cultural heritage with the help of alternative tourism method for creating awareness and providing a sustainable life. In addition, the developed strategies can also provide a basis for revealing the potential of some other places which suffer from similar problems.

Key Word: Urban Regeneration; Density; Smart Planning; Livability; Housing Quality

Date of Submission: 20-12-2020 Date of Acceptance: 07-01-2021

I. INTRODUCTION

Bodrum which faces many problems that damage its social, spatial and cultural values. For the sustainability of cities which have their own agricultural, historical, natural values, which should be maintained. Sharing and protecting the local and authentic cultural richness is very crucial in order to provide sustainability. Otherwise these cities are pushed to an irreversible danger due to the lack of awareness. These values are damaged as a result of several reasons, especially the rapid increase of population. Bodrum is a representative case of these cities which has its own spatial qualities as the identity, natural, agricultural and historical with its own social and cultural structure which composes its cultural heritage values. These values are demolished due to the mass migration of tourism in the case of Bodrum, which has a negative effect on the social and cultural sustainability.

Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values" (ICOMOS, 2002). Cultural heritage is the communication of history and the natural world which properties of humankind represent together. It is the combination of mankind and the natural system as well (Stupariu & Pascu & Bürgi, 2019). As a result of the interaction that has taken place in the historical process with the natural landscape, it has led to the emergence of unique cultural heritage. For this reason, the cultural heritage consists of cultural fields and objects for the benefit of human society, which human beings created in the natural landscape by their own hands. Moreover, it is the landscape form that occurs as a result of people's use of nature for various purposes. The awareness of cultural heritage is as important as recognizing /knowing our history. Because this awareness provides a consciousness about the sense of place for the next generation and increases

DOI: 10.9790/0837-2601021221 www.iosrjournals.org 12 | Page

the quality of life (Ziyaea, 2018). The ability of transferring these formations to future generations without deterioration and using them universally is very crucial to provide sustainability.

Cultural heritage could be analyzed in a little piece of area to many hundreds of acres. Heritages are difficult to revitalize again after their disappearance. While sometimes cultural heritage formation occupies a few years, sometimes it continues more than thousands of years. Therefore, protection and conservation of all those areas are an obligation and responsibility for everyone. In order to achieve this goal, it is important to develop strategies unified in a holistic approach by considering the cultural richnesses, identity and authenticity of the place to provide sustainability.

This paper aims at solutions that have the potential to protect cultural heritage areas from the threatening challenges they have. These challenges are social, spatial and cultural problems that stem from the lack of paying special attention for cultural heritage assets. Therefore, the management strategies are investigated to create awareness for protecting and providing a sustainable development for the places in danger in terms of identity and spatial qualities. Alternative tourism methods have been suggested as a solution for rural settlements in order to demonstrate and highlight the cultural heritage identity. Ensuring sustainability of social, cultural and spatial values are the main concerns of the study.

II. MATERIAL AND METHODS

As a methodology, a theoretical discussion has been conducted in the context of cultural heritage related to alternative tourism and social innovation. Moreover, the importance and methods of analyzing cultural heritage have been presented. An analysis has been conducted from macro to micro-scale. In this context, firstly, the background and special values of Bodrum have been analyzed within the discussion of management strategies specified for the city. Secondly, Dereköy, a district from Bodrum, has been determined as a representative case study to demonstrate the mentioned revitalization of cultural heritage. Some strategies which alternative tourism methods are a part of it, have been suggested to demonstrate/reveal the authenticity/identity of this place and provide sustainability of this area.

III. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

III.I. Geographical and Demographic Information

Bodrum is a district and a port peninsula in Mugla city. It is surrounded by sea on three sides and it is in the south-western Aegean region of Turkey. It has a land connection only from the east direction (Figure 1). There are mountain series stretching from the peninsula perpendicular to the sea with large and small plains between the valleys parallel to these mountains. There is Gökova Bay on the south of the Peninsula, Güllük Bay on the north, and the Aegean Sea on the west (Aysel, 2010).



Figure 1: Location of Bodrum

Bodrum witnessed the civilizations that left traces in Anatolia due to its location between the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea, and has maintained the geopolitical importance of every period. Many civilizations throughout history had lived in today's Bodrum. These are; Mycenean, Caria, Med, Lelegians, Ionians, Egyptian, Rhodos, Byzantine, Ottoman etc. (Aysel, 2010). Therefore, almost all Bodrum peninsula has an archaeological identity. It is very usual to witness some ruin in every part of the peninsula.

The bays and the peninsula extending to the sea, rich coastal line, the topographic structure and climate features provide rich facilities for the characteristics of Bodrum. Agricultural facilities are generally disconnected to the coastal area. Therefore, the rural settlement is not concentric to the tourism area due to this disconnection from the coastal area. An important part of the rural landscape of the peninsula is the citrus orchard, which contains the expansive valley areas. Due to the old history of Bodrum peninsula and its natural form, it has unique values that could represent a cultural heritage (Aysel, 2010).

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III. II Cultural Heritage value in Bodrum

Cultural heritage includes many indicators which are relevant to geographic areas that compose our living places and humankind. There are many definitions of the term of cultural heritage. However, it can be classified as intangible and tangible cultural heritage, which contributes to make the term more comprehensive. The analysis according to tangible and intangible heritage provides an opportunity to strengthen and improve the living environment and build aspects in terms of sustainable features of the environment (Yüncü, 2015; Ziyaea, 2018).

Moreover, classifying different types of cultural heritage are based on tangible and intangible identity that refer to the meaning of the cultural heritage (Ziyaea, 2018). Tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage have also their sub criteria of the heritage which are agriculture, archaeology, nature and customs. Therefore, analyzing the identity of the settlement where it is thought to have cultural heritage identity will be the main step. It is important to analyze the cultural heritage type of a settlement in order to make an appropriate decision for the alternative tourism type (Triarchi& Karamanis, 2017).

III.II.I. Tangible heritage

Tangible heritages include the terms of agriculture, archaeology and nature, which are vital for the identity of the area. First of all, agriculture is one of the most crucial assets to analyze the identity of settlements. It is not possible to consider agriculture without its rural settlement identity because it highlights the rural settlement of heritage values (MARAT, 2011). Moreover, agriculture which is a type of cultural heritage can be worked together with community engagement as well. Therefore, the management strategy is very significant to provide a balance between the settlement inherited identity and the community (Mantino, 2003; MARAT, 2011).

For the archaeological cultural heritage, two categories can be discussed; written documents or visual landscape (Maria, 2017; MARAT, 2011). Both memories and the coalescence spring to life for people in accordance with cultural heritage. Through the management strategy, those memories could be maintained and increased in archaeological sites. Because those places which have both historical and cultural identity, they need sensitive control and conservation strategies (SGCHPC, 2010). In this way, the heritage could be protected and people can increase their experience of identity in these places.

The formation of the meaning of cultural heritage reveals much about the relationship between our integrated natural world perspective and humankind (Triarchi& Karamanis, 2017). Because of the potential in itself, it provides us both social and ecological opportunities. Therefore, this provides communities to understand the identity and the heritage value of the settlements. Provision of awareness and consciousness is needed to recognize the identity and protect the cultural heritage which is composed of natural elements (Triarchi & Karamanis, 2017; WHCL, 2002). Consequently, it is possible to conserve the culture and nature as well.

III.II. II. Intangible Heritage

On the contrary of tangible values, the ethnographic structure and custom are intangible cultural heritage that cannot be measured physically like tangible values. Therefore, it is not just about the perception of people, but also about their interferences in addition. Accordingly, cultural value is also composed from the sense of place and memories that the community has been keeping in their mind (Maffei, 2012; Vadi, 2015). In this context, aesthetic and artistic value, verbal tradition and expression value and bazaar and traditional food value can be regarded as cultural heritage.

Aesthetic and artistic value includes the understanding and ornament characteristics of the cultural existence in the design. Crafts are not simply a particular way of making objects, but also they are values, history and identity of the communities in which they are practiced (Donkin, 2001). It is the value that reflects the established traditions, lifestyles, beliefs and habits of the society that makes up the structure. The structures or structural elements which have been destroyed in time or have an almost existing value are some of the most important elements to preserve the cultural assets. Moreover, Structures are of originality value if they retain all traits of the period in which they were built and the traces of the historical layers that have been formed up to now. The architectural spaces (structures, building groups or building parts) that reflect the life of the society producing themselves, when they support the sense of social identity and belonging (Ünal, 2012; WHCL, 2002).

Verbal tradition and expression value is another cultural asset. Oral traditions and narratives (epics, legends, folk tales, proverbs, fairy tales, jokes, etc.) with the language of the conveying of intangible cultural heritage are some examples of these kinds of assets. Social practices, rituals and feasts (celebrations, weddings, births, nawruz, etc.) are some of the important intangible cultural assets. It is a value that defines the relations of cultural assets in multi-layered and multicultural settlements with the products in other periods and covers the aims of a holistic protection within the framework of these relations (Topçu, 2007).

Bazaar and traditional food is the intangible cultural heritage asset. The transfer of food practices from one generation to another contributes to the formation of the identity and memory for both individuals and

communities of the area. It is the intangible cultural heritage because of its communal consumption. Food is also an element that shows a deep connection between food and civilizations. Therefore, it protects other items as well. Oral traditions and expressions are an alternative view of knowledge and practices that are perceived as intangible forms of cultural heritage related to food (Vadi, 2015).

III.III. Revealing Crises in Bodrum On Community

In Turkey, one of the attractive tourism centers is Bodrum that has also been affected both positively and adversely. Because of this demand for Bodrum, man-made disasters have occurred because most of the land is taken for tourism purposes and these lands are generally agricultural and natural land that is the economy, culture and social structure of Bodrum are demanded on them. Therefore, with the increase in the demand for tourism, cultural, natural and social structure has been changing day by day since 1970 that is the first year to start the tourism industry. Seasonal housing pushed the natural physical boundaries of many settlements in Bodrum and irreversibly changed the landscape, nature and resources of the peninsula. Therefore, the most affected values from the disasters are agriculture and nature which constitute the milestone of the cultural heritage. While tourism is one of the most important economic structures for the income of Bodrum, it causes some problems as well.

III.III. I. Physical impact of the crises on the community

There are both positive and adverse effects of tourism on the community. One of the adverse effects of tourism on the community is water resources that domestically affect the area. The water source is not enough for the peninsula because of the increasing population. Especially in the summer season, the shortage reaches a peak. Therefore, the peninsula does not have sustainable water resources that need to meet the demand. According to the Bakış, the water needs of the peninsula will be 32.64x106, 52.33x106, 70.11 x106, and 312.23x106 m3/year in the years 2025, 2040, 2050 and 2100, respectively, unless the increasing population or water demand bring under control (Bakış, 2010).

In the tourism industry, hotels, swimming pools, golf courses and tourists consume water excessively. As a result, freshwater resources are inadequate and lead to excessive wastewater generation.

III.III. II. Socio-Political impact of the crises on the community

In Turkey, Bodrum peninsula is one of the most attractive tourism centers. Because of the excessive demand for tourism, the population is increasing everyday (Figure 2). Most of the lands have been taken over by the tourism sector due to the tourism developing in the Bodrum Peninsula after the 1970s and caused the area to be constructed rapidly.

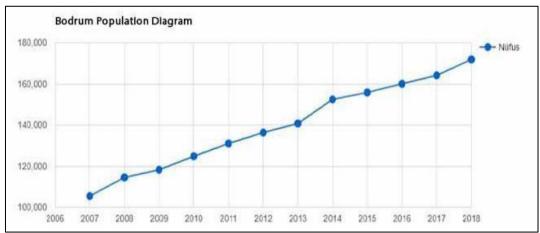


Figure 2: Bodrum Population Diagram (Bakış, 2010).

The rapidly developed and unplanned tourism sector in the region has caused problems in terms of environmental, social and infrastructural aspects. Due to domestic and foreign tourism, the 2nd Housing (cottage), holiday villages, hotels are increasing rapidly and there are big differences between the winter population (2010: 110492 people) and the summer population (2010: 502720 people). In some years, up to 10 times, the differences between summer and winter populations have been reported (Bakış, 2010) (Fig 3).

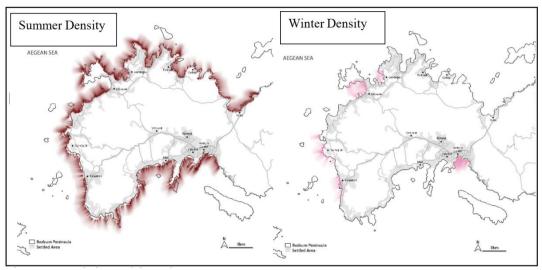


Figure 3: Summer and Winter Population Density

III.III. Economic impact of the crises on the community

The 1970s is a turning point for Bodrum. With the difficulty of gaining citrus gardening in meeting the costs, the rapidly rising tourism values change the fate of the peninsula. After 1980, Bodrum joined the tourism sector to its economy. Domestic and foreign tourism, which has been active on the peninsula in recent years, has also affected the settlements of Bodrum not only the center but also the rural areas that started to change for the tourism sector.

The main reason for the deterioration of the rural landscape is that tourism turns into the most important source of income throughout the peninsula. The important result of tourism revenues is that it transforms the Bodrum economy from agriculture and marine economy into a service economy. It is no longer the community that targets the development of production but the community that serves and consumes.

III.IV. Crisis impact on Heritage

Agriculture is one of the most important key elements for cultural heritage. An important part of the peninsula's rural landscape is citrus gardening, which spreads over wide valley areas. The gardening activity, which continues to decrease day by day, faces the threat of extinction as a result of the investments in tourism and the growing interest in seasonal residences. The agricultural areas planned in 1983 were opened to tourism and a planned area was created for new accommodation structures. Unfortunately, the development of the village settlement against the gardens and the opening of the gardens that set the boundaries of the old village settlement to the structuring area, mostly in favour of the second houses, unfortunately quickly destroy the areas of the gardens close to the center. Increasing the zoning conditions of the gardens close to the center is the main reason for changing these regions (Aysel, 2010). Moreover, the survival of citrus gardens, which are part of Bodrum's vital feature and landscape, is extremely important within the peninsula. For this purpose, it is imperative to keep the gardens in order to preserve the landscape formed by citrus groves.

Not only the agricultural area, but also the natural site of the Bodrum peninsula is affected by rapid tourism. The rules brought to zoning areas are not coherent with the natural physical conditions. Moreover, this approach left this settlement under the influence of dense construction activities. Seasonal housing pushed the natural physical boundaries of many settlements in Bodrum and changed the landscape, resources and nature of the peninsula irreversibly. On the other hand, the structures for foreign tourism, which include short-term accommodation, caused an intense development in the coastal areas. The natural protected sites around the coastal area are the most affected ones.

IV. Case Study: Dereköy/Bodrum

In Bodrum peninsula, most of the components for the value of cultural heritage are included such as Archaeology, Agriculture or Nature with their own social and cultural structure. For these main values, day by day, some problems have occurred that would be called man-made disaster which have been mentioned above. With these problems, the cultural and social values have demolished. Therefore, agriculture and nature are the most affected values from these disasters.

Dereköy is an area in Bodrum where agricultural and natural identity exist. However, it is a problem that these values are going to become extinct not only in Dereköy, but also in the whole Bodrum peninsula. Therefore, it has the potential that these values, in Dereköy, can be used for the sake of the whole city of

Bodrum with the help of alternative tourism method. In this way, the value of agriculture and nature have a potential that includes social and cultural value as well. Social quality and sustainability ensure livable space of built environment and spatial quality by improving nature-human-society relationships on the long term (Hatipoglu Kalfaoglu, 2017). Although the amount of settlements increased in Bodrum, there is not a considerable change in spatial characteristic of Dereköy for the livability (Figure 4). It shows that this area and its identity are preserved eventually.



Figure 4: Google Earth satellite image; from 2005 to 2019 in Dereköy

Although the economy of historic settlement had been based on agriculture for many years, the transition from this cultural value to today's tourism approach forces people to abandon their agriculture tradition and turn to touristic actions. This alteration impacted the lifestyle of the local people and the social-economical balance of the community (Kaya, 2013).

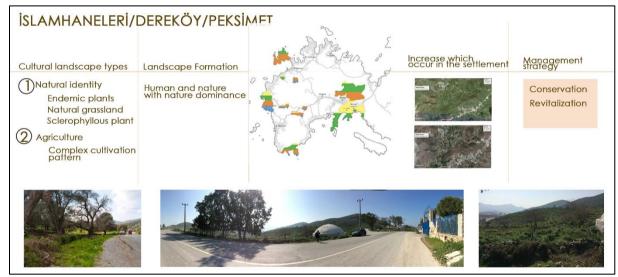


Figure 5: Dereköy information card

In the information card, the unique identity of Dereköy and the management strategy which can be implemented in Dereköy, has been shown (Figure 5). In the area, high incidence of endemic plants can be seen with natural grassland. At the same time, the agricultural cultural landscape is dominant due to having a complex cultural pattern in the area. When the history of Dereköy is analyzed, the dominance of agriculture can be perceived. In those years, agriculture was one of the main economic income types. However, today, agriculture is not a source of income for Bodrum's local people anymore.

V. AUTHENTICITY/IDENTITY APPROACH AS A STRATEGY

V.I. Alternative Tourism in Rural Settlement

Cultural heritage needs a detailed management strategy in order to provide economic success and social equality which are the components of sustainability as well as the conservation of the environment. Therefore, depending on its value, alternative tourism would be the best solution for those areas which have unique identity and heritage (Triarchi & Karamanis, 2017; Timothy, 1998). Because the amalgamation of tourism and cultural heritage both are inevitable ending and also valuable opportunities as well. Therefore, the management and conservation of the area with tourism as the major purpose which is based on the cultural heritage values or components (Mrda & Bojanic &Scitaroci, 2015).

The rural settlement development is the first step to conserve both the identity and cultural heritage as well. The economy of the settlement is important factor to enhance the rural settlement. Traditional construction techniques can potentially employ more craftspeople and also manual labour stimulating the local rural economy (Morishita & Ismail & Cetin, 2017). For example, enhancing the place based identity like the local identity of settlement, tourism could be the alternative solution for the cultural heritage. Therefore, cultural, historical, environmental facilities through the cultural heritage can be a starting point for alternative tourism (Topçu, 2007; Timothy, 1998).

According to Nistoreanu, the main purposes, principles and necessaries of sustainable tourism development are most prevalent ones for agro tourism, ecotourism, cultural tourism and also for rural tourism (Nistoreanu, 2006). These kinds of tourism not only exemplify the positive, dynamic factor for tourism but also feasible solutions to maintain the environment undemolished and to provide conservation as well.

V.I.I. Agro tourism as a planning element

It is a commonly used term that is used in recent years and is directly related to agriculture. Farming is the main place for tourism to draw the interest of people. The phenomena of rural tourism are generally a secondary activity for people which is the farmers' main income source and occupation for agriculture (Darau, 2010). Although agro tourism is a better strategy for cases such as Dereköy, eco-tourism is generally preferred as a solution. However, for Dereköy the agro-tourism is also involved in eco-tourism. Both of them are related to natural attraction. It is identified that ecotourism is a useful tool that serves protection and development goals (Blamey, 2001; Maria, 2017).

The benefits of agri tourism- community based agriculture:

- Generating additional income or off-season income for farmers
- Interacting and educating locals and visitors about the significance of farming
- Increased awareness of local agricultural products
- Improve a new consumer market niche
- Agri-tourist aspires to learn for agriculture life
- Providing and protecting the character and culture of host communities
- Maintain habitats and landscape
- Qualified precedence in production of food
- Alternative sources for income for farmers
- Sustainability and conserving of farming lands (Maria, 2017)

Agri-tourism is based on opportunities which have an effect on agricultural, natural and cultural sources for the benefit of the community and the most convenient types of visitor attraction and services in the fragile area. They are also the least destructive of traditional and primary rural economic activities in the area (Kaya, 2013). Therefore, Agri-tourism, which is one of alternative tourism, could be the best solution for conserving cultural heritage assets.

In order to conserve cultural heritage assets, improvement coherent with modern life styles, the outcome of outstanding cultural and natural values, and development of the existing settlement arrangement, providing a balance between conservation and usage, and eventually the raise of life quality in the settlement should be targeted (Marat, 2011). Therefore, the agricultural landscape asset can be used for highlighting the cultural heritage. Moreover, it provides off season and additional income for the farmers.

The potentials to provide and use the identity, that conduct the loss of local character, are determined and strategies are proposed to provide the local landscape characters of the settlements. Therefore, community based agriculture can be implemented in the settlements which is also an alternative tourism method for rural settlement because the settlement identities are still conserved (Triarchi & Karamanis, 2017). For this reason, agri-tourism is a strategy to enhance the area identity. Since the area has both agricultural and natural identities, community based agriculture could be a solution to enhance the areas' cultural heritage. It is defined as locally development actions and goals that are an integral part for tourism planning (Timothy, 1998).

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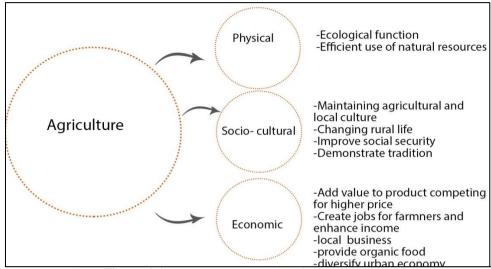


Figure 6: impact assessment and agricultural Identity

For a preserved development of Dereköy, there is a need for vernacular, specific approaches which are developed according to the characteristics area. Instead of using new agricultural products, using region specific and extinct products is crucial to preserve the cultural heritage value (Mantino, 2003). In addition to that new activities such as workshops, education, local market etc. are vital for an improved development because new means new income sources for the local people as well.

This development process should be based on decoding of the characteristics of landscape which determines an identity specifically. Therefore, the suggestion of the study is that rural settlement's landscape identity should be derived from physical, natural, economic and socio-cultural characteristics of the landscape. This classification has been shown in (Fig 6) as an impact assessment schema with its assets of the terms.

Agri-tourism as an economic development

In order to contribute to the economic development of Derekoy, providing economic viability of agriculture and on-site employment opportunities for local people is a necessity. Since the main source of income is tourism, this strategy ensures off season and additional income for the inhabitants. In other words, it improves alternative income possibilities in the form of additional sources for farmers (Maria, 2017).

Agri-tourism as a socio-cultural development

Agri-tourism crucially plays an important role for the interaction between rural people and tourists. In this way, rural people can get an opportunity for closer relationships with urban life and tourists. Moreover, tourists can get more knowledge about the rural areas of the world. This sharing of information has an impact on improving the communication between people with different backgrounds and cultures.

Activities for education, which are a necessity for agri-tourism improvement process, enable new skills and comprehension of the world to rural people. Moreover, it provides new opportunities for employment of people who are living in the local area, which is very crucial mainly for the young generation. Consequently, this could play an efficient role for decreasing the migration numbers (Topçu, 2007).

Agri-tourism as an educational development

Agri tourism is an educational tool for consumers and farmers as well. It is crucial for community-based agriculture because it provides agricultural techniques and tourism service. Moreover, these educational programs are prepared both for tourists or farmers which raise the awareness and knowledge of people about nature and agriculture. Therefore, these activities ensure a sustainable way of life by providing awareness about rural assets (Marat, 2011).

VI. CONCLUSION

For the sustainability of the cities, it is vital to share and preserve the identity and local character of them to maintain their cultural and social richness. However, for some places it is hard to protect these assets from the threat of globalization or the mass migration of people to touristic areas. Cultural heritage presents the formation that creates place identity as its own cultural and social asset for the community. All the facts for humankind are included in cultural heritage sites. Representing the unique values of a place, cultural heritage is one of the important key elements for the sustainability of the area. These values are not constituted from just

physical aspects, but also social and cultural aspects. This paper analyses Bodrum which faces many problems that threaten its social, spatial and cultural values. For the sustainability of places such as Bodrum which has its own agricultural, historical, and natural values, it is crucial to develop strategies that address their identity and richness. Cultural heritage components and their sub-title are investigated in Bodrum as a representative case of many other cities in danger.

In order to comprehend the cultural heritage values of Bodrum, the challenges and potentials of Bodrum in terms of identity and uniqueness have been analyzed. Since the management strategies change according to cultural identities of places, this analysis sheds light into the choice of optimum solutions and alternative tourism method is implemented for the study area. Dereköy study area, which is a district in Bodrum has been focused to follow an approach from macro to micro. Agri-tourism which is one of the alternative tourism methods is demonstrated for conservation. Because the Agri-tourism concept was developed as a rural development instrument through the increasing tourism demands of tourists in the rural areas and emphasizing organic life conditions. The preservation and conservation of agriculture, natural resources and cultural traditions are the key elements to provide a sustainability in the area. Moreover, with the suggested management strategy for Dereköy, the authenticity of the settlement has been manifested.

As a result, some problems stemming from the lack of social, spatial and cultural awareness are the main challenges in protecting cultural heritage. With the consideration of innovative strategies unique to the places, which preserves the socio-spatial and cultural values and reveals the potentials for improvement, it is possible to contribute to the development of rural spaces. Dereköy represents a demonstrative case for this goal within the suggested strategies of alternative tourism method, which ensure an opportunity to increase awareness for a sustainable life. Additionally, the presented strategies can also provide a basis for some other places which suffer from similar problems.

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Hatice Kalfaoğlu Hatipoğlu, Seda İlayda Yağmur "Developing Strategies for the Sustainability of Bodrum: Exploring The Opportunities." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 26(01), 2021, pp. 12-21.