REFLECTIONS OF TOURISMIFICATION ON THE TOURIST EXPERIENCE: A TRIPADVISOR REVIEW ANALYSIS

ÇAĞLA GÜRKAN

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2024

REFLECTIONS OF TOURISMIFICATION ON THE TOURIST EXPERIENCE: A TRIPADVISOR REVIEW ANALYSIS

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of arts

in

Sustainable Tourism Management

by

Çağla Gürkan

Boğaziçi University

2024

Reflections of Tourismification on the Tourist Experience:

A TripAdvisor Review Analysis

The thesis of Çağla Gürkan

has been approved by

Assoc. Prof. Evinç Doğan
(Thesis Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Uşaklı

Assoc. Prof. Edina Ajanovic

January 2024

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Çağla Gürkan, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature……

Date ……

ABSTRACT

Reflections of Tourismification on the Tourist Experience:

A TripAdvisor Review Analysis

This thesis examines the impact of tourismification on the personal and influential realms of tourist experience in Beyoğlu, the attraction point of modern Istanbul. Firstly, presenting local dynamics and gentrification processes, the study explores how tourism-oriented policies have shaped recent urban transformations. Later, by utilizing Cutler & Carmichael's tourist experience model (2010), the research employs qualitative thematic analysis of TripAdvisor reviews from 2010-2012 and 2020-2022. Prominent codes in two datasets are examined. In this context, three key themes emerged and discussed: shifts in tourists' perception of crowds, nightlife, and safety; and intensified commercialization and consumerism. These findings highlight the influence of tourism development on the area and its diverse implications for visitors. The thesis contributes to literature by bringing tourismification and tourist experience literatures together, presenting tourism-centered urban transformations of Beyoğlu as a case study, and providing insights for destination management authorities.

ÖZET

Turizmleşmenin Turist Deneyimine Yansımaları:
Bir TripAdvisor Yorum Analizi

Bu çalışma, modern İstanbul'un cazibe merkezi olan Beyoğlu'nda turizmleşmenin ("tourismification") turist deneyiminin kişisel ("personal") ve etkili ("influential") alanları üzerinde etkilerini incelemektedir. İlk olarak, bölgenin yerel dinamikleri ve soylulaştırma süreçleri sunularak, turizm odaklı politikaların yakın dönemde gerçekleşen kentsel dönüşümleri nasıl şekillendirdiği tartışılmıştır. Sonrasında ise, Cutler & Carmichael'in (2010) turist deneyimi modelinden faydalanılarak, 2010-2012 ve 2020-2022 yıllarına ait TripAdvisor incelemelerinin niteliksel tematik analizi yapılmıştır. İki veri kümesinde öne çıkan kodlar incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda üç ana tema tartışılmıştır: turistlerin kalabalık, gece hayatı ve güvenlik algısındaki değişimler; ve yoğunlaşmış ticarileşme ve tüketim. Bulgular, turizm gelişiminin bölge üzerindeki etkilerini, ve turist deneyimini çeşitli şekillerde etkileyen faktörleri ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışma, turizmleşme ve turist deneyimi literatürlerini bir araya getirmesi, Beyoğlu'nun turizm odaklı kentsel dönüşümlerini bir vaka çalışması olarak derlemesi ve destinasyon yönetimi yetkilileri için içgörüler sunması sebepleriyle literatüre katkıda bulunmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my advisor, Assoc. Prof. Evinç Doğan, for her invaluable guidance, constructive comments, and continuous support throughout my thesis. Thank you for our engaging conversations, it has been a pleasure. Your contributions to my academic growth are truly appreciated.

Sincere thanks to Assoc. Profs. Edina Ajanovic and Ahmet Uşaklı for their insightful suggestions. Prof. Bengi Ertuna and Assoc. Prof. Akgün İlhan, your belief in my capabilities during my master's program application meant a lot.

My appreciation also goes to my friends and close family members for being always there for me: my closest friend Ekin, my cousin Eda, my father Güçlü, his dear spouse Serpil, and my mother Arzu with her beloved spouse Esat, and my sister Günce. Thanks to all our cats for bringing happiness and joy to our lives, especially Siyo and my little Barbun.

I would like to, once again, express my profound appreciation to my mother and source of inspiration, Prof. Arzu Aydın. Thank you for being my greatest supporter, guiding me through life's decisions and making all my achievements possible, you are the best.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW 7

2.1 Urban tourism 7

2.2 The tourist experience 13

2.3 Gentrification 24

2.4 Tourismification 33

CHAPTER 3: CASE OF BEYOĞLU 45

3.1 Pre-Republican era 46

3.2 Early Republican era 48

3.3 Neoliberal transformation 50

3.4 After 2000s 51

3.5 Local responses to urban transformations 58

3.6 Recent political climate and COVID-19 pandemic impacts on tourism 62

3.7 Intensified tourismification in the last decade 65

3.8 Current issues related to accommodations 69

3.9 A new perspective on municipalism in Istanbul 71

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY 75

4.1 Online travel reviews as a source of data for tourism studies 75

4.2 Data collection 78

4.3 Data analysis 79

4.4 Coding schemes 81

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS 88

5.1 Personal realm of tourist experience in Beyoğlu 89

5.2 Influential realm of tourist experience in Beyoğlu 91
5.3 The overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction 95
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 99
6.1 Perception of crowds 100
6.2 Nightlife transformation and safety challenges 102
6.3 Commercialization and consumerism 104
6.4 Conclusions and theoretical implications 106
6.5 Practical implications 109
6.7 Limitations and further research 110
APPENDIX A: REALMS OF TOURIST EXPERIENCE 112
APPENDIX B: RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS 114
REFERENCES 118

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Waves of Gentrification

Table 2. Conceptual Framework

Table 3. Personal Realm of Tourist Experience Coding Scheme

Table 4. Influential Realm of Tourist Experience Coding Scheme

Table 5. Number of Reviews and Average Star Ratings

LIST OF APPENDIX TABLES

Table A1. Personal Realm of Tourist Experience

Table A2. Influential Realm of Tourist Experience

Table B1. Past Dataset Personal Realm of Tourist Experience Results

Table B2. Past Dataset Influential Realm of Tourist Experience Results

Table B3. Recent Dataset Personal Realm of Tourist Experience Results

Table B4. Recent Dataset Influential Realm of Tourist Experiences Results

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Following the adoption of neoliberal policies, the role of culture, leisure, entertainment and tourism as an economic growth strategy has been significant in many cities (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). This shift was further fueled by the increasing global demand for urban tourism (Spirou, 2011). While domestic and foreign tourists experience a city's diverse offerings, including its architecture, historical sites, cultural experiences, art, music, cuisine, and shops, they also simultaneously utilize urban amenities and services primarily intended for the local community. This duality poses challenges, since the influx of tourists, though economically beneficial for cities, may overwhelm others.

Increased tourist activity may also lead to changes in local culture, socio-economic dynamics and the physical environment of cities (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020). These tourism-related transformation processes are referred to as ‘tourismification’. Tourismification has been of growing interest in tourism research in the last two decades, along with a wide range of other disciplines, such as geography, sociology, economics, environmental studies, and cultural studies. A branch of studies in this field investigates the interplay between tourismification and gentrification, how tourism exerts pressure on rising property values and rents, and the consequent displacement of residents (Sequera & Nofre, 2018; Cocola-Gant, 2018). Other studies examine the tourism-led transformation of the retail landscape (Cocola-Gant, 2015; González and Waley, 2013). In addition to economic issues, some studies examine socio-cultural and environmental pressures in rapidly changing neighborhoods, such as loss of culture, safety and security issues, pollution, and

congestion (Seraphin, Sheeran & Pilato, 2018; Mínguez García, Piñeira, and Fernández-Tabales, 2019; González-Pérez, 2019). Accordingly, the resident community's responses to rapid changes such as resistance, activism, and tourismphobia are also frequently examined subjects (Maoz, 2006; Hughes, 2018; Bertocchi & Visentin, 2019).

Yet, amidst these extensive studies, there is a noticeable gap: the lack of exploration into tourists' perspectives and experiences within destinations undergoing rapid tourismification. Tourists, drawn to these areas for their diverse offerings and commonly experience the destination's overall attributes as a single tourism product (Mossberg, 2007). The fundamental objective of tourism and destination management has long been the creation of memorable and distinctive experiences. Paradoxically, however, the very tourismification meant to cater to tourist demands can undermine these experiences through its negative impacts. Consequently, it may dissuade future visits or recommendations for a destination (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Şahin & Güzel, 2020; Prayag, Hosany & Odeh, 2013). This shift, from enhancing tourist experiences to potentially deterring them, underscores the intricate and often contradictory nature of the tourismification process.

Accordingly, this study first aims to identify how tourismification occurs in the specific context of Beyoğlu. Gravari-Barbas and Guinand (2017) highlight the varied manifestations of touristification and gentrification across different locations. Accordingly, tourismification is predominantly viewed as a “bottom-up process wherein tourists actively engage, each contributing with their unique characteristics” (Freytag & Bauder, 2018). Pickel-Chevalier (2012) adds that tourismification is not an abstract concept but a tangible process that necessitates an examination of diverse stakeholders and factors steering the shift toward a tourism-centered economy within

a specific geographic area. Consequently, understanding these processes requires a historical perspective of each destination, as well as identification of the distinct elements and stakeholders involved in the process (Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020).

For these reasons, in the current thesis, urban transformations of the selected case Beyoğlu, Istanbul is examined in detail, specifically focusing on tourism-oriented policies applied in the recent decades. Beyoğlu, particularly the surroundings of Istiklal Street, is visited by large numbers regardless of the time or season due to a plethora of leisure and entertainment offerings. With its rich tangible and intangible heritage, this area is culturally, socially, economically, and historically important. Therefore, issues related to the preservation of Beyoğlu due to its accelerated tourism-centric transformation in the last decades are of significant concern to many.

The issues in this chapter are presented in a chronological order, and the following questions are answered: How has the urban landscape of Beyoğlu been transformed since the adoption of neoliberalism in the 1980s? What was the legal basis to enable such interventions? What were the local responses to controversial urban transformations in the area? What are the impacts of recent political and economic incidents and the COVID-19 pandemic on the destination? How do the state's recent urban transformation attempts contribute to tourismification in Beyoğlu? In this chapter, there are also short case examples showing two different forms of gentrification observed in Cihangir and Tarlabaşı neighborhoods of Beyoğlu.

Recent tourism-led commodification of Beyoğlu has resulted in the closure of numerous local establishments, including restaurants, nightclubs, cultural venues, artisan stores, historical patisseries, and brands. This phenomenon has, in turn,

prompted a significant portion of Istanbulites to redirect their recreational and shopping activities to alternative districts within the city (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.313). Consequently, the researcher hypothesized that these transformative processes that lead to the area losing its attractiveness to residents are also likely to generate unpleasant experiences for tourists as well.

The primary aim of this study is to explore how tourismification is reflected on personal and influential realms of tourist experience in Beyoğlu and it aims to answer the question of "How does the process of tourismification shape and alter the tourist experience, considering both its improving and interrupting aspects?"

Due to the subjective nature of the tourist experience and the necessity for context-specific strategies, the literature has generated numerous models that dissect tourist experiences into different dimensions. In 2010, Cutler and Carmichael introduced the personal and influential realms of tourist experience. The influential realm encompasses various factors that shape the tourist experience, including physical and social aspects of the destination, and the products and services offered in the area. The personal realm, on the other hand, includes perceived aesthetic qualities of the destination and emotions expressed by tourists about their experience. Since tourists are co-creators of the experience, both realms have significant contributions to overall satisfaction with the experience, memorability of the trip, as well as revisit intentions. While Cutler and Carmichael's categorization served as a valuable foundation, it was inherently abstract and required further refinement for measurement of tourist experience (Skotis & Livas, 2022).

Accordingly, Skotis and Livas (2022) produced a coding scheme to measure the personal and influential realms of tourist experience. The authors applied a quantitative text mining methodology on online travel reviews of historical districts

of European cities, such as Barcelona's Barri Gotic, Athens' Plaka, and Rome's Trastevere. In this thesis, a qualitative methodology is applied, utilizing thematic analysis of online travel reviews extracted from the TripAdvisor pages dedicated to Beyoğlu, Istiklal Street, and Taksim Square collectively. Since the aim is to identify changes in tourist experiences, therefore a past dataset encompassing reviews written during the years 2010-2012, and a recent dataset employing reviews from 2020-2022 period are analyzed.

The coding scheme from the study of Skotis and Livas (2022), is utilized as a starting point for creation of the coding scheme of this study. Before the analysis, the authors' scheme is adjusted and updated based on the literature review, and therefore provides initial guidance for the coding process. After the analysis, data driven codes are also added to the scheme, meaning the researchers carefully looked for and identified additional dimensions during the analysis. Data-driven codes both reveal destination-specific dimensions of tourist experience and build up on existing literature.

The primary and secondary codes that emerged through analysis of tourist experience within past and recent datasets are presented in the results section of the study. The context-specific elements within the personal and influential realms of tourist experience that are found in the study also contributed to the tourist experience literature. Given the discrepancy in the volume of data between the two groups, intra-group examinations were conducted for each, instead of a direct comparison while presenting the results. Nevertheless, the frequency of certain elements in each group was sufficient to reveal the differences between these two datasets. As the final step of the study, main themes that emerged from the primary and secondary codes are discussed. These themes include perception of crowds,

nightlife transformation and safety challenges, commercialization, and consumerism.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Urban tourism

Cities are much more than limited geographic areas with dense resident populations. They operate as centers of economic, cultural, and political activity. Cities have significance on both local and global scales. On the local level, each has unique identities shaped by their built environment, history, geography, and social and economic structures (Chang & Huang, 2004). They provide for the demands and needs of inhabitants in terms of jobs, resources, and social and cultural interactions. As people from various cultures and backgrounds come together in urban spaces, they have the chance to communicate, explore different perspectives, and learn from one another. On the global level, a city can be regarded as "a connecting node that links a locality to the world at large through networks of capital, people, and commodity and information flows" (Chang & Huang, 2004). Cities also facilitate the exchange of ideas, goods, and services across national and regional boundaries. Due to increased migration flows and expanding urban territories, it is expected to have up to 68% of the overall population living in urban areas by 2050 (United Nations, 2018).

Maybe more than any other industry, tourism is closely linked with cities' economy, geography, and social life. UNWTO (2022) defined urban tourism as "...a type of tourism activity which takes place in an urban space with its inherent attributes characterized by non-agricultural based economy such as administration, manufacturing, trade, and services and by being nodal points of transport. Urban/city destinations offer a broad and heterogeneous range of cultural, architectural,

technological, social, and natural experiences and products for leisure and business" As implied in this definition, urban tourism destinations engage various public and private organizations to different extents to offer a visitor-oriented city with the necessary infrastructure and services.

In order to understand how most cities became tourism-oriented, previous transformations of urban life can be examined. In the 1960s and 1970s a significant geographic restructuring and social change process began in cities due to the expansion of suburbs and related issues. After the oil crisis in 1973, the delocalization of production facilities and the following deindustrialization of cities led to the re-functionalization of urban centers (Mazzamuto & Picone, 2022). Significant determinants of the new urban development strategies were culture and tourism in most cities. Spirou (2011) identified four key themes that explain the role of tourism in shaping urban transformations. The first is the emergence of various entrepreneurial strategies due to the need to find alternative economic development in the postwar era and to deal with increased competition within cities triggered by globalization. Second is the adoption of urban tourism as a fiscal growth strategy and large-scale renewal of infrastructure, leading to a restructuring of physical landscapes. In addition, city culture and cultural amenities improved to generate tourism demand, thus, many artists were attracted to perform in urban cores. Finally, urban tourism led to controversial social and economic issues, the diversion of valuable resources, and issues related to the sustainability of cities that caters to increased amounts of visitors and residents.

Previous forms of mass tourism were taking place in particular, remote locations constructed specifically for tourism use, commonly referred to as ‘tourist bubbles’ (Judd, 1999). In the 21st century, visitor numbers expanded remarkably,

especially in urban areas. The rapid increase of urban tourism in the 21st century has occurred for several reasons. First, tourist mobility increased as globalization diminished physical constraints to travel and spread social networks. Affordable and direct travel options were introduced to diverse locations, and traveling has become faster and easier. Secondly, people have become more selective and demanding in their holiday decisions as they now have diverse options to choose from, in a limited time. Therefore, independent and flexible holidays gained popularity instead of package tours. Having online holiday-making platforms and social media channels helped to plan independent holidays. Finally, tourism was the only sector that did not decrease substantially in the late 2000s crisis in many north Mediterranean regions; in fact, most tourism development agendas were designed to deal with economic recovery (Russo & Scarnato, 2018). Global tourism growth trends and supporting local stakeholders such as the media, construction industry, service sector lobbies, and compliant city governments pushed intense tourism development in neighborhoods with a weak socioeconomic status that led to further conflicts (Russo & Scarnato, 2018).

Like cities, urban tourism is intrinsically interdependent with local and global factors that influence one another. An important characteristic of urban tourism is its large ecosystem with multiple stakeholders. Even though each destination is unique with different key stakeholders, local governments and destination management organizations (DMOs) mostly have the highest legitimacy and power over others in the decision-making processes of cities (Timur & Getz, 2008). Local governments are responsible for improving urban living conditions by managing community development, economic development, the creation of parks and recreational areas, transportation networks, and services. Investments to carry out such urban

improvements would be necessary for residential use, even without the existence of tourism. Yet, increased urban tourism flows and investments help a destination to improve its offerings to visitors, and therefore, generate greater revenues.

As tourism development aims to generate greater demand for cities, it also has to compete with other industries to attain limited urban resources such as land, labor, and financial incentives provided (Edwards, Griffin & Hayylar, 2007). However, urban tourism is not only shaped by competition among different firms within a destination but also the competition between destinations domestically and worldwide. Cities, just like businesses, aim to revitalize themselves by turning into attractive products, and later market their new urban identities (Spirou, 2009, p.62). Increased global competition among destinations is a trend introduced by globalization. Globalization is regarded as a 'mega-trend' shaping many other big trends in the economy and social life. In this sense, the globalization of tourism is parallel to the same political and economic factors that can be recognized in other industries (Spirou, 2009, p.64).

Another differentiating characteristic of urban tourism is the diversity of tourist preferences and offerings. Tourists' primary purpose and motivation for visiting might not only be leisure. It could also be related to business, education, events, health and wellness, and visiting friends and family (Edwards, Griffin & Hayylar, 2007). Tourists visiting urban city centers also have different cultures, perspectives, interests, and lifestyle preferences. Intellectually active holidays became popular globally in the last decades, combining leisure and learning the history and culture of a city (Lois-González, 2014). Thus, heritage sites became popular spots in cities that host mass amounts of excursionists and tourists every day. Other than heritage, diverse cultural and entertainment activities are increasingly

being offered in tourist cities, ranging from cooking classes to music events, from fine dining restaurants to art exhibitions to keep up with demand and increase revenues. Along with the increased fragmentation of demand, tourism niches became global elements in the making of tourism products, replacing and rejuvenating the old ones (Pasquinelli & Bellini, 2017, p.33). However, as Marson (2011) argues, niche tourism products also go through the tourism life cycle, and if demand keeps increasing, they might as well become contemporary forms of mass tourism.

Aiming to ensure growth, improve well-being, and create a visitor-oriented city, public-private partnership strategies are commonly adopted by local officials. It is expected from tourism-related businesses to create jobs and taxes, helping municipalities to improve basic services and infrastructure (Spirou, 2011, p.56). As such collaborations multiply, the service sectors increasingly replace manufacturing in cities. Deindustrialization has been a common economic transformation in developed countries such as the US, Japan, and Canada since the 1950s. Many developing countries also increasingly go through the deindustrialization process without having a proper experience of industrialization, which Dani Rodrik (2016) coined as 'premature deindustrialization'. The author suggests that premature deindustrialization has severe consequences in middle and low-income countries in the form of a decline in economic growth potential, quality employment, and productivity, and a rise in inequalities.

Tourism development in a city becomes acceptable for a community when it generates employment opportunities that require varying degrees of skills, helps to increase GDP, and improves the quality of life in a city. According to WTTC's Economic impact report (2022), travel and tourism jobs make up 1 out of 11 jobs globally. Other than providing direct employment, tourism also facilitates indirect

employment for suppliers, construction firms, accounting firms, marketing agencies, and many more. Therefore, tourism becomes the main livelihood of many households. It also helps women, youth, and migrants to join the workforce relatively easily (ILO, 2010). However, there is a significant unequal treatment in tourism employment, especially to women, in terms of equal pay and treatment, and opportunities in managerial positions (Aynalem, 2016). In general, issues related to seasonality and common precarious employment practices of the tourism industry with low wages and poor working conditions remain relevant for many workers.

Spirou (2004) suggests that increased tourism spending by the public sector is often criticized as it may restrict spending on key service support in schools, housing, and transportation; leading to the diminishment of social equity. There are also many cases in which conflicts occur between tourists and residents regarding sharing space and resources. For example, tourists increasingly prefer using online platforms that offer residential housing as tourism accommodation, which leads to increased rents and eventually, displacement of residents (Cocola-Gant, 2018; Robinson, 2001). Yet, authorities and business leaders stick up for the economic benefits of tourism development which they believe is the best strategy to keep up with the global competition (Spirou, 2004), open up to new markets, and attract international investors.

Another denunciation of mass urban tourism is regarding the loss of authenticity in cities. Authenticity is associated with the quality of local elements and experiences offered. Loss of it could be in the form of closing local stores and opening up international chain shops or could be regarding the loss of alternative identity of a neighborhood as people with higher socioeconomic status replace original residents (Kudla, 2013). The concept of ‘Disneyfication’ has been discussed

widely regarding commercial transformations of neoliberal cities for two decades since it was coined by Bryman (2004). It refers to the reimaging of things or experiences superficially, with increased commodification practices and constant surveillance of visitors. Consequently, heritage areas (Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998), nightlife (Nofre & Martins, 2017), cultural quarters (McCarthy, 2006), and social life, in general, grow away from inclusiveness and authenticity. As urban tourism developers aim to create commodified enclaves populated by more affluent groups, they increasingly contribute to the loss of authenticity which is a point of no return.

To ensure sustainable urban tourism development, local governments increasingly cooperate with neighborhood associations, DMOs, NGOs, and other public stakeholders, utilizing their expert perspectives in the decision-making and implementation processes. The enormous scope of stakeholders and competition in the production of tourist cities could result in complexities in urban tourism planning, policymaking, and management. The most difficult task for authorities may be fulfilling the expectations of industry, government, and community stakeholders altogether, as there will always be conflicting interests.

2.2 The tourist experience

In 1998, Pine and Gilmore coined the concept of the 'experience economy,' signifying a shift towards prioritizing “the creation of memorable and unique experiences over traditional products and services” for differentiation purposes. To elucidate this concept, the authors employed a theatrical analogy, claiming that businesses assume the role of service ‘stagers’, while buyers are regarded as ‘honored guests’ to be engaged on emotional, physical, intellectual, and even spiritual levels (Pine & Gilmore, 1998). It is within the quality of these interactions

and engagements that the enduring memorability of the experience finds its foundation.

The tourism industry emerges as a key player within the experience economy. As articulated by Andersson (2007), the tourist experience materializes at the juncture of tourism consumption and tourism production, with the resulting value dependent on the experience itself, the individual tourist, and their state of mind in that particular moment. It is indisputable that holidays are the times when people are most inclined to indulge in experiential consumption and engage in such experiences on emotional and sensory levels (Agapito, Mendes, & Valle, 2013). They also tend to have high expectations regarding the services they purchase. As tourists utilize a range tourism-related services, they also encounter the destination's overall attributes as a single tourism product (Mossberg, 2007). Therefore, one of the primary objectives of tourism and destination management has been creating memorable and unique experiences in the last decades.

Accordingly, the field of tourist experience holds considerable significance in tourism literature. This area of study substantially contributes to the understanding of how tourists perceive and interact with the destinations they visit and facilitates decision-makers in improving tourist offerings. Within this chapter, an overview of essential perspectives related to the tourist experience is presented, followed by an exploration of how experience realms are applied in the context of tourism, shaping and enhancing the overall experience at destinations.

2.2.1 Perspectives on the concept of tourist experience

Numerous perspectives have emerged in the literature regarding the intricate nature of the tourist experience. John Urry's renowned work, The Tourist Gaze (1990) has

significance in the field of tourist experience studies, since it introduced the foundational concept of gazing and also shifted the focus from the destination's physical attributes to the subjective experiences of tourists, offering insights that continue to shape the field and inform further research. Within the scope of the study, tourist experience is regarded as a distinct type of gaze which is shaped by individual perceptions, cultural expectations, commodification, and social influences. The author argued that tourists often fixate on the visual aspects of the landscapes they explore (p.3). What is an ordinary activity for a resident, such as going to a local restaurant with vernacular architecture, becomes a meaningful and unique experience for a tourist. Their tourist mindset makes them highly attuned to numerous visual cues and signals around, and tourism essentially comprises the collection of such signs. Therefore, the visual elements in a visited destination should possess a distinct and indigenous character to provide a memorable experience.

Moreover, Larsen (2001) introduced multiple forms of touristic visual consumption that often co-occur with the tourist gaze. For example, while the tourist gaze resembles a static, photograph-like view of the landscape, the 'mobilized gaze' occurs during walking, and the 'travel glance' happens while driving, offering a more dynamic and cinematic experience with multiple images added together. Regarding the travel glance, Larsen exemplifies this concept with sightseeing bus tours, where tourists remain within the confines of their comfort zone with limited interaction with their surroundings. The experience therefore involves less outdoor risks, but is also very limited.

Greater sensory stimulation occurs when tourists establish stronger connections and engage more interactively with the destination they are visiting (Pan & Ryan, 2009). In response to Urry’s (1990) view centralizing the visual elements,

many scholars pointed out to the multi-sensory nature of the tourist experience, and non-visual senses such as tastes, smells, sounds and touch also contribute greatly to the enrichment of experience (Pan & Ryan, 2009; Markwell, 2001; van Hoven, 2005; Quan & Wang, 2002), including the second edition of Urry's (2002) work.

According to the research conducted by Quan and Wang (2002), non-visual tourist experiences can be categorized as either 'peak' or 'supporting' experiences. Peak experiences, such as going to a beach or visiting a historical site, refer to holiday-specific activities that are clearly distinct from daily activities. The authors noted that in social sciences literature, there's a predominant focus on peak experiences, while supporting experiences like eating and sleeping are often given less attention. Peak experiences can serve as the primary motivation for visitors, but an unfavorable supporting experience, such as staying at a poorly maintained room or a delay in the flight, can lead to tourist disappointment, subsequently affecting their overall experiences.

In contrast, tourism marketing and management literature views tourists as consumers and places a strong emphasis on the quality of services. Consequently, supporting experiences such as accommodation, transportation, and dining take precedence. These experiences during holidays are often seen as extensions or intensifications of daily activities. It's crucial to acknowledge that both dimensions of the tourist experience are equally significant and can mutually influence one another.

Peak experiences can also, in specific circumstances, become supporting experiences and vice versa, depending on the individual tourist experience. For example, a supporting experience such as dining at a local restaurant transforms into a peak experience when the chef surprised the tourists with a personalized, multi-course tasting menu that exceeded their expectations, or a tourist's peak experience of

visiting a historic landmark turns into a supporting experience when they discovered a charming local market near the site and spent most of their time there, engaging with the local culture.

In addition to peak and supporting experiences, the urban design and landscape quality are essential components influencing the overall tourist experience. Recent trends have significantly blurred the boundaries between traditional tourism and everyday life, with travelers now desiring to immerse themselves in the city as if they were local residents (Larsen, 2019). This paradigm shift towards a more holistic and authentic travel experience has led to a transformation of urban areas.

Within the domain of urban tourism, the act of walking stands out as the optimal approach for exploring and engaging with one's surroundings, actively involving all the senses. As Lee and Moudon (2004) emphasize, pedestrian activities predominantly center around neighborhood streets and public spaces. The characteristics of these areas have a profound influence on their safety, comfort, and overall appeal for walking. Designing the built environment with a focus on cultivating a positive sense of place in everyday locations becomes paramount, making walkability a crucial consideration (Knox, 2005).

This perspective underscores the interconnectedness of urban design, tourism, and daily life, advocating for people-oriented urban planning that enhances the quality of life for residents while simultaneously enriching the experiences of tourists. By creating spaces that are welcoming, accessible, and reflective of local culture, urban destinations can attract and engage visitors, allowing them to become part of the community and fostering memorable, meaningful experiences (Farkić, Perić, Lesjak, & Petelin, 2015)..

2.2.2 Measuring the tourist experience

Given the subjective nature of the tourist experience and the need for context-specific approaches, the literature has produced a multitude of models that break down tourist experiences into various dimensions. An early study by Pine and Gilmore (1998) defined four distinct realms of experience: entertainment, education, aesthetics, and escapism. It was suggested that incorporating multiple realms within a single experience would enhance engagement and attract a wider range of customers. Building upon this, several scales were developed based on their model to measure the tourist experience (Lee & Smith, 2015; Oh, Fiore & Jeoung, 2007; Ali, Hussain & Ragavan, 2014; Bagdare & Jain, 2013).

Additionally, Kim, Ritche, and McCormik (2012) created a 24-item scale to measure memorable tourist experiences (MTEs), considering dimensions such as hedonism, novelty, local culture, refreshment, meaningfulness, involvement, and knowledge. Subsequently, Sthapit (2013) conducted a study testing the dimensions of the MTE scale, revealing that dimensions like novelty-seeking and social interactions with local culture not only enhance the memorability of the experience but also significantly impact repeat visitation behavior.

More recently, Godovykh and Tasci (2020) conducted an extensive literature review on the subject and proposed a new model featuring four primary components: emotions, cognition, sensory experiences, and conation, to be considered in the pre-visit, on-site, and post-visit stages of the experience. The authors pointed out the importance of employing multiple measurement methods for studying the tourist experience, including traditional self-report techniques, elicitation interviews, experience sampling methods, and psychophysiological measures, as existing scales

appear to fall short in capturing the complete spectrum of customer experiences across their various components (Godovykh & Tasci, 2020).

2.2.3 Realms of tourist experience

The coding scheme of the current study (see Table 3 and Table 4) is adjusted based on the conceptual coding scheme developed by Skotis and Livas (2022). The authors undertook the transformation of Cutler and Carmichael's tourism experience model (2010), which originally consisted of two distinct realms: the personal realm and the influential realm, into a structured coding scheme of distinct dimensions.

The influential realm encompasses various factors that shape the tourist experience, including physical and social aspects of the destination, and the products and services offered in the area. The personal realm, on the other hand, includes perceived aesthetic qualities of the destination and emotions expressed by tourists about their experience. Since tourists are co-creators of the experience, both realms have significant contributions to overall satisfaction with the experience, memorability of the trip, as well as revisit intentions. While Cutler and Carmichael's model served as a valuable foundation, it was inherently abstract and required further refinement for measurement of tourist experience.

2.2.3.1 Personal realm

According to Cutler and Carmichael (2010), the personal realm encompasses a spectrum of individual elements, including motivations, expectations, knowledge, perceptions, self-identity, memory, emotions, and feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Motivation represents the driving forces behind travel for an individual, answering the question of why someone chooses to leave area of

residence and embark on a journey. On the other hand, expectations are rooted in the preconceived notions about a destination, influenced by various factors such as media representations, social media contents, past experiences, as elucidated in the context of the construction of tourist gaze (Urry, 1990) (See Appendix Table A1).

2.2.3.1.1 Aesthetic qualities

Aesthetics are related to the perception of the natural or built environment such as architectural designs and landscape planning. Aesthetic preferences are inherently subjective, shaped by factors such as biological evolution, cultural backgrounds, and individual developmental differences, as noted by Bourassa (1990).

In contrast to the contemplative nature of art appreciation, the environmental aesthetic experience is not limited to visual consumption. Instead, it is rooted in active and participatory modes of engagement, involving the stimulation of all five senses (Berleant, 2005).

While perceived positive aesthetic qualities of the visited destination may enhance overall tourist satisfaction, and foster loyalty in the forms of recommendations, return visits, and exploration of similar areas in the post-visit period, negative perceptions may lead to dissatisfaction with the trip, and spread of negative word-of-mouth about (Breiby & Slåtten, 2018; Kirillova & Lehto, 2015).

2.2.3.1.2 Emotions

Emotions play a significant role in shaping one's perception of the world, influencing the way they remember events and guiding their decision-making process (Brosch, Scherer, Grandjean, & Sander, 2013).

Emotions are linked to an individual's biological constitution, influenced by their previous experiences, and connected to personal mental connections (Volo, 2017). Therefore, it is challenging to measure and analyze emotions due to their complex nature.

Tourism primarily offers hedonic benefits, and its value proposition is heavily rooted in the realm of emotions (Hosany, Hunter-Jones, & McCabe, 2020).

Emotions are influenced by various aspects of the experience such as sensory stimuli (Zatori, 2013; Correia, Kozak, Gnoth, & Fyall, 2017), aesthetic qualities (Jang & Namkung, 2009), and cognitive evaluations (Mehrabian & Russell, 1974) of the environment. Tourists' emotions are intertwined with the social aspects of the experience. Interactions with the local community and other tourists (Xing, Carolus & Wang, 2021) may influence or may be influenced by emotions.

How people react to various emotions differs. According to research by Mattila and Ro (2008), when travelers are upset, disappointed, or feel regret, they're more likely to complain or speak negatively about their experiences, but they feel anxious, they may not be as dissatisfied.

Tourists' emotions may influence tourists' cognitive assessments and behavioral reactions (Volo, 2021). While positive emotions, such as relaxation, amazement, or excitement, may enhance the overall experience and lead to memorability, satisfaction, emotional arousal and positive post-experience behavior, negative emotions, like annoyance or dissatisfaction, may deter tourists from revisiting or recommending a destination (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Şahin & Güzel, 2020; Prayag, Hosany & Odeh, 2013).

2.2.3.2 Influential realm

According to Cutler and Carmichael (2010), the influential realm of tourist experience involves (1) physical aspects including natural and human made such as physical settings, spatial characteristics and geographical features, (2) social aspects including social settings, interactions, and relationships, and (3) products/services offered to tourists including accommodation, transportation, restaurants, public facilities, and more. These dimensions, collectively, have been defined as the basic pull components of a destination by Mill and Morrison (1985).

The three dimensions of the influential are closely related with each other. In this sense, Stamboulis and Skayannis (2003) note a shift in the understanding of tourist experiences in recent decades in terms of infrastructure, context and content. Tourism infrastructure no longer refers solely to the technical and organizational aspects of a destination; it also encompasses elements that actively shape the experience, including food, lodging, logistics, and access. Moreover, the authors stress the importance of distinguishing between content and context. While context comprises the services that facilitate customer access to the experience, such as providing shelter, hospitality, food, natural surroundings, and the historical and social attributes of a place, content represents the actual experience that happens when travelers interact with various parts of the destination (See Appendix Table A2).

2.2.3.2.1 Physical aspects

The physical environment of a destination may enhance activities within the service setting, facilitate interactions among tourists, and set the destination apart from its competitors (Zeithaml and Bitner, 2003).

An improved physical environment, encompassing factors like the landscape, architecture, infrastructure, and attractions, significantly enhances the overall tourist experience and satisfaction, resulting in more favorable evaluations (Mossberg, 2007; Blazeska, Strezovski, & Klimoska,(2018). However, challenges related to issues such as parking, congestion, and traffic may erode the quality of the tourist experience and lead to frustration among local residents (Riganti & Nikamp, 2008; Cros, 2008).

2.2.3.2.2 Social aspects

Cutler and Carmichael (2010) emphasize that social aspects hold an equal significance in shaping the tourist experience, paralleling the importance of physical elements. Positive, spontaneous interactions with service personnel, local residents, and fellow tourists can result in personal growth and development (Li, 2000). Such interactions also contribute to a more positive perception of the quality of experiences (Mossberg, 2007), and they tend to create enduring memories (Chandralal and Valenzuela, 2013).

Conversely, negative interactions, including hostility toward tourists and incidents of being taken advantage of (tourist rip-offs), can evoke negative emotions in tourists and harm the destination's reputation through the spread of negative word-of-mouth (Otoo, Badu-Baiden, & Kim, 2019; Chen, Liu, Wang, & Chen, 2019).

2.2.3.2.3 Products and services

Mossberg (2007) categorizes tourist experiences into three groups: mass-produced goods like souvenirs and clothing, live products requiring tourist engagement (e.g.,

transportation, meals, accommodation), and value-adding products enhancing the core experience (e.g., arts, music).

Products and services are integral to the tourist experience as they not only meet practical needs of visitors, but also play a significant role in shaping the overall impression of a destination and in providing diverse, memorable, and sustainable travel experiences (Breiby, Duedahl, Øian & Ericsson, 2020).

2.3 Gentrification

2.3.1 Definition of the concept

Tourismification is an important interest of the current study, which is considered one of the contemporary forms of gentrification (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). In order to provide a clear understanding of the concept, this chapter will first present definitions, explanations, impacts, and various forms of gentrification. After building a clear framework of the phenomenon, the relationship of gentrification and tourismification will be explained in detail.

Gentrification, with its controversial definitions and its causal dynamics, consequences, and trajectories, has been an extensively utilized phenomenon in the literature to analyze the transformations urban areas undergo (Gotham, 2005), especially in the context of urban regeneration, which is considered both a cause and a euphemism for gentrification. Urban regeneration implies broad structural and functional changes in a certain part of the city, catered by the state or/and corporate initiatives (Čaldarović, 2008). It became a global policy that contemporary metropolises adopt at different levels to keep up with the increased competition for resource allocation between different districts (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017). Even though residential restructuring/rehabilitation has been the focus of the

gentrification debate, it is actually one of the many aspects of a much broader economic, social, and spatial restructuring (Smith, 1986, p.3).

Ruth Glass coined the term gentrification in 1964 as a process in which middle-class communities of London started to acquire properties in low-income working-class quarters of inner London, displacing the living population and changing the entire social character of the districts (Lees, 2008; Glass, 1964). Affluence became widespread in both central and suburban areas of London, and "previous times' luxuries became necessities of the day" for many residents. New luxury houses and shops were built, and the city offerings became 'Americanized'. As new middle-class jobs were created, living standards increased. People became more mobile and consequently, 'competition for space' intensified, leading to traffic and congestion issues. Previous working-class districts that are closer to the city's main attractions have been reconstructed and rents increased accordingly, but other districts in the outer areas remained neglected. People from various sub-cultures of London, including old residents, immigrants, sex workers, and many others that struggled to afford housing were pushed to live in these neglected parts of the city (Glass, 1964).

Since first presented by Ruth Glass sixty years ago, gentrification has been regarded as a racialized profit-accumulating process that affects minorities disproportionately (Hwang & Sampson, 2014; Lees, 2016). It intensifies discrimination, exclusion, and social and ethnic segregation (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). Therefore, the economic and social pressures gentrification puts on residents are quite significant.

Spinney, Reynolds and Atkinson (2011) discovered that regenerating neighborhoods in Melbourne and Sydney experience a 50% higher displacement rate

compared to non-regenerating areas. Displaced households include low-income, family, and unemployed households, as well as those in lower-status jobs. Even previously displaced residents felt economic pressure due to potential rent and tax increases in new homes. Displacement comes with other costs like reduced quality of life, loss of neighborhood authenticity, landlord harassment, and severed social ties. Gentrification causes significant stress and anxiety for residents (Shmool, Yonas, Newman, et al., 2015). As Marcuse (1985) noted, there are three main types of displacement: direct (involuntary removal due to economic pressures), exclusionary (struggling to find affordable housing), and displacement pressures (neighborhood changes affecting daily life).

Not all residents experience displacement pressures equally. In Leith, Edinburgh, Doucet (2009) investigated gentrification's impact on residents, focusing on housing, retail, and social interactions. While most were worried about rising housing prices and potential displacement, some welcomed neighborhood improvements. The arrival of new, upscale businesses garnered mixed reactions, with perceived benefits in quality of life but concerns that these services catered to higher-income visitors, not locals. Residents acknowledged long-standing socio-economic divisions, but gentrification did not lead to widespread resentment towards newcomers, except for lower-income groups most affected by changes. The author concludes that gentrification is a complex issue that affects various individuals and groups differently; thus, the local community should not be perceived as just 'winners and losers' (gentrifier vs. gentrified) by scholars in future studies. Similarly, Nyden, Edlynn and Davis (2006) interviewed Chicago community leaders who had varied, often mixed, feelings about ongoing gentrification, with positive perceptions of home and neighborhood improvements but concerns about rising living costs.

2.3.2 Production-side and consumption-side theories in explaining gentrification

To illustrate the dynamics of the transformation of gentrification in the past decades, it is important to introduce previous discussions. Authors in the 1970s and 1980s theorized production-side and consumption-side explanations for gentrification.

Consumption-side theories, influenced by David Ley (1996), emphasized the lifestyle choices of the new middle class as gentrification's driving force, focusing on who the gentrifiers are and what fuels gentrification. These theories drew from Bell's (1973) concept of post-industrial society, marked by a shift to a service-based economy, the importance of knowledge-based industries, a rise in professional and technical jobs, and the influence of avant-garde culture. In addition to these four characteristics of post-industrial society, Ley included another dimension: the emerging culture of political liberalism of the 'new middle class' (Ley, 1996, p.145; Franz, 2013, p.94). They are mostly young professionals under the age 35, drawn to cities for their accessibility and perceived tolerance and diversity, in contrast to suburbs (Cócola-Gant, 2018, p.28).

The new middle class used housing styles for identity creation and personal expression (Butler, 2007, p.163; Franz, 2013, p.92). Loft housing, popularized in 1970s New York City, exemplifies these preferences. Deindustrialization left many manufacturing buildings abandoned, and the 'cultural new class,' including artists and intellectuals, repurposed them as residences (Ley, 1996, p.15). This group, integral to Ley's 'back to the city' movement in Canada, emerged from the political youth movements of the 1960s (Lees, 2000). Their cultural consumption patterns and alternative housing choices were early drivers of urban change.

Production-side theories, as initially formulated by Neil Smith (1979), offer a comprehensive social class-based view of gentrification, emphasizing the

significance of social consumption practices in shaping gentrified neighborhoods. Smith posits that these practices are outcomes rather than causes of gentrification. The author underlines the critical role of the mobility of capital and investment to create and re-create places for profit and accumulation. As the capital flowed to suburban regions during the U.S. urban decline, inner-city properties depreciated, presenting investment opportunities. Smith addresses the question of why some areas are profitable for redevelopment while others are not, introducing the concept of the 'rent gap' as the difference between a property's current value and its potentially higher value after renovation.

Hamnett (1991) argues that the rent gap alone doesn't guarantee gentrification; the presence of potential gentrifiers, adequate mortgage financing, and effective demand are also essential. Later studies emphasize the interplay between production-side and consumption-side explanations, presenting a holistic perspective on gentrification (Smith, 2005; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2008).

At the time the aforementioned studies were published, gentrification was mostly taking place in major capitalist cities like London, Paris, New York, and San Francisco. Gentrification has become a much more intricate concept today since it was separated into various branches in various locations globally. A decade later, Lees, Slater & Wyly (2008, p.xvii) built on Hamnett's article, declaring that (a) gentrification has been at the forefront of neoliberal urbanism policies, (b) gentrification has become global and intertwined with globalization, (c) gentrification is not only limited to inner cities or First World metropolises anymore. Those are also some of the reasons why gentrification, as a subject, has received so much interest in the literature and political debates for the past decades.

2.3.3 Waves of gentrification

Hackworth & Smith (2001) established a periodized gentrification history covering the years 1968-1999, primarily in the context of New York City, but the model is regarded as applicable to other cities due to its basis in broader political-economic events (Aalbers, 2014).

Table 1. Waves of Gentrification

First wave	The first wave, occurring from 1968 to 1973, was a period when gentrification was relatively rare in parts of the world like northeastern USA, western Europe, and Australia. Policymakers saw gentrification as a solution to counter long-term urban decay, Therefore, in this wave, governments were highly involved in funding gentrification since large investments in urban centers seemed very risky without their support.
The 1973-1977 economic recession in the US resulted in low housing values in cities, marking a brief stagnant gentrification period.	
Second wave	Economic recession created an opportunity for investors and developers to reclaim depreciated neighborhoods,sparking the second wave of gentrification, which continued into the late 1980s (Smith, 1979). Economies began to rebound, and states adopted a more laissez-faire approach to gentrification, encouraging private sector involvement. Gentrification expanded not only within already gentrified cities but also to new, smaller cities that had not experienced it before, impacting broader economic and cultural aspects of life.
The stock market crash in 1987 briefly slowed capital flows to gentrifying/gentrified areas which did not lead to de-gentrification. Instead, reinvestment quickly resumed, leading to the third wave.	
Third wave	The third wave, alternatively termed 'post-recession,' 'government-sponsored,' or 'state-led' gentrification, marked a significant shift with private and corporate capital playing a dominant role, diminishing the influence of cultural factors and consumer preferences. Gentrification became saturated in previously affected inner-city neighborhoods that are close to central business districts and amenities. Consequently, gentrifiers and other investors were attracted to new areas such as mixed-use neighborhoods, remote locations, and protected zones. Gentrifying these areas was financially risky for individuals, prompting increased state and large developers' involvement, resulting in gentrification on greater scales such as entire neighborhoods.

Fourth wave	Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008, p.173-185) identified the fourth wave of gentrification, primarily observed in the U.S. and not replicated elsewhere, characterized by strengthened pro-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies, driven by the increased financialization of housing practices. Following the 2001 crisis, significant capital inflows were directed towards the housing market, as investors, recovering from stock market losses, sought real estate investments due to low interest rates and lenient terms. The substantial rise in residential property values resulted in affordability challenges for low-income renters. Banks readily extended loans to gentrifiers while frequently rejecting loan applications from racial and ethnic minorities, exacerbating social inequality. Doucet (2014) sees the fourth wave as an extension and adaptation of earlier phases rather than a distinct period.
Fifth wave	Aalbers (2014) introduced the concept of a fifth wave, which is a continuation of the third and fourth waves. The author emphasized the significant role of finance in the fifth wave, where the financial sector's involvement extends beyond mortgage facilitation to the rise of corporate landlords. This phase witnesses substantial investment in both commercial real estate and low- to middle-income residential properties, intensifying gentrification in areas already undergoing transformation. Additionally, the fifth wave is characterized by the influence of platform capitalism, with platforms like Airbnb contributing to rising apartment prices and the displacement of residents through tourismification.

Sources: Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, Slater, and Wyly, 2008; Aalbers, 2014

2.3.4 New forms of gentrification

Glass' definition of gentrification became very limited and traditional as the concept evolved into different forms in various locations other than inner cities, such as waterfront areas, suburbs, and rural and historical areas (Liang, 2017). It became a broader, global urban strategy (Smith, 2002) in the last decades, and the need to consider new factors emerged correspondingly. Additionally, gentrifiers are not only middle-class individuals replacing lower-income residents anymore (Liang, 2017). Instead, they may belong to, for example, the ‘new middle class’ (Ley, 1996), the super-rich (Gotham, 2005), transnational global elites (Butler and Lees, 2006), and even the university students (Smith and Holt, 2007). Although the process of gentrification was initially concerning improving cities through residential

restructuring, its broader impact on gentrifying neighborhoods also involves commercial redevelopment (Bridge and Dowling, 2001), development of new recreational facilities (Schaffer and Smith, 1986), upgrading of community infrastructure, and creating new upper-class consumption spaces (Smith, 2005). In short, to differentiate and declare a new form of gentrification, it is possible to consider if different groups are involved, different types of landscapes are produced, and different socio-spatial dynamics are conducted.

Some of the new derivatives of gentrification include rural gentrification (Smith & Phillips, 2001), new-build gentrification (Davidson & Lees, 2010), commercial gentrification (Cócola-Gant, 2015), studentification (Smith, 2005), super-gentrification (Lees, 2003; Butler & Lees, 2006) and tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005).

New-build gentrification involves the construction of luxury residential complexes in already gentrified areas, intensifying competition for space. Large corporate developers, supported by government loans and tax reductions, play a significant role in this process. Davidson and Lees (2010) challenge the notion that new builds in inner cities should not be considered gentrification (Lambert and Boddy, 2002, p.18) due to the absence of direct displacement. They argue that these new developments lead to indirect sociocultural displacement, the reinvestment of capital in inner cities, and the reproduction of a gentrified landscape.

Super-gentrification is another form that is defined as “the transformation of already gentrified, prosperous and solidly upper-middle-class neighborhoods into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves” by Lees (2003). The orchestrates of super-gentrification are ‘super-rich financifiers’ working as professionals in the global finance and corporate service industries. According to the author, intensified

re-gentrification occurs in metropolitan centers like New York (Lees, 2003) and London (Butler & Lees, 2006). Gravari-Barbas (2017) recently examined the super-gentrification in the tourist district of Le Marais, Paris. The author stated that "...although gentrification tends to encourage tourism in the first stages of 're-discovery' through the reinvestment of heritagized areas by the new 'gentry' (most often the new creative classes), it may also lead to a second stage that Lees (2003) calls super-gentrification, in which it becomes a factor of resistance to tourism. This is a very ambivalent relationship as tourists can also be super-gentrifiers, and (…) evict the first gentrifiers" (Gravari-Barbas, 2017, p.299).

Tourism gentrification is the final derivative of gentrification literature which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis. The initial definition of the concept by Gotham (2005) is "the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues". Gotham made this definition based on the case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre district in the study.

Gravari-Barbas (2017, p.279) points out that Gotham's definition of tourism gentrification is not inclusive and should be updated. As the author compares the case of New Orleans to the case of China (Liang & Bao, 2015), she spots two main differences. The first one is that in China, tourism gentrification occurs in inner city areas with low-income residents, middle-income residents, and even within brownfields with no residents at all. Secondly, in historical areas of China, the processes of landscape renovation and the recovery of historic buildings, consumption-space construction, and real-estate development occurred simultaneously. Furthermore, the development of new-build tourism projects, luxury residential areas, and other facilities is observed in most urban brownfields Gravari-

Barbas, 2017, p.280). Therefore, in China, unlike New Orleans' super-gentrification-related tourism gentrification, new-build gentrification is a significant part of tourism gentrification. We can conclude that diverse forms of gentrification may co-exist in transforming areas and, in a way, boost each other.

2.4 Tourismification

2.4.1 Definition of the concept

In 1983, Young coined the term 'touristization' to imply the impact of tourism development on transforming the landscape of a fishing village in Malta, underlining that the further expansion of tourism activities on the island would lead to the diminishment of its tourism products. Since then, tourismification along with its associations with gentrification, displacement, and landscape transformation, has become a subject of growing interest in the fields of tourism, urban studies and geography research. The Western perspective on tourismification contextualizes it as a process that alters the cities' social, cultural, and urban fabric of cities, primarily driven by tourism development and tourist activities.

In this sense, an earlier study by Jansen-Verbeke (1998) suggests that tourismification brings about an inevitable process of change in the spatial and functional concentration of cultural resources, gradually reshaping the traditional functions of the cities. A decade later, the author emphasized the increased pressure of tourism on cultural landscapes to become 'tourismscapes,' which is a concept previously defined as "a complex of interactions between people, place, organizations, objects, all being or becoming connected in tourism-related actor-network" (Jansen-Verbeke, 2009; Van der Duim, 2007).

It is important to clarify the concept of 'landscape' at this juncture. The Council of Europe Landscape Convention (2000) defined landscape as “an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors”. As Jansen-Verbeke (2013) suggested, this definition points out that landscape is “a mental construct based on memory and association, understanding and interpretation”. Landscapes have different meanings for insiders and outsiders (Metro-Roland, 2016); that is, residents and tourists have different perceptions of the same place. In addition to the perspective that regards landscapes as a cultural concept that is open to interpretation, some consider landscapes as tangible and intangible ‘resources’ within the cultural economy (Jansen-Verbeke, 2013). Nonetheless, tourism and landscape have mutual relationships and tourism-related impacts could be strong mutators of urban landscapes (Jansen-Verbeke, 2013).

However, it is important to recognize that tourism is also very much dependent on the qualities of landscapes to remain attractive to visitors (Heslinga, Groote & Vanclay, 2017). Some argue that there is a chance to use this mutuality in favor of cities by utilizing tourism to maintain and protect social and ecological dimensions, although this approach is not commonly observed. (Heslinga, Groote & Vanclay, 2017). Similarly, Wang, Li, Yu, He and Zen (2018) likened tourism to ‘a double-edged sword’ for the vitality of a historic area. On one hand, it contributes to increased visitor numbers, generates greater revenue, and serves as a means of economic recovery for developers and the state. However, it is predominantly perceived as a ‘burden of life’ by social and cultural stakeholders. As tourismification intensifies, traditional residential and commercial landscapes evolve into spaces primarily designated for recreation, leisure, and accommodation,

(Mendes, 2018). Consequently, tourismification generally carries negative connotations, including issues such as displacement, massification, and commodification.

The academic community has also not yet agreed upon a unified expression of the concept. Various names have emerged in the literature reflecting various perspectives, such as ‘tourismification’, ‘tourismization’, ‘touristization’ and ‘touristification’. Salazar (2009) favors the term ‘tourismification’ over ‘touristification’ since “it is not the mere presence of tourists that is shaping this phenomenon but, rather, the ensemble of actors and processes that constitute tourism as a whole”. From the broader perspective of Mendonça (2015), “tourismization can be understood as a socio-cultural phenomenon, as a guiding model for the relations created in places and a system of values which marks the way of life of people in places, reflected in discourses and practices". In this study, ‘tourismification’ is preferred as the primary term because it is a catch-all phrase.

In this section, various definitions of tourismification, supply and demand-side explanations regarding how it occurs, various views in the literature on the intertwined nature of tourismification and gentrification processes, the effects of tourismification on where it takes place, and the consequent resident reactions will be presented.

2.4.2 Supply- and demand-side explanations of tourismification

The emergence of the tourismification process could be related to both external and internal factors. Sequera & Nofre (2018) correlated the rapid tourismification of Southern European cities with (1) increased concerns about the political instability of Middle Eastern tourism hotspots like Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon and the consequent

increase in tourist flows to Europe (Basu & Marg, 2010), (2) investors preferring tourism and hotel real estate as a safe option in the condition of unpredictable financial markets, and (3) tourism-, leisure- and entertainment-focused strategies being prioritized by central governments to overcome the negative impacts of the Great Recession.

On a global scale, increased competition within and between cities along with the increasing forces of globalization and related trends have played a significant role in shaping the 'tourist cities' we see today. Salazar (2009) points out the 'tourismification of everyday life' as a component of cultural globalization, expanding on Wang's (2000) definition of the concept which characterizes it as "a socio-economic and socio-cultural process by which society and its environment have been turned into spectacles, attractions, playgrounds, and consumption sites". Salazar suggests that tourismification is not solely dependent on outside forces but rather a process that occurs within a society, shaping how its members perceive themselves. Local actors, residents, and tourists also contribute to the process of gentrification (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017). In support of this perspective,

Larsen (2019) objects to the common theory that defines tourism as the antithesis of 'everydayness'. Instead, the author argues that tourism practices are, in fact, influenced by everyday social interactions and practices, exerting tangible effects on the daily lives of host cultures. Especially the 'new urban tourists' are attracted to contemporary everyday life, vernacular architecture, and the opportunity to experience the city like a local (Larsen, 2019). According to Sequera and Nofre (2018), as new tourists discover and consume these real authentic non-tourist areas, a new transnational 'tourist elite' is being produced and reproduced. Over time, the selective consumption habits of these new urban tourists transform once-remote

locations into sought-after tourism destinations. In this sense, new urban tourism is a reflection of cultural globalization as similar 'hipster' neighborhoods increasingly offer similar services such as record stores and coffee shops. Consequently, these familiar features of the destinations make 'youngish western tourists' quickly feel at home (Larsen, 2019).

More recently, the rise of the so-called tourism 'sharing economy', primarily in the form of Airbnbs, has been increasingly discussed as a driving force of tourismification which serves the 'live like a local' ethos of new urban tourists. Increased demand for Airbnbs facilitated new real estate investment opportunities in cities, and consequent rent increases. As previously noted, Aalbers (2019) considers platform capitalism such as Airbnb as an important factor in the emergence of corporate landlords which is the main characteristic of the 5th wave gentrification. In many cases,

Airbnb is frequently seen as a significant contributor to tourismification that leads to displacement of residents, as well as social, spatial and economic change in popular tourist destinations, not only in Europe but in many other cities around the world (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). Therefore, it is possible to identify both production and consumption-side drivers in the making of a tourist city. On the production-side, it includes capital investments in the form of tourism real estate to transform the built environment; therefore, creates spaces for consumption and reorganizes landscapes (Gotham, 2005, Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.205). On the other hand, these transformations are in line with changing consumption behaviors of the visitors from both upper and middle class (Gotham, 2005, Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.205).

A recent study by Estevens, Cocola-Gant, López-Gay & Pavel (2023) argues that even though Airbnb generates significant demand and real estate development

opportunities, it is apparent that the neoliberal state is the main facilitator of the tourismification process by opening new local real estate markets to financial capital. Therefore, the state is very much responsible for the community impacts caused by the increasing number of Airbnbs in urban areas to a great extent. The authors underline that the social and landscape transformation processes and impacts vary in different local contexts; however, the cycle of disinvestment and reinvestment of the urban cores can be regarded as a "generalizable feature of gentrification" introduced by the state, and it is used as a tool for closing the rent gap by private developers. The article concludes that, in this regard, tourismification should be regarded as inherently linked to a broader gentrification process.

2.4.3 The Intertwined relationship of tourismification and gentrification

There has been an ongoing debate in the literature regarding how to define the process of tourismification, and its reciprocal relationship with gentrification. Cocola-Gant (2018) highlighted a significant gap in the literature concerning the interrelationship between concepts of gentrification and tourismification and noted the importance of better identifying how these concepts intersect. From a frequently emphasized perspective, tourismification is described as a process that coexists with gentrification; with the two phenomena mutually reinforcing each other. In this context, Cocola-Gant (2018) suggests that tourism tends to overlap with gentrified areas and provides an explanation for their correlation. As gentrification brings new consumption facilities and a middle-class sense of place, it appeals to more visitors/consumers. Along with increased tourism activity in an area, intensified land use increases the value of commercial and residential properties; therefore,

gentrification gets reinforced. However, the sequence in which these two processes unfold may vary depending on the specific context.

Initially, Gotham (2005) positioned tourism as a facilitator of gentrification, defining it as "the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave, marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues." Building upon Gotham's explanation, Gravari-Barbas and Guinand (2017) suggested that, in many cases, gentrification leads to heritagization, improved infrastructure, the creation of public spaces, the opening of new shops and attractions, and consequently, tourism is drawn to such areas. Conversely, in a different context, planned tourism development might be introduced to a remote city initially, subsequently leading to an increased demand for residential properties.

As a result, actors involved in residential gentrification, including developers, real estate agents, and intermediaries, would then become attracted to the area. The authors point out that tourism also attracts commercial gentrification, as more international businesses are brought in, and local establishments are replaced by chains and upscale venues. Commercial upgrading of central areas often results in the exclusion of long-term residents by causing a loss of services and consumption facilities used by lower-income residents, affordability issues, cultural pressures, and privatization of public space (Cocola-Gant, 2015). Irrespective of how the process is initiated, it becomes evident that tourismification and gentrification typically coexist within urban city centers, and it is challenging to differentiate their outcomes due to this interconnectedness.

However, in their review article, Sequera and Nofre (2018) diverged from the previously mentioned viewpoints that implied the two processes generate similar outcomes. The authors argued that tourismification cannot be measured with the

same metrics as gentrification since they generate many different impacts, yet both processes are complementary to each other. Firstly, it is argued that many 'common tourists' are not elites. Unlike gentrifiers, they belong to middle-lower and working classes as well. In addition, commercial tourist neighborhoods are generally not sophisticated, instead they are characterized by low-cost, franchised retail outlets offering standardized services, thus presenting a new Fordist urban landscape. Finally, unlike gentrification which leads to displacement of low-income residents due to the rising cost of living, in tourismification, middle and upper-middle classes who are disturbed by over-tourism in their neighborhoods also experience various forms of displacement. Consequently, instead of witnessing a population exchange, tourismified areas often experience a process of depopulation.

While Sequera and Nofre's (2018) theory that tourismification causes displacement of various classes and lead to depopulation is comprehensible, it is undeniable that disadvantaged resident groups are disproportionately affected by rising costs of living. Accordingly, many studies in the literature elaborates on the local agents' experiences during the tourismification of their neighborhood, especially in the historic city centers which are especially prone to tourismification as tourists and day trippers make intensive use of these centers, which coincides with residents' daily routines. During the process of tourismification, where the desires and needs of tourists are prioritized for higher profitability, residents can often feel trivialized.

Mínguez García, Piñeira, and Fernández-Tabales (2019) investigated the effects of tourismification on the historic center of Seville, revealing that while tourism-related businesses and property sectors profited, residents, particularly the unemployed and foreign population, faced challenges such as rising rents,

displacement to peripheral areas, noise disturbances, safety concerns, and changes in the urban landscape. A similar study in Palma, Majorca (González-Pérez, 2019) produced comparable findings, highlighting the replacement of traditional businesses with international ones, increased hotel, and tourist rental establishments, rising property prices, speculation, displacement, and the symbolic transformation of the urban landscape, accompanied by social exclusion and elitism.

2.4.4 Resident responses to tourismification

The responses of local communities to tourismification can vary significantly depending on context-specific factors, including the socio-economic status of the resident community, the manner in which tourism development takes place, and the extent of community engagement in decision-making (Colomb & Novy, 2016). Maoz's study (2006) identified three common responses by Indians to Israeli tourists: cooperation, driven by economic dependence; open resistance, involving restrictions and rules to manage tourist behavior; and 'veiled resistance,' featuring staged authenticity to exploit tourists.

Seng (2005) argues that tourists indirectly support the political regimes of the countries they visit because they contribute to economic development. The presence of tourists can have a reinforcing impact on the international policies of governments. Consequently, governments may treat tourists as if they constitute a significant constituency group. This preferential treatment may result in resentment among host communities, and social and political activism may emerge within local communities as a response, ultimately contributing to the reproduction of identities and civil spaces.

Resistance and opposition to over-tourism in the form of protests and movements, the motives, size and scope of these social mobilizations may vary according to the context-specific factors. Anti-tourism protests are often linked to dissatisfaction with a state's social and economic policies, with tourism being seen as a significant factor contributing to perceived unjust socio-spatial transformations. Housing shortages due to the conversion of residential properties into holiday rentals have been a significant motivator for protests. This was notably seen in Barcelona, where similar protests spread to other Spanish cities. These movements are also a response to disruptive tourist behaviors, including excessive noise and public drinking, particularly during nighttime hours. In response, civil society organizations have emerged to engage with the government, educate tourists about appropriate behavior, and coordinate protests (Hughes, 2018).

Venice, facing its unique challenges from tourismification, has experienced issues such as rising living costs, loss of local identity, congestion, environmental damage, historical site degradation, and increased crime risk (Seraphin, Sheeran & Pilato, 2018). Local associations have organized protests to address unsustainable tourism practices, including short-term rentals and large cruise ships (Bertocchi & Visentin, 2019).

Similar movements have arisen in various cities worldwide to counter the diverse negative effects of excessive tourism activity, specific to each case. In Berlin and Hamburg, for example, protests have been organized by local artists and cultural producers in response to the state's strategy of marketing the cities as creative and cultural hubs for tourism, which has led to the appropriation and commodification of social and cultural capital (Novy & Colomb, 2013).

The success of the civil societies while negotiating with other tourism stakeholders -such as industry, cultural institutions, tourism attractions, tourists, politicians, and others- to balance the impacts of tourismification is dependent on their size and scope, which differs across host communities. Therefore, civil society organizations should actively involve in decision-making processes to make their voices heard and remind policymakers that they are legitimate constituencies.

2.4.5 Strategies to mitigate the negative impacts of tourismification

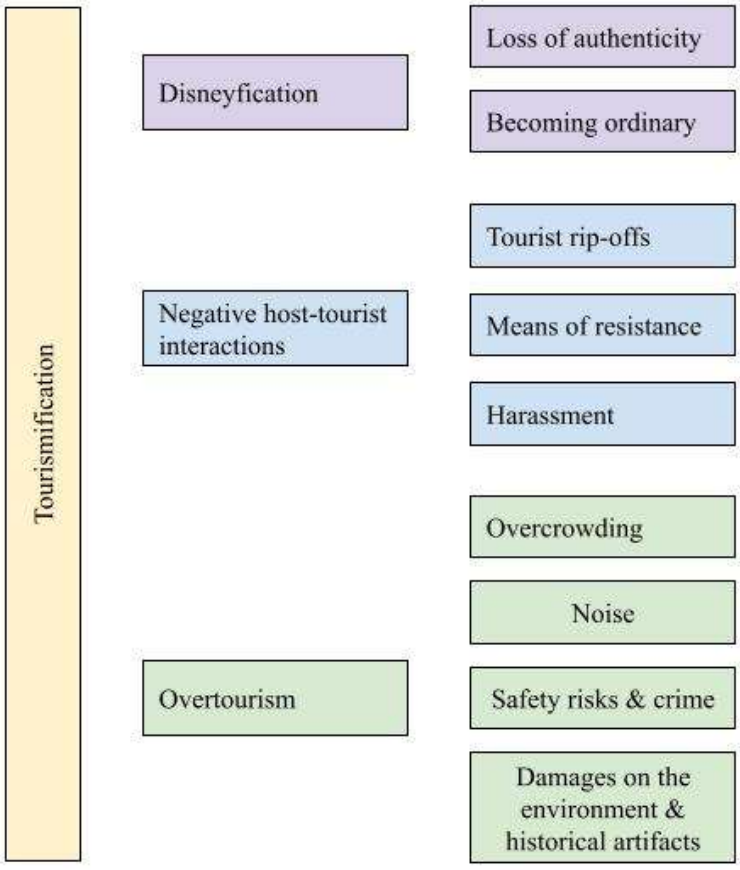
To address the challenges posed by tourismification, Jansen-Verbeke (1998) emphasized the need for preparing a realistic marketing plan for the destination and the development of a spatial planning model involving the creation of an empirical map of tourist activity spaces. According to the author, this empirical data is crucial for formulating resource management strategies and enhancing visitor satisfaction.

In addition, these efforts are especially significant in historic cities, where they play a pivotal role in fostering sustainable tourism development. In her subsequent research, the author emphasized the significance of fostering transdisciplinary cooperation that involves academic communities, national authorities, and international organizations to effectively manage, monitor, and assess tourismification impacts on tangible and intangible heritage (Jansen-Verbeke, 2009). Seraphine's (2018) study highlights successful European campaigns aimed at addressing over-tourism. These initiatives include educational efforts for tourists, responsible travel activities by bringing together tourists and locals, and strategies to redirect tourists to alternative destinations.

Several European cities have implemented direct measures to combat over-tourism, as highlighted by Rodriguez (2023). For instance, Venice and Amsterdam

have enforced prohibitions on large cruise ships, while Venice has instituted an entry fee ranging from €3 to €10 for accessing the city and its surrounding islands. In Rome, initiatives have been taken to limit access to renowned sites like the Trevi Fountain and the Spanish Steps, and the government has initiated entry fees for visiting the Pantheon in order to regulate visitor numbers and protect its architectural heritage. Greece has introduced a scheduling system for visitors to the Acropolis, along with various other examples.

Table 2 Conceptual Framework



Sources: Maoz, 2006; Mínguez García, Piñeira, and Fernández-Tabales, 2019

CHAPTER 3

CASE OF BEYOĞLU

3.1 Urban transformations

Istanbul is the most densely populated city in Turkey with more than 15 million residents. It is the cultural, historical, and economic capital of the country and has national and global importance as a tourist destination. The city hosted approximately 16 million visitors in the year 2022, reaching pre-pandemic visitor numbers (Istanbul Il Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2022). Beyoğlu, which is the focus of this study, is a central district. A great concentration of tourism and cultural facilities, various restaurant and cafe options, bars, nightclubs, and hotels are located in this area.

Beyoğlu has a very central location on the European side of Istanbul and is separated from the Historical Peninsula (old city) by Golden Horn. The region referred to as Beyoğlu in this thesis is the historical and cultural parts of it where tourism is predominantly carried out, not the whole municipal district. The most popular tourist route starts from the Golden Horn or Karaköy to Tunnel, passes through the crowded Istiklal Avenue, and reaches Taksim Square. As most of the area is pedestrianized, tourists also spread to side streets along the route, as well as residential neighborhoods nearby.

From the past to the present, Beyoğlu has undergone many transformations driven by local and global forces. After the adoption of neoliberalism and globalization in the 1980s, state-private sector partnership projects became common practice. After the 2000s, the state increased its support to the private sector. Multiple laws have been readjusted to allow renovations at historical buildings and

archeological sites, and certain bureaucratic procedures were simplified to facilitate quick implementation of urban regeneration projects. Many historical buildings, where residences or cultural facilities used to be located, became places of consumption after renovations. All the state interventions to urban landscape have changed the historical, spatial, social, economic and cultural fabric of Beyoğlu irreversibly in the recent period. The cost of living increased in the area, and a decrease in overall quality of offerings due to an explosion of low-cost, franchised retail and F&B options have become visible. For all these reasons, disadvantaged residents including stigmatized groups and minorities have been displaced from historical neighborhoods of Beyoğlu.

This section provides a historical summary of the urban transformations in Beyoğlu and seeks to answer the following questions: How has the urban landscape of Beyoğlu been transformed since the adoption of neoliberalism in the 1980s? What was the legal basis to enable such interventions? What were the local responses to controversial urban transformations in the area? What are the impacts of recent political and economic incidents and the COVID-19 pandemic on the destination? How does the state's recent urban transformation attempts contribute to tourismification in Beyoğlu?

3.1 Pre-Republican era

While the first settlements in Galata date back to pre-Byzantine times, those in Beyoğlu and especially in Istiklal Avenue emerged much later, around the 16th century, fostered by the opening of the first embassy in the area, which is the French Embassy. The street and the surrounding areas developed slowly during the 18th and 19th centuries with the construction of European-style buildings to be used as

houses, hospitals, hotels, cultural facilities and schools, as well as with the arrival of new embassies, and the opening of new banks, insurance companies, and trading firms (Aldaş, 2019; Enlil, 2011). As Beyoğlu became a center of finance and shipping trade, it also blossomed into the first example of urban Westernization. This new district served as the 'modern face' of the Ottoman Empire, which was in line with their overall strategy of catching up with rapidly developing Europe after the Industrial Revolution.

During the imperial period, the name for Beyoğlu was 'Pera' and that of Istiklal Avenue was 'Grand Rue de Pera.' Primarily European and non-Muslim settled communities, but especially the Armenian, Greek, and Jewish populations were the main actors of social change and economic development in Pera (Enlil, 2011). In accordance with the areas diverse social structure, a unique and elite cultural landscape has been formed with many churches, theaters, stores for artisan products, patisseries, and restaurants, especially in the second half of the 19th century. Since intercontinental travels around the world have increased, the Ottoman's have formed trade relations with Europe, and infrastructure of Pera has improved and new hotels opened, foreign traders and tourists were attracted to the area (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.418). In this period, Istiklal Avenue became a Westernized shopping street for mainly luxury goods. Additionally, many buildings were constructed in Beyoğlu with arcades on their ground floors to accommodate multiple shops. The architectural style of the buildings constructed in this period followed various trends, from Neo-classical and Neo-baroque to Art Nouveau (Gül, 2017). Most of the historical buildings in Beyoğlu have been restored over time, and their intended uses have been changed. Nevertheless, Beyoğlu's

signature architectural style continues to be a very important element in defining the district.

3.2 Early Republican era

After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, establishing a fully independent nation-state, making modernization reforms and rapid industrialization were the main strategies of the new state. While modernization policies affected the functioning of many institutions and social life, they were also a determinant of spatial changes such as construction of new roads and transportation lines. However, significant urban renewal projects were not feasible in Istanbul during the early years of Turkish Republic due to two main factors. The first one is related to the economic recession caused by recent wars. Therefore, the development agenda was on economic recovery instead of urban improvements. Secondly, the decision made in 1923 to change the capital from Istanbul to Ankara had a significant impact.

As the construction of the new republic and the quest for a new national identity accelerated the modernization of Ankara, Istanbul remained relatively neglected until the 1950s. During this period, the most prominent urban development project in Istanbul was Henri Prost's city development plan which was partially implemented until 1950. After that year, the newly elected government revised the plan, and started an era of extensive road construction, street expansion, demolition of old structures, and the construction of new buildings (Akpınar, 2003).

In the foundation of the new Republic, nation-building became a part of the official state ideology. Accordingly, negative sanctions were imposed on foreigners including limitations on residence permits and enforcement of higher taxes on businesses that are predominantly owned by foreigners and ethnic minorities. These

regulations greatly affected the non-Muslim tradespeople in Beyoğlu. Additionally, increasing political tensions with Greece in the 1950s caused a public backlash against minorities. The increased tension tragically led to the Istanbul Pogrom on 6-7 September 1955 in which shops and houses of minorities were attacked by nationalist groups in multiple neighborhoods of the city, including Beyoğlu. Consequently, a great portion of foreign minorities had to flee from Istanbul, out of fear for further reprisals. With this incident, the cosmopolitan texture of Beyoğlu was severely damaged, and the area was mono-culturized (Fairey, 2007).

Starting from the mid-20th century, the rapidly increasing population, the construction of new transportation lines and roads, and the city's growing economy led to an urban sprawl. Rural migration to Istanbul was mainly due to industrialization. People from many rural, semi-rural areas and small cities moved to Istanbul to benefit from the newly created job opportunities in factories. Increased population brought up the problem of squatter houses and the spread of illegal tenancy agreements. In this period, internal migrants took over the evacuated apartments of minorities in neighborhoods like Tarlabaşı, Cihangir and Galata, leading to changes in the social structure of these areas. In this period, residential neighborhoods of Beyoğlu remained neglected, as well as the Istiklal Avenue. The opening of many bars, nightclubs, and brothels in these years was regarded as urban decay in public opinion. As the area began to be associated with crime and poverty, lost its attractiveness for domestic and foreign visitors as well (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.433). Minority groups residing in Beyoğlu were also stigmatized as part of the negative image created. Due to the structural transformations in the country's economy in the 1980s, this situation began to reverse.

3.3 Neoliberal Transformation

In 1980, a neoliberal economic transformation plan was introduced to Turkey by the declaration of 24th January economic measures, which was executed by a moderate Islamist neoliberal government that was endorsed and overseen by the military junta that had executed the 1980 coup. The transition had both socio-economic and socio-spatial impacts as expected. Some socio-economic impacts include deterioration of income and wealth distribution, devaluation of labor power, diminishment of public service investments, and discouragement of small-scale investors (Gökçek, 2023). Socio-spatial impacts, on the other hand, are mainly related to privatization and state entrepreneurialism which are fundamental policies of neoliberal economies. However, different from other contexts, the neoliberal transformation of Turkey also presents a highly authoritarian approach, in which "global discourses and policy models are combined with local traditions and institutions to rationalize a radical–conservative project to rebuild the city and its socio-cultural characteristics" (Lovering & Türkmen, 2011),

Beyoğlu area was also greatly affected by the neoliberal transformation due to its high physical and cultural value. In 1983, The Tourism Encouragement Law No. 2634 was enacted by the military junta. Within the scope of the law, many areas with historical and cultural value have been determined and declared as official tourism centers, including Galata and Pera Bahçeleri where Süzer Plaza was built later. Also, the construction of tourism facilities on public lands was allowed and encouraged by the law, even if the projects were against a holistic planning approach and public interest. Many projects based on this law have been publicly criticized and appealed against (Özalp & Erkut, 2016). Numerous high-rise buildings have

been constructed in Beyoğlu and surrounding districts, deteriorating the urban landscape.

In this period, the 'Beautiful Beyoğlu' project of Istanbul Mayor Dalan (1984-1989), was put into practice and is regarded as one of the first steps taken to turn the area into a commercial and tourism hub. The regulation of traffic on Taksim Square, pedestrianization of Istiklal Avenue, and the opening of Tarlabaşı Boulevard by the demolishment of historical buildings in the late 1980s, are significant changes made within the scope of this project (Tekin & Gültekin, 2017). After the transition from the junta to parliamentary democracy in 1989, the globalization-oriented policies of the new president Özal began to be implemented. Throughout the 1990s, restorations were made to the building facades and local government sought to civilize the area by ending prostitution and drug trafficking. These improvements paved the way for the gentrification of neighborhoods such as Cihangir and Galata (Türkün, Sarıoğlu & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.241). Abovementioned developments made in Beyoğlu attracted visitors, as well as foreign investments consequently. In this period, Istanbul joined the global competition to become a world-city with numerous festivals, exhibitions, and events organized.

3.4 After 2000s

In 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was elected as Turkey's new government, and the former mayor of Istanbul (1994-1998) Erdoğan became president. From then on, neoliberal policies were implemented more aggressively, which Lovering & Türkmen (2011) named 'bulldozer neoliberalism'. The term refers to how Istanbul, a city of migrants, is attempting to be modernized through "a wide-ranging process of urban destruction and reconstruction, in both physical–

environmental and social–cultural terms". The authors suggest that the local application of neoliberal development in Turkey presents similarities with other European examples in terms of the creation of state-led property markets and consequent displacement of the urban poor, but also presents an undemocratic approach centering the Islamic agenda, therefore being a unique example.

Sengül (2016) points out the AKP's two main city urban planning strategies that reveal their authoritarian approach. The first one is regarding the commodification of urban space, and the latter is conservatization of cities. To accelerate commodification, processes such as auditing, informing the public, and negotiating with stakeholders have been eliminated in the projects implemented. In this sense, central government institutions gained more power, and many institutional regulations were soon made. In the last decades, state-private partnership projects became common practice in the public sector and many institutions were privatized. Also, the new urban transformations attracted speculators and large-scale investors (Yetiskul & Demirel, 2018). Accordingly, many mega-construction projects were made, shopping malls opened, international clothing chains, fast food and cafe outlets proliferated all around the city. Therefore, the economy of Istanbul became tightly integrated with the rest of the world, but also limited residents' participation in the urban planning decisions as the state involved more powerful stakeholders (Aksoy, 2012).

The second strategy, conservatization in the form of neo-Ottomanism, is AKP's political stance and it also strongly influenced the transformation of public spaces. Neo-Ottomanism is a cultural ideology that was first utilized by former prime minister Turgut Özal in the early 1980s. 'Özalian neo-Ottomanism', as coined by Çolak (2006), emulated the pluralism and cosmopolitanism values of the Ottoman

era. On the contrary, Erdoğan's understanding of Turkey's Ottoman past centers on monoculturalism in the form of an orthodox Sunni-Turkish identity (Dorroll, 2015).

In recent decades, the influence of Neo-Ottomanism on Turkey's urban landscape has become increasingly evident. Architectural designs inspired by the Ottoman and Seljuk periods have become commonplace in building renovations and new constructions. However, many of these projects have disregarded considerations of architectural aesthetics, proper restoration of historical artifacts, and the preservation of natural and cultural heritage. As a result, numerous significant projects have stirred controversy among the public. For instance, the international spotlight turned to the transformation of Hagia Sophia, which shifted from a church to a mosque, then to a museum, and back to a mosque. Istanbul also saw the construction of numerous large mosques in strategic locations, such as one at Taksim Square. Perhaps the most notable incident was the government's attempt to reconstruct the Topçu Barracks, an Ottoman-era structure, in Gezi Park.

From the 2000s to the present, interventions on the historical inner cities have intensified after the declaration of law no. 5366, called Renovation, Protection, Cherishing, and Use of Worn Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties in 2005. The law gave municipalities the authority to determine which historical and cultural assets to renovate, manage the restoration processes, and use or sell to third parties once the 'projects' are completed. This law paved the way for the implementation of long awaiting projects. Therefore, immediate expropriations were soon announced for certain parts of Beyoğlu such as Cezayir Street, Galata Tower and surroundings, Tarlabaşı, Tophane, the Cercle d'Orient complex where the historical Emek Theatre used to be located, and more recently, Perşembe Pazarı area in Karaköy. Many sites of memory in Beyoğlu have been changed irreversibly due to the ratification of this

law, and many residents and shop owners have been directly displaced or affected by displacement pressures. Below, Tarlabaşı and Cihangir neighborhoods are briefly presented as significant examples of gentrification in the area.

3.4.1 Case of Cihangir

Within the scope of the globalization policies of the ANAP government (after the mid-1980s), sterilization was carried out in the slum-like areas of Beyoğlu that are associated with crime, and Cihangir was one of them. Accordingly, the 'cleansing operation' (Yetiskul & Demirel, 2018) that was conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s, paved the way for the gentrification of the neighborhood.

Gentrification of Cihangir has started in the early 1990s and accelerated after the mid-1990s. The first-wave gentrification in the neighborhood was initiated without direct intervention of government, when academicians, artists, writers began to move into the historic neighborhood. It exemplifies an unregulated and spontaneous classic gentrification introduced by 'pioneers' (Lees, 2016). The architectural value of buildings, views of the Bosphorus, many urban facilities, proximity to Istiklal Avenue, and ease of access to the area were among the reasons for the 'new hype' (Uysal, 2008). According to Uzun (2000), both the demand created by educated middle-class incomers and the investors who buy, renovate, and sell the historical apartments for high prices caused a rent gap (Başyazıcı, 2012; Smith, 1979).

Therefore, older residents who could not afford their living expenses were displaced, which transformed the socio-demographic structure of the neighborhood. Meanwhile, the literary works of famous Turkish writers set in Cihangir and its popularization in the media attracted local and foreign tourists. Many new cafes and restaurants opened as well. Başyazıcı (2012) suggests that the traditional shopkeepers

of the area were also adversely affected by the ‘cafe culture’, and most of them had to renew their businesses to fit in (Uysal, 2008).

Demirel (2015) suggests that pull factors of Cihangir include diversity, tolerance, and personal network and meeting places. According to the author, second wave gentrifiers prefer the area to broaden either their economic or cultural capital through network possibilities in the neighborhood. Those who prefer the area for cultural capital favor having neighbors from similar backgrounds and lifestyles, and the homeowners take advantage of this community demand by increasing rents to attract renters of higher socio-economic status. Thus, "increasing cultural capital clears the way for economic capital”, leading to super-gentrification which shows that gentrification has been mutating in Cihangir (Demirel, 2015).

Gentrification of Cihangir has similarities with many cases from the global north. For instance, the Barnsbury neighborhood of inner London (Butler & Lees, 2006), and Alberta Street in Portland, Oregon (Sullivan & Shaw, 2011). Individual gentrifiers were the agents of transformation in Cihangir where the direct involvement of the state was not the case. Aksoy and Robins (2015) argue that the creative-professional middle classes as new residents driven to Beyoğlu were a part of the very mixed demography of Beyoğlu; and coexistence of diverse groups contributed to the contemporary cosmopolitanism. The authors also point out that, however, more recents cases of gentrification in Beyoğlu involve more powerful actors that have systemic corporate and political interests, and their involvement is pushing the ‘unwanted’ groups and the poor out of the area. Rehabilitation of Tarlabaşı is a direct example of this strategy.

3.4.2 Case of Tarlabaşı

Tarlabaşı is a residential neighborhood that experienced drastic urban renewal process for the last decades. Starting from the 1970s, a smear campaign has been carried out against Tarlabaşı with the joint efforts of state officials and the media (Sakızlıoğlu & Uitermark, 2014). Accordingly, it was often emphasized that the area was neglected, the residents consisted of 'undesired' communities migrated to the area through illegal tenancy agreements, and the crime rates were high. Maessen (2017) claims that the main reason for this marginalization process was to legitimize the large-scale interventions planned for the area with huge profit potential. In the second half of 1980s, the mayor Dalan demolished 350 historical buildings on Tarlabaşı Street and instead opened a boulevard parallel to Istiklal Avenue. This situation physically separated the neglected working-class neighborhood of Tarlabaşı from the developing center in Beyoğlu, eventually leading to more distinct social segregation. The neighborhood remained overlooked until 2006.

In 2006, pursuant to Law No. 5366, it was decided to urgently demolish and expropriate 269 historical buildings within the official archeological site, even though 209 of which were previously declared as cultural assets by the government. The project lacked consideration of the social consequences of demolitions. In addition, the payments to be made by the municipality to the property owners in the area for compensation purposes were also far below the real value of the houses. This method of commodification and privatization was defined by Marx as 'primitive accumulation' and later by Harvey (2003) as 'accumulation by dispossession'. Harvey (2003) points out that accumulation by dispossession has become a much more central feature of global capitalism, especially in the Eastern countries,

widening the traditional, political and cultural inequality gaps between the state and its residents (Yetiskul, Kayasu & Ozdemir, 2015).

Regardless of the lawsuits against the demolitions and protests by civil society organizations, many residents were forcibly evacuated. The Taksim360 project, which became the first public-private partnership urban transformation project in Turkey, was initiated in the evacuation area. A luxury-style residential complex, covering a 20.000 square meter area in total, including offices, cafes, restaurants and shops, was built, aiming to attract tourists to the residential neighborhood. Increased commercialization of the district might also put stigmatized resident groups living in the remains of Tarlabaşı under further economic, social and political pressure accordingly.

The case of Tarlabaşı is an example of regulated, state-led gentrification accompanied by private developers which involves large-scale demolition, renovation and repurposing of entire blocks. In this sense, it has similarities with the cases of Raval district of Barcelona (Arbaci & Tapada-Berteli, 2012), and Ferencváros district of Budapest (Jelinek, 2010).

By the elimination of bureaucratic procedures with the new laws, faster and easier execution of projects was achieved. For instance, Law No. 6306 regarding the transformation of areas under risk was enacted in 2012 and granted the Ministry of Environment sovereignty on the entire urban redevelopment process.

Law No. 6306 legitimized urban transformation projects in Istanbul under the premise of earthquake resilience, despite the city's susceptibility to a major seismic event. The Istanbul Municipality's (2020) report estimates significant building damage in Beyoğlu following a potential 7.5 magnitude earthquake. Experts often express concerns about building durability and uncontrolled urbanization, predicting

major destruction (Hancilar, Sesetyan & Cakti, 2020). While creating resilient cities is vital to reduce disaster-related losses and displacement pressures, it's crucial to ensure interventions prioritize the public interest over profit-driven motives. Defining public interest remains a contentious issue among Turkish stakeholders. The government also presents ‘improving quality of life’ and ‘enhancing city safety’ as public interest objectives. However, Ozalp and Erkut (2016) argue that these policies primarily serve the interests of a specific group by promoting capital accumulation.

3.5 Local responses to urban transformations

In the last decades, many organizations have emerged to resist the state's urban planning policies and to protect the interests of the groups that are affected from transformations such as local shop owners. and long-established residents, especially the ones that are less-advantaged (Yetiskul, Kayasu & Ozdemir, 2015). These organizations include traditional civil society organizations such as neighborhood associations and local interest groups, professional associations, and various initiatives. Especially the Chamber of Architects and Urban Planners has been an important actor in taking legal action against controversial projects. They have created an archive of all urban transformation projects realized in Beyoğlu in recent years at https://www.ikmarsiv.org/#/Beyoğlu. Out of 46 projects mapped, 16 were counterclaimed for various reasons such as contrarieties to law and violations of public interest.

On a local scale, neighborhood associations (NAs) had a significant role in civil resistance. Earliest examples are from Galata, Ayaspaşa and Cihangir neighborhoods, founded with the collaboration of residents, academicians, and

professionals (Yetiskul, Kayasu & Ozdemir, 2015). Ayaspaşa NA was an early organization founded to stop the demolition of the historical Park Hotel, located in a heritage site close to Taksim Square, and the construction of a much higher rise building that is damaging the silhouette of the city. Galata NA also supported their resistance (Yetiskul, Kayasu & Ozdemir, 2015). Despite the legal efforts of Ayaspaşa and Galata NAs, the Park Hotel was demolished based on the 'Tourism Promotion Law' which was made in 1983. In 1995, Cihangir NA was founded in response to the municipality's use of Islamist and nationalist symbols in the neighborhood to drive out marginalized residents. They later formed a collaboration with the municipality to adjust traffic and landscape design of the neighborhood. According to Demirel (2015, p.124), the association was not against gentrification in general, yet they were against reutilization of residences as short-term rentals, especially in the form of apart hotels.

In the early 2000s, various civil society organizations, including many NAs and professional associations merged under the name of Beyoğlu NA. Beyoğlu NA became a significant actor standing against the commercial and touristic redevelopment projects planned to be made in the historical buildings of Beyoğlu, which should have been conserved and only allowed to host cultural events (Yetiskul, Kayasu & Ozdemir, 2015). Conflicts in this period mostly originated due to the closing and eviction of many signature and historic businesses, the public's restricted access to cultural venues and displacement of minorities. While Beyoğlu Conservation Development Plan in 2009 has paved the way for redefinition of neighborhoods like Pera, Galata and Tarlabasi as tourism and trade areas, Article 347 of Law of Obligations in 2012 was the legal instrument for entitling property owners with the right of one-sided termination of rental contracts that are older than 10

years. Accordingly, the Beyoğlu area has been the stage for many public demonstrations and acts of civil obedience in 2010s, including the ones against bans on businesses in Beyoğlu from putting their tables and chairs on the street, demolishment of the building that has the historical historical Emek movie theatre and Inci patisserie in it, and so on (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.991). The rising tension in Beyoğlu over the years led to the beginning of the biggest mass demonstrations of the last decades at Gezi Park.

3.5.1 The transformation of Taksim Square and Gezi Park area

Gezi Park is located next to Taksim Square. As of today, it is one of the few green areas that remain in Beyoğlu. The park has been used for various purposes throughout history. During the 18th century, the area used to be utilized as partly a cemetery. Since Topçu Kışlası (the Taksim Military Barracks) was built in 1806, it was also used for non-military purposes such as hosting acrobat shows, horse races, boxing matches, and flight trials (Aslan & Yavan, 2018). The barracks got heavily damaged in 1909 and finally demolished in 1940. Later, in line with the vision of the French architect and city planner Henri Prost to create large green spaces throughout Istanbul, 'İnönü Gezi Park' was opened on the site (Kırbaç, 2016, p.23-30). Prost's 'espaces libres' symbolized public parks where men and women could socialize, representing a modern, secular society (Akpınar, 2010, p.107-124). Starting from the 1950s, the area around the park attracted the investors, and multiple international hotels were opened, which is a process that accelerated after the neoliberal transformation of the Turkish economy (Aslan & Yavan, 2018).

Neoliberal transformation policies in the late 1990s began to evolve around the neo-Ottomanist place-making agenda of governments and municipalities and

intensified after the 2000s. In 2011, reconstruction of the Topçu Kışlası at Gezi Park as part of the pedestrianization of Taksim Square project was added to the agenda, and later approved by the municipality. Some of the important grounds for objections to the reconstruction plans according to the report by chamber of planners and architects: (1) it is not possible to construct the Topçu Kışlası without cutting the trees at Gezi Park, (2) the remake of the area, which has been a park for more than 50 years, as a 'culture and trade area' contradicts the goal of 'protection of primary uses' stated in the plan itself, (3) public participation was not ensured in decision-making processes, (4) public areas will be occupied by a private entity, and (5) planning and tender processes are unlawful and do not comply with core principles of urban planning (*"Taksim Meydan Düzenlemesi"*, 2012).

In April 2013, it was announced that the new Topçu Kışlası will architecturally be a replica of the old one. However, instead of a military purpose of use, it was planned to be a building with a shopping mall, meeting rooms and residence hotels in it ("Erdoğan: Topçu Kışlası AVM Olacak", 2013). The protests started locally and small scale, but soon evolved into a nationwide anti-government occupation movement, when added to the fact that the police have used highly disproportionate force. A clear disapproval for urban transformation of the area has been made, and in fact, this disapproval has turned into an umbrella notion for many dissidence movements from a wide range of political spectrum.

Restriction of individual rights and freedoms as a part of conservative social policies of the government in the time period leading to Gezi has been an important factor in the nationwide spread of the protests. Yet, it was not surprising that such large-scale protests erupted over a conflictual urban renewal project due to the state's undergoing policies to make construction the driving force of the economy. In

addition, urban transformation and development efforts were the more dynamic and vibrant conflict points between the government and urban communities in Beyoğlu, such as the resistance against both the destruction of the historical Emek movie theater and demolitions in Tarlabaşı have been going on since 2010.

3.6 Recent political climate and COVID-19 pandemic impacts on tourism

Since the tourism industry constitutes a significant portion of the GDP of Turkey, any incident that may have a possible negative impact on tourism leads to economic pressures as well. From 2015 to 2018, terrorism, political instability, and strained international relations significantly affected Turkey's tourism industry. This period saw a coup attempt in July 2016, causing Turkey to be listed in travel warnings of related advisory boards of many countries (Turkey: US, 2016). Consequently, Turkey has faced negative growth in both the number of foreign visitors ("*Turkey Visitor Arrivals Growth"*, 2023) and tourism revenue ("Turkey Tourism Revenue Growth*"*, n.d.) in 2016 and 2017. Tourism revenue's contribution to Turkey's GDP has fallen by more than 25% from 2015 to 2016 and has not been able to compensate for that until 2018 ("Turkey: International tourism revenue, percent of GDP", n.d.).

In 2018, as the Turkish Lira's devaluation gained momentum, the USD to Turkish Lira rate increased. This had varying effects on both domestic and foreign tourists. For local citizens, the increased cost of living made foreign travel more challenging, leading to either less frequent vacations or lower-budget trips. Tourism businesses adjusted their prices to cope with rising costs. Conversely, Turkey became a more affordable destination for foreign tourists, attracting more visitors. However, these higher exchange rates did not necessarily translate into higher tourism

revenues, as tourists received more services for less foreign currency (Karadağ & Bağcı, 2020; Kızılkaya & Bakiler, 2023; Wilson, 2018).

In 2020, along with the currency crisis, Turkey faced the global COVID-19 pandemic. The government suspended international flights by the end of March 2020 to curb the virus's spread, with hopes of minimizing losses in the tourism sector during the upcoming summer season. However, the pandemic persisted, and restrictions remained in place until November. In November, Turkey imposed a new curfew keeping people at home on weekends and after 5 PM on weekdays as the country was inclining towards the peak of the pandemic.

Turkey's tourism sector suffered a severe blow in 2020, with a 65% reduction in revenue, a 67% drop in tourist arrivals, and a 60% decrease in tourism's contribution to the country's GDP ("Turkey Tourism Revenue", n.d.). To counter this loss, Turkey adopted lenient entry restrictions for foreign visitors, with no PCR test or quarantine requirements (Coffey, 2020). However, these loose regulations did not apply to citizens, leading to resentment as tourists enjoyed exclusive access to destinations like Istanbul, while locals faced stringent measures (Yeginsu, 2020).

In 2021, Turkey aimed to revive its tourism industry by marketing itself as a 'safe from Covid' destination through vaccination campaigns and negotiations with other countries (Soldatkin & Stolyarov, 2021). Initially, tourism workers were given vaccination priority (Bilginsoy, 2021). However, vaccine shortages forced the country into its strictest and longest nationwide lockdown in April. To attract tourists, Turkey maintained lenient lockdown rules for visitors, despite a surging pandemic (Duran, 2021). While only 12% of the population was vaccinated, the Foreign Secretary committed to vaccinating those tourists could see ("Foreign minister under fire after saying Turkey will vaccinate 'everyone that tourists can

see"', 2021). This approach led to public resentment, with locals criticizing the government for prioritizing tourists over citizens, resulting in accusations of a 'colonial mindset for tourism' and neglecting locals' welfare ("The Washington Post editöründen", 2021).

With the increasing availability of vaccines, Turkey's pandemic situation improved, leading to a gradual return to normalcy. Although the tourism industry saw a significant recovery in 2021 compared to 2020, it still suffered substantial losses. The exchange rate of USD to Turkish Lira also rose significantly during this period, compounding the economic challenges caused by the pandemic and the decline in tourism revenue.

In 2022 and 2023, Turkey's tourism industry was profoundly influenced by a currency crisis that posed challenges for locals due to soaring living costs. However, it was seen as an opportunity for policymakers as the Lira's devaluation aimed to boost exports and tourism. This strategy resulted in a 35% increase in tourism revenue compared to 2021. Despite this increase, the gains in tourism revenue fell short of addressing the economic challenges faced by the majority of the local population, as inflation reached an alarming 185% in 2022. The weakening Lira meant that most residents faced a decline in purchasing power. This economic disparity fueled local resentment against government tourism policies and, to some extent, against tourists themselves.



Fig. 1 A graffiti captured in the streets of Istanbul (Radical Graffiti, 2023)

3.7 Intensified tourismification in the last decade

In the previous section, direct and indirect effects of recent political/economic events on the tourism sector are explained in detail. In this section, important recent developments made in Beyoğlu that have contributed to the tourismification of the area are explained. Since the beginning of the 2000s, tourism and capital-oriented urban transformation has gradually gained momentum in Istanbul, especially Beyoğlu area.

Even though Beyoğlu was declared an 'Urban Conservation Area' in 1993, a zoning plan was not prepared for almost two decades. In 2011, Beyoğlu Conservation Master Plan, prepared by the municipality, was approved by the court, but immediately received backlash from non-governmental organizations, chamber of planners and architects and residents. A local organization called Beyoğlu Semt Dernekleri Platform filed a lawsuit against the plan, claiming that it was prepared

without their knowledge (Vardar, 2013). The aim of the plan was to further gentrify Beyoğlu by replacing manufacturers and small-scale local businesses with luxury entertainment and consumption venues, thus creating a more sophisticated destination image. (Aksoy and Robins, 2011). In 2013, the court canceled the plan on the grounds that it failed to protect the historical city, was not holistic, and was not in line with common urban planning practices. The highlights from the court's reasonings to cancel the plan include, (1) aims to attract high-income tourists rather than promoting cultural tourism, and contribution to further tourismification, (2) push the local community and the professionals working in creative cultural industry jobs in Beyoğlu away, and (3) development projects such as construction of a multi-storey car park and conducting street expansion works will create private vehicle traffic in the region (Vardar, 2013).

In July 2015, two years after the Beyoğlu Conservation Master Plan got canceled by the court, the Council of State overturned this decision declaring that it was not 'scientific'. They requested the appointment of a newly formed expert committee from various prestigious institutions to decide on the approval or the cancellation of the plan. Yet, the plans got canceled for the second time in 2017.

Although implementation of the plan was blocked twice, this success was partial since projects that were licensed quickly before the cancellation were to be implemented anyway. For example, only one of the four social facilities planned to be constructed in the Roma Bostanı in Cihangir, one of the few remaining green areas, was licensed. Therefore, the other three will certainly not be built. The decision also prevented urban renewals to be made in Dolmabahçe area and blocked any further attempts to make constructions in Gezi Park. On the other hand, however,

the Galataport project and the Tarlabaşı area have been licensed previously, therefore they were not affected by the cancellations (Vardar, 2017a).

The Galataport project, which was tendered in 2005, started to be built in 2015 and opened in 2021, also greatly contribute to the tourismification of the area. Galataport is a shopping mall built on the 1.2-kilometer coastline where the Salıpazarı port used to be located. Within the scope of the project, it was planned to restore the historical buildings in this area for tourism and commercial use. After the tender in 2005, The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects filed a lawsuit against the project, suggesting that access to the coast will be restricted from public use, and the port will lose its authentic identity (Vardar, 2017b). When the court adopted a motion for stay of execution, the first tender was canceled. Other common public reactions are, (1) coastal areas that should be open to the public use will be privatized, (2) Galataport will damage the silhouette of Istanbul, (3) due to the lack of capacity and infrastructure, mass amounts of visitors arriving in cruise ships will cause congestion (Demircioğlu, 2017, p.61).

In the early 2010s, the Beyoğlu Conservation Master Plan, and the changes made in the coastal law facilitated to get a license for the project and to build tourism and entertainment venues on the coastline. Although opposing lawsuits were filed once again, the court rejected them, allowing a second tender. Finally, Doğuş Group acquired the operating rights of the port. The project was completed in 2021, included high-end stores, eateries, offices, exhibition areas, and a luxury chain hotel, The Peninsula Istanbul. The buildings where the eateries are located received criticism because they were designed in a modern architectural style, not in accordance with the historical texture (Polat, 2021).

In 2021, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism started to organize the annual Beyoğlu Cultural Road Festival on a specified route starting from Galataport and ending at Taksim Square. The government's primary objective was to ensure quick recovery of tourism after Covid period, and to increase tourist spendings in Beyoğlu. Just by looking at the first stop of the route, Galataport, it is clear that mass amounts of wealthy tourists arriving with cruise ships have been targeted for the festival, not the people of Istanbul. What is more, most of the stops on the route have undergone profit-oriented renewals within the recent urban transformation vision in the last decade. Public resistance and boycotts against the renewals arose consequently. The culture road festival is designed, in a way, to legitimize such controversial projects in public opinion. As a result, the project revealed once again that the government has recultivated an instrumental relationship with culture.

The second stop of the route is the famous Galata Tower. In order to prepare the tower for the Cultural Road Festival, Galata Tower has undergone a restoration process that attracted negative criticism due to incompetence in the execution and disregard for cultural and historic features. The use of concrete breaker during the restoration of the tower in 2020 damaged its historical walls. Also, the interior of the tower was redesigned as a museum and took on a modern form that is not compatible with the original texture of it. The museum was also criticized for the fact that the content of the exhibition was somehow irrelevant to the tower itself, which was built in 1349, instead, the exhibition is about the Turkish War of Independence that happened in 1919 (Yırtıcı, 2020).

Narmanlı Han, a historical inn built in 1831, is another significant destination on the route. In the pre-republican period, the Russian Embassy was located in the building. It later became a commercial center and a residential complex where many

important artists, writers and poets lived. The restoration of Narmanlı Han began in 2016. Beyoğlu NA filed a lawsuit against the improper restoration plans but was rejected by the relevant court. As a result, the interiors of the building, which bore the traces of its history, were completely destroyed, and all the trees in its courtyard were cut down (Doğan, 2018). After its transformation, Narmanlı Han was filled with shops and cafes, including a Starbucks and a Cafe Nero.

Another symbolic stop on the Beyoğlu Culture Road Festival route is the former Emek movie theater, located in the Cercle D'orient building complex. In 2006, demolition of Emek was decided based on the law no. 5366. In 2010, as a result of the lawsuit filed by the Chamber of Architects for the cancellation of the project, the court decided to stay the execution of demolition. Yet, this decision was overturned by the same court in 2011, and the historical movie theater was finally demolished in 2013 in order to make a shopping mall instead. Thousands of people protested with the hope of stopping the destruction and were subjected to excessive police violence. Stores were opened in the place where Emek used to be, and a venue called ‘Emek stage’ was opened on the 5th floor of the so-called ‘Grand Pera’ complex as a justification for the demolition of the historical movie theater.

3.8 Current issues related to accommodations

In Beyoğlu, there are currently 61 officially certified accommodation facilities, constituting about 18% of the total facilities. The exact count of privately certified establishments remains undisclosed for the year 2022; however, based on data from 2020, these privately certified facilities accounted for roughly 12% of the total. Additionally, as of September 2023, there are a total of 45,524 Airbnb listings in Istanbul. Among those, Beyoğlu accounts for 9,748 listings, approximately 21.4% of

the total (“Istanbul, Inside Airbnb”, n.d.). It's worth noting that a significant concentration of Airbnb listings is found in the tourist-centric areas of Beyoğlu. Furthermore, a substantial majority, precisely 75.5% of these listings, are available for rent as entire homes, and a staggering 96.8% of them appear to be intended for short-term rentals. The substantial number of Airbnb listings in Istanbul becomes more evident when compared to other capital cities. For instance, Paris boasts 61,706 listings, Lisbon has 21,337, New York City has 39,453, and Berlin has 12,472. Notably, Amsterdam has only 8,386 listings, which is even fewer than Beyoğlu.

According to the Airbnb Impact Analysis published by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Koyuncu, 2022), based on data from April 2021, there were 23,159 listings. Therefore, in approximately 2.5 years, the number has nearly doubled. The increased demand for Airbnb can be attributed to several factors.

Firstly, Airbnb hosts in Turkey were not subject to Airbnb taxes, nor were there any legal regulations specifically for short-term rentals. The government recently announced a regulation accordingly. After the legalization of the regulation, homeowners will need to obtain an approved tourism residence certificate from the Ministry of Tourism to rent their homes on the Airbnb platform (“Yeni Düzenleme Airbnb'yi Bitirir Mi?”, 2023).

Secondly, the government has imposed a maximum rent increase of 25%, but annual inflation rates often surpass this limit. In contrast, Airbnb hosts have the flexibility to adjust their prices according to market conditions, making it a profitable option for property owners.

Finally, when renting out your property long-term, tenants may not vacate the premises as per your convenience. In daily rentals, this issue of eviction is non-existent (“Airbnb’nin Merkez Üssü İstanbul”, 2023).

Currently, in Beyoğlu, a striking 80.5% of Airbnb hosts manage multiple listings (Istanbul, Inside Airbnb, n.d.), which indicates the extent to which Airbnb has established itself as a common tourism business model in the area, effectively meeting a substantial portion of the tourist demand.

Despite the growing numbers, the socio-spatial and economic impacts generated by Airbnb in Beyoğlu have yet to be comprehensively explored in the existing literature. As previously highlighted in the literature review section of this study, Airbnb plays a pivotal role in the process of tourismification, leading to rent increases and subsequently fostering displacement effects. In addition, there is an ongoing currency and inflation crisis in Turkey, which has caused a sharp increase in real estate values, rental prices, and the overall cost of living across the country. Consequently, the proliferation of unregulated Airbnb accommodations, coupled with the ascendance of corporate landlords, threatens to worsen an already precarious scenario, thereby exposing the residents of Beyoğlu to an increased risk of displacement.

3.9 A new perspective on municipalism in Istanbul

The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB) has been under the governance of right-wing parties since Erdogan was elected as mayor in 1994. However, a shift occurred in 2019 when Ekrem Imamoğlu, the candidate of the main opposition party (CHP), was elected as the new mayor of the municipality. Despite Beyoğlu Municipality still being managed by the AKP, IMM has placed a renewed focus on the district and initiated the ‘Beyoğlu Spatial Strategy Plan’ which is a transparent and scientifically participatory urban governance model based on assessment studies conducted in the area. Within the plan, there are the results of an impact analysis on

abovementioned recent urban transformation projects in Beyoğlu, revealing both short-term and long-term economic, social, and spatial effects.

3.9.1 Economic impacts

Short-term impacts regarding real estate transformation include increased property values, investment opportunities, higher rental values, changes in property ownership, and greater foreign investments. However, this also exposes the economy to market fluctuations and crises. Long-term possibilities involve continued rent increases, sustained foreign investments, and the construction sector adapting to market dynamics, but challenges may arise due to property ownership issues.

In terms of sectoral changes, short-term effects include a tourism sector boost, reduced production-oriented industries, displacement of local businesses, craftsmen, entrepreneurs, and artists, and a shift in the labor force toward tourism-related sectors. In the long term, these impacts may intensify.

Regarding the labor force and employment, short-term impacts include increased employment in tourism and foodservice, higher informal employment, and decreased manufacturing jobs. In the long term, new job opportunities in the tourism sector could emerge, attracting workers from outside Beyoğlu, potentially leading to the disappearance of existing employment forms.

3.9.2 Social impacts

(1) Regarding demographic change and gentrification, short-term effects involve housing and food insecurity issues for low-income residents due to increased rents and commercialization, difficulties for social groups that have historically shaped Beyoğlu's identity (such as migrants, LGBTI+, independent artists, and civil society

workers), and demographic changes due to the emergence of luxury residence and Airbnb users, contributing to income inequality. Long-term possibilities include the direct displacement of the low-income population, significant demographic changes, and the transformation of Beyoğlu into an upper-middle-class and foreigner-oriented area.

In terms of collective memory and solidarity, in the short term, there may be conflicts related to collective memory, a reduction in social and cultural diversity, limitations on social and political expressions, and a new social structure disconnected from local needs and the rights and values defended by civil organizations. Long-term consequences may involve the erasure of collective memory, a decrease in Istanbulite visitors and users, and the disappearance of social solidarity practices and spaces.

Regarding the visitor profile, short-term impacts include the dominance of cruise, shopping, and mass tourism users, resulting in a decrease in local users, and potential feelings of insecurity, especially among women and youth. In the long term, excessive tourism could lead to the dehumanization of the area, transforming it into a space solely for tourists.

Finally in terms of the changing functions of the neighborhood, short-term effects encompass an increase in tourism, trade, and residential functions, homogenization of urban landscape, increase in under the counter workshops, and increased urban planning practices prioritizing visitors over the existing population. Long-term possibilities include the transformation of Beyoğlu into a predominantly hotel, dining, luxury housing, trade, and cultural consumption district, without any non-residential working and production left. These have been also regarded as the spatial impacts in the report.

3.9.3 Spatial impacts

In terms of public spaces, short-term impacts encompass restricted access to coastlines due to ongoing constructions, commercialization of public areas, loss of spaces for social gathering. In the long term, coastal areas and public spaces may become more privatized and less accessible.

Regarding cultural heritage, short-term effects involve the disappearance of places of memory and the deterioration of the historic urban fabric. Long-term possibilities include the deformation and commercialization of cultural heritage areas due to tourism, as well as the risk of becoming abandoned.

About transportation and infrastructure, short-term changes include increased building density, a rise in the number of parking lots, an increase in VIP vehicles due to the demand from upper-class visitors, traffic congestion, inadequate infrastructure and social facilities, and a lack of prioritization for earthquake and climate crisis measures. These short-term effects are also stated as long-term possibilities.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, tourismification is a process that profoundly shapes the urban landscape, leading to a range of economic, social, cultural, and physical consequences. Nevertheless, existing literature predominantly concentrates on the resident perspective on such transformations. This study, in contrast, aims to explore the subjective tourist experiences in a destination undergoing tourism and capital-oriented urban transformations. To achieve this, a qualitative methodology rooted in thematic analysis of online travel reviews is employed.

4.1 Online travel reviews (OTR) as a source of data for tourism studies

Since the shift to Web 2.0 in the early 2000s, there has been a substantial increase in user-generated content (UGC), enabling peer-to-peer online communication (Francesconi, 2012, p.112). This surge in UGC has been also influential in tourism and hospitality in the form of online travel reviews (Marine-Roig, 2017) and other types of content such as posts on social media or personal blogs. These forms of UGC are commonly referred to as 'electronic word-of-mouth' (eWOM) due to their significant impact on user behavior.

OTR platforms, such as TripAdvisor, Yelp, and Google Travel, provide users with prior information about a destination or a tourism-related business without any economic incentives such as the interference of the DMOs or other profit-driven organizations (Bughin, Doogan & Vetvik, 2010; Van der Zee, Bertocchi & Vanneste, 2020; Lozano-Monterrubio & Huertas, 2020). In this regard, OTRs are considered as

reliable sources of information for holiday-making decisions as they offer transparency and comparability (Papathanassis & Knolle, 2011). Consequently, OTRs may influence consumers' buying behavior by reducing uncertainties (Gasle, 2018).

Other than its influence on visitor decisions, online travel reviews also reflect the post-visit tourist experience and post-visit destination image since actual evaluations and perceptions of tourists are exhibited and may influence other possible visitors in their pre-experience stage. Construction of the place image, by its nature, is regarded as a collective, authentic and dynamic process that is continually shaped by various stakeholders (Aitken & Campelo, 2011). Therefore, OTRs may also be influential in the co-creation of the destination image and reputation by visitors and destination management organizations. Additionally, the analysis of OTRs as a data set might help DMOs to make an assessment of the destination by identifying its positive and negative aspects (Marine-Roig, 2017). By doing so, the informal online communications, also known as eWOM, could become useful tourism information for managing destinations in a sustainable manner (Litvin, Goldsmith & Pan, 2018).

In tourism studies, OTRs have been widely used as a significant source of data in the last decade (Guo, Pesonen & Komppula, 2021). Nevertheless, the majority of the case studies evaluating OTRs have a focus on tourism businesses such as accommodation facilities and restaurants (Lei & Law, 2015; Cunningham, Smyth, Wu & Greene, 2010). The number of studies regarding the OTRs' influence on tourist experience and destination image remain limited (Kladou & Mavragani, 2015; Lozano-Monterrubio & Huertas, 2020) even though it is regarded as a useful method for the assessment of visitor perspectives by DMOs (Marine-Roig, 2017).

Only recently, studies demonstrating the role of OTRs and other ICTs in shaping tourist behavior and coping with overtourism and tourismification issues started to appear in the literature (Ganzaroli, de Noni & van Baalen, 2017; Van der Zee, van der Borg, & Vanneste, 2017; Van der Zee, Bertocchi & Vanneste, 2020).

Regarding the analysis of OTRs, the evaluation bias related to expressed user opinions appears as a relevant issue. Positivity bias refers to a primary factor in how people assess experiences, driven by our tendency to pay more attention to and remember positive events, which occur more frequently; in contrast, negative events, being rarer, demand our immediate attention and alertness (Skotis, Morfaki & Livas, 2023). Accordingly, in the context of OTR descriptions of experiences in destinations, studies identified that the rate of positive words substantially overweighs negative ones (Kladou & Mavragani, 2015; Pan, Ting & Bau, 2014; Skotis, Morfaki & Livas, 2023). In this context of TripAdvisor, Skotis, Morfaki and Livas (2023) found that in the previous user ratings predict subsequent ratings of each user, particularly in the context of the common decision between awarding either a 4 or a 5-star score, which may be related to past rating behavior of each user, their personality traits. In addition, the authors found that compared to various destination types, historical urban areas receive lower star ratings.

Bridges and Vásquez (2018) suggest star ratings alone are not informative for the evaluation of tourist experiences. According to the authors, even though the positivity bias leads to the emergence of many positive, similar OTRs, a closer look often reveals that even less-than-positive experiences are communicated with subtle cues that require to be assessed carefully.

4.2 Data collection

Firstly, Beyoğlu district in Istanbul was selected as the study location for several reasons. Beyoğlu, especially the area around Istiklal Street, is visited by thousands of people each day. Regardless of the season and time of day, it is a popular tourist destination, attracting both local and international visitors. Beyoğlu is also an area that is full of tangible and intangible heritage; therefore, it has high cultural, social, economic, and historical value for the national and international community (Erbas, 2018). Due to its preciousness, issues related to its transformation and conservation have been of great importance not only for local stakeholders, but anyone that cares for the district. In the last decade, the area has been going through serious transformations, and is now regarded as a highly commercialized and tourismified district.

This study seeks to assess the impact of the tourismification phenomenon in Beyoğlu on tourist experience. To achieve this, a comparative thematic analysis is conducted using two datasets: one from a decade ago and another from recent years. The first dataset comprises all the TripAdvisor reviews for destinations labeled as 'Beyoğlu,' 'Taksim Square,' and 'Istiklal Street' from the years 2010, 2011, and 2012, collectively. The second dataset, on the other hand, includes reviews from the years 2020, 2021, and 2022. Since tourismification refers to a process of change, our objective was to select datasets with a considerable time gap, which is 10 years in this study. Although TripAdvisor platform was founded in the year 2000, its popularity gradually increased (Amaral, Tiago & Tiago, 2014). The earliest review date for the selected destination TripAdvisor pages analyzed in this study is 2010, hence, the first dataset covers the earliest three-year period available.

The study exclusively examined reviews written in the English language to mitigate potential translation bias. The two datasets were collected from TripAdvisor by using a free web scraping tool called ‘Tripadvisor Reviews Scraper’ from Apify. TripAdvisor has been chosen as the platform due to its scale and reliability. It has been announced as ‘the world's largest online travel guidance platform’ with over one billion reviews in total (“Investor relations”, 2023), and the platform has implemented mechanisms to detect and remove fraudulent review submissions. It is worth noting that the study focused solely on the qualitative aspect of the data extracted from TripAdvisor, specifically analyzing review titles and texts.

During the pre-research, it is realized that reviews posted on the TripAdvisor pages of ‘Beyoğlu,’ ‘Taksim square’ and ‘Istiklal street’ destinations predominantly refer to the same area. This situation can be attributed, in part, to the geographic layout of these destinations. Taksim quare serves as the gateway to Istiklal Street, which extends approximately 1.5 kilometers in length, while Beyoğlu encompasses the entire district covering these locations. Nevertheless, the reviews of Beyoğlu destination page on TripAdvisor only refer to the touristic parts of the district, rather than its residential areas. As the area of concern is pedestrianized, tourists are spread to the side streets, upper and lower parts of the route that is mapped. Consequently, for the purpose of this study, reviews on all three of these destination pages on TripAdvisor web site have been collectively analyzed.

4.3 Data analysis

The data has been transferred to MAXQDA 2020 software after being collected. MAXQDA offers tools for qualitative or mixed methods research. In this research, the codes, secondary codes and code sets have been organized and presented using

the tools of MAXQDA application as a part of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a flexible methodology that allows researchers to ‘identify, analyze, and interpret patterns of meaning (‘themes’) within qualitative data’ (Clarke & Braun, 2017). Both theory- and data-driven coding are optional for thematic analysis, and this study adopts a combination of both. Initially literature review on the dimensions of the destination image and impacts of tourismification guided the coding process.

Especially the coding schemes from the study of Skotis and Livas (2022) which applied a quantitative text mining approach to OTRs, have been considered as a starting point for creating the coding scheme of this study. Remaining codes are data-driven, meaning the researcher looked for and identified additional themes during the analysis. Data-driven codes both reveal destination-specific issues and build up on literature regarding possible issues in tourismified urban districts that may impact visitor experience.

Initially, the researchers familiarized themselves with the data by examining tourists' opinions on multiple occasions. Subsequently, for the coding process, significant expressions derived from the researchers' interpretations were identified within each review text to streamline the task. The researchers proceeded to interpret and encode these meaningful expressions. Ultimately, the researchers formulated the final code by categorizing these significant phrases.

In the second stage, after all the data was initially coded, certain codes were grouped as secondary codes, considering similarities or differences. The objective was to present the results in a more condensed manner. Following this, the codes and secondary codes were organized into relevant sections, specifically addressing the personal and influential dimensions of the tourist experience. Therefore, the coding scheme of the current study was finalized, as presented below.

As the final step of this study, the researchers identified overarching themes that may possibly be related to the impacts of tourismification in the selected Beyoğlu area, based on the interpretation of both codes and secondary codes. The themes that emerged in this phase will be discussed in detail in the discussion section of the current study. Throughout the study, content was rigorously evaluated and scrutinized for consistency and accuracy.

4.4 Coding schemes

The tourist experience model published by Cutler and Carmichael in 2010 is quite comprehensive and valuable as it visually presents the tourist experience phases, influences and outcomes together. The model successfully captures the multi-realm nature of the tourist experience. Nevertheless, Cutler and Carmichael's study is theoretical, and it does not provide scales to measure their new model. In order to measure this model with qualitative methodology, the study by Skotis and Livas (2022) produces coding schemes that measure tourist experience by analyzing TripAdvisor reviews of three European historic city districts. The authors identified and compared issues related to overtourism and authenticity in these three datasets.

Skotis and Livas' study is limited due to two factors. First, since they only analyzed TripAdvisor reviews, they could not identify pre-visit factors of motivations and expectations of the reviewers. Secondly, since their study is qualitative, it had limited capacity to identify emotions and nuanced expressions of the reviewers about their experiences.

Therefore, by adopting a qualitative methodology, this study aims to capture the subjective and nuanced aspects of the reviews in detail to identify reflections of tourismification in the tourist experience. Since tourismification is a complex issue ,

which is often not directly expressed, understanding the signs of tourismification necessitates careful examination of visitor expressions.

The coding scheme of this study is created by utilizing both deductive and inductive coding methodology. First, based on the work of Skotis and Livas (2022), the coding scheme was expanded through conducting an extensive literature review. As the coding process continued, additional primary and secondary codes emerged and were included in the coding scheme. Primary codes refer to more broad categories identified, whereas secondary codes are more refined and specific. Therefore, secondary codes may be considered as subcategories of the primary codes.

By applying this newly created coding scheme, the current study paints a destination-specific picture of tourist experiences, illustrating the dynamic and multifaceted nature of these encounters. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of how various elements come together to shape tourists' perceptions, emotions, and overall satisfaction in the selected destination of Beyoğlu district.

Table 3. Personal realm of Tourist Experience Coding Scheme

Category	Primary Codes	Secondary Codes	Sample code
Aesthetic Qualities | Positive	Authentic		"...great atmosphere with mix of sounds and smells"
	Novelty/uniqueness		"...A unique spirit"
	Attractive		"...see istanbul with it's beauty"
	Great for photos		"...A camera - you will see so many wonderful views, architectural details, nice corners, flowers, bars, etc that this would be really unforgivable not to take it with you"
	Quiet		-

	Trendy		"...It's hip, happening and HOT"
	Lively		"...Lively street life, with bars and restaurants along the way"
	Nightlife		"...At night it is full of life"
	Full of people		"...Bustling and Cheerful!"
	Diversity	Cosmopolitan area	"...A very live, fluid and changing populace reflection including crowds from everywhere of the world is definitely to be seen and tasted!"
		Area for young people	"...If you are youngster with a group of friend, this is probably a place to go"
		Area for tourists and locals	"...Populated by lots of younger adults as well as families and tourists"
	Cheap area		"...the shops along Istaklal Caddesi had cheaper prices, more varied goods..."
	Safe		"...Safe and crowded, many police stations in the street so do not be scared."
	Time	Historic	"...Like walking through history"
		Modern	"...Great location for seeing the culture of modern Turkey"
Aesthetic Qualities | Negative	Lack of authenticity		"...Worth a quick visit but so many better areas to visit and see in Istanbul with more genuine atmosphere."
	Ordinary		"...If you are looking for night street shopping then this is for you, but it's just a busy street with not much else to do. Om from Manchester so this is just like a longer market street to me!"
	Noisy		"...The amounts of different smells and all the noise, cats, dogs, people, it can get too much at some point"
	Touristy		"...I suggest not eating here as the area is highly touristic, so are the prices and food quality."

	Overcrowded		"...It is very crowdy, little chaotic, not everybody will like it."
	Expensive		"...Shopping Elsewhere Far Cheaper"
	Crime	Theft	"...almost got picked pocketed, too many people"
Emotions | Positive	Amazement		"...Amazing neighborhood, really loved it"
	Fun		"... a fun way to spend an afternoon in Istanbul"
	Comfort		"... I felt safe walking the streets on my own, which I found a comfort"
	Relaxation		"...Don't forget to drop into the by-lanes, some of them have quiet cafes where you could enjoy an Apple tea or a Turkish coffee away from the hustle bustle"
	Surprise		"...we were happily surprised by the relaxed outdoor life"
Emotions | Negative	Annoyance		"...Terrible, fight broke out while we were there, almost got picked pocketed, too many people. Don’t waste your time here"
	Anxiety		"...lots of scammers and theifs, so be aware, dont talk to anyone in the street!!!"
	Disappointment		"...It was just disappointing. Just a wide open concrete expanse with not much going on"

Table 4. Influential Realm of Tourist Experience Coding Scheme

Category	Primary Codes	Secondary Codes	Sample code
Physical Aspects | Positive	Historical architecture		"...beautiful old buildings"
	Surroundings	Walkability	"...very nice for an evening or night walk"
		Clean	"...despite the huge number of tourists in the street all the day long, the street keeps clean till morning hours"

		Side Streets	"...head into the side streets which can be very interesting if you've done your research"
	Activities	Arcades	"...little arcades making and selling clothes for little money"
		Sanctuaries	"...the ‘hidden churches are a delight"
		Embassies	"...Interestingly enough, many consulates are located on this street, the architecture was amazing."
		Monuments	"the square itself has a lovely monument in the middle"
		Theatres & cinemas	"One: see a Turkish film at the Majestic. The Majestic is a cinema in the old style, not like the ones in malls. It has a classy (but cozy) little lounge with a tea shop.
		Art galleries & museums	"...with nice and interesting museums"
		Historical tram	"...There is of course the Nostalgic tram which is delightful."
		People-watching	"...Just watching people coming from all over the world and Turkey itself is a pleasure on its own"
		Street performers	"...but at night, you get to see extra stuff, like performers on the street"
Physical Aspects | Negative	Landscape & Surroundings	Lack of public seating	"...please consider adding additional areas for the public to sit. I use an electric wheelchair, and although I can always use my chair as a seat, having a table to eat some snacks or check my phone would make my next visit even better."
		Dirty	"...road is dirty, a place like this must looks much better"
		Lack of green areas	"...Just a wide open concrete expanse with not much going on"
	Congestion & traffic		"...Lots of vans drive across it making it uncomfortable to stroll"
Social Aspects |	Culture & history		"...history, hospitable, culturally fascinating"

Positive	Positive interactions	Positive interactions with locals	
		Positive interactions with personnel	"...We gound a bar sellng effes for 18 tl. Nice and cold and the manager was really welcoming. We will be back."
		Demonstrations & protests	"...If you are lucky, you can meet a parade of antiques cars or maybe see activist protest about political themes."
Social Aspects | Negative	Negative interactions	Tourist rip-offs	"...Beware of scammers specially if they see u walking alone, they make friends with u then ask u to join them for a drink and you'l end up paying mega huge amount usually bar waiters & owners are part of the scam."
		Harassment	-
		Demonstrations & protests	-
Products and Services | Positive	Shopping	Many shops found	"...Great for shopping...along side are many shops...top brands or Turkish brands"
		Franchised retail	"...Big street with every kind of international shops, like Mango, HnM, zara"
		Boutiques	"...you can admire the wares in the fashion & jewellery boutiques on Serdar-i Ekrem Caddesi"
		Artisanship	"...don't forget to watch the glass man making your own ring or necklace"
		Souvenir shops	"...The shops along the street after the Galata tower sell many nice souvenirs."
		Antique shops	"...stores selling everything from fine ottoman-era antiques to kitsch late-20th century bric a brac."
		Book stores	"...if you wander a little off of the main street, you will come across many little book shops and second hand stores which are far more interesting than the main drag"

		Music stores	"...What an amazing collection of shops selling musical instruments"
		Markets	"...Also, do go into the numerous side streets to find all kinds of grocers and fish markets in nearby Balikpazar"
	Eating	Many restaurants & cafes	"...the incredibly variety of delicious, inexpensive food makes it quite an attractive place to hang around"
		Franchised F&B	"...There are lots of places to eat but pricey don’t worry you are never far away from a Macdonalds or Burger King."
		Local F&B	"...Must try kumpir Doner kabab and ice cream"
		Street vendors	"...vendors selling stuff, Chestnuts - yum!"
	Bars		"...A lot of apartments have been transformed in bars, where the atmosphere is great, mostly with live music"
	Nightclubs		"...it has all the trendy night clubs you want to dance in"
	Transportation options		"...And of course it has the best access to all sorts of transport which for makes it the best spot for accommodation."
	Accommodation options		"...I recommend this place for all those tourists which are for the first time in Istanbul. Dozen of restaurant and hotels in this area - from the 2 stars hotel to 5stars+ hotels."
Products and Services | Negative	Shopping	Franchised retail	"...It’s plastic Istanbul with international shops"
	Eating	Franchised F&B	"...why would I travel thousands of mile to eat at Burger King?"

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

In this section, the results of the qualitative thematic analysis of TripAdvisor reviews for Beyoğlu destination are presented. Personal realm and influential realm coding schemes based on existing literature were employed, which evolved during the coding process as additional codes were identified. The analysis encompasses two distinct datasets: 'Past Dataset' covering the reviews from years 2010, 2011, 2012, and 'Recent Dataset' covering the reviews from years 2020, 2021, 2022 collectively.

The total number of reviews in the two datasets differs significantly, with the recent dataset containing less than half the number of reviews compared to the past dataset. This variance may be attributed to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which notably affected visitor numbers worldwide in the years 2020 and 2021.

Table 5. Number of Reviews and Average Star Ratings

	Total number of reviews	Number of irrelevant reviews	Number of reviews coded	Average star rating
Past Dataset	364	10	346	4.11
Recent Dataset	173	9	163	3.87

Certain reviews were excluded from the analysis because they were either irrelevant to the tourist experience in Beyoğlu or poorly translated from another language, resulting in a loss of meaning.

In this section, the key results of the analysis will be presented. Due to the high difference of the number of reviews in the past and recent dataset, each dataset

will be examined separately. Yet, the fact remains that certain differences in these two groups are quite apparent.

5.1 Personal realm of tourist experience in Beyoğlu

The subjective aspects of the tourist experience reside within the personal realm, encompassing aesthetic qualities and emotional dimensions. These elements are often concealed within the expressions of individual reviewers, unlike the more direct and easily identifiable factors within the influential realm. In the past dataset, the total number of positive mentions of aesthetic qualities (515) overweigh the negatives (70) significantly. In this group, the most prominent positive dimensions are found to be the area being full of people (116), lively (89), offering diversity (71) with its cosmopolitan texture, and by being frequented by young people, tourists and the local community, having a lively nightlife (51) and a modern ambiance (45) (See Appendix Table B1). The prevalence of these descriptors suggests a positive understanding of crowds. Accordingly, one reviewer states "A very live, fluid and changing populace reflection including crowds from everywhere of the world is definitely to be seen and tasted!"

The often-mentioned diversity is a factor that contributes to the perceived authenticity and uniqueness of the area. Another visitor suggests that Beyoğlu is "a mixture of european and asian culture, look, people, scents, … this place is different from any else you have seen before". In this sense, authenticity (30) is frequently mentioned in the past dataset that refers to a blend of contemporary vibrancy and preserving the genuine character of the locale, as well as cultural richness.

Contrastingly, the recent dataset portrays a more complex picture (See Appendix Table B3). In the past dataset, negative codes related to aesthetic qualities

(114) slightly outnumber positive mentions (112), introducing a nuanced perspective. Notably, criticisms focusing on overcrowding (32) take center stage, indicating a potential reevaluation of the area's vibrancy and its appeal to a diverse range of visitors. Furthermore, descriptors such as "ordinary" (22), concerns about safety due to the common risk of theft (15), perceptions of inauthenticity (14), and the impact of overtourism (12) emerge prominently.

These subtle shifts in aesthetic evaluations suggest a changing landscape in the allure of Beyoğlu and hint at a possible erosion of perceived authenticity. This shift may be influenced by various factors, including a surge in tourist numbers leading to alterations in the local environment, increased commercialization, or changes in the cultural fabric that tourists traditionally associate with the authenticity of the destination.

Moving beyond aesthetic considerations, the analysis extends to affordability perceptions. In the past dataset, a near balance is observed, with 12 reviews each categorizing Beyoğlu as either cheap or expensive. However, the recent dataset presents a notable departure, with 12 reviews describing the destination as expensive, while only one asserts its affordability. This shift may indicate changes in the cost dynamics of the area, influencing tourists' perceptions of the destination's economic accessibility.

The personal realm also includes emotions expressed by visitors which further illuminates the evolving tourist experience in Beyoğlu. In the past dataset, positive emotions (106) significantly outshine negatives (23), with fun, escapism (43), and amazement (34) being the most prevalent. However, the recent dataset unveils a different emotional landscape, with negative emotions (45) surpassing positives (23). Annoyance (28) takes center stage, closely correlated with concerns

over overcrowding, congestion, tourist rip-offs, and theft. This emotional shift signifies a potential change in the overall satisfaction and enjoyment levels of tourists in Beyoğlu.

5.2 Influential realm of tourist experience in Beyoğlu

The first influential element of the tourist experience examined in the study is the natural and human made physical environment of Beyoğlu. Since Beyoğlu is an urban center, there are only brief mentions on its natural features in the visitor reviews (See Appendix Tables B2 and B4). In this context, a small portion of reviewers complain that Beyoğlu, especially the Taksim Square, lacks trees and green areas. Some even used phrases like “concrete eyesore” and “concrete monstrosity.” Indeed, the removal of trees on Istiklal street and Taksim square has been a subject of the public debate that dates to 2005. In 2005, 400 trees planted in Istiklal street 10 years before that date, removed by the municipality on the grounds of 'occupying too much space,' blocking the display windows of stores, and hindering pedestrian movement. Upon learning that the municipality plans to cut down all the trees on the road as part of the renovation, residents of Beyoğlu expressed their disapproval and the Beyoğlu Beautification and Conservation Association wrote a letter to the Mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş accordingly (“İstiklal' ağaçsız kalıyor”, 2005). As explained in section 3.5.1 of this study in detail, Gezi Park protests in 2013 also started to protect the only green area remaining in Beyoğlu to become a shopping mall.

Since Beyoğlu is acclivous and mostly pedestrianized, some reviewers mention it is hilly nature, and therefore advise others to wear casual clothes and comfortable shoes for walking. In addition, some reviewers suggest walking down

from Taksim Square to Galata direction and using the historical tram to go back to the square for a pleasant experience, instead of going up the hilly road.

Regarding human-made physical aspects, the distinctive historical architecture of Beyoğlu emerges as a significant feature in both datasets. Some reviewers recommend that visitors remember to gaze upwards and appreciate the scenic view of the magnificent buildings, as the shops and signs along the streets can easily divert one's attention.

In terms of landscape design, the pedestrianized structure of the area is often appreciated by reviewers, which allows visitors to explore surroundings without worrying about the traffic. Past dataset reviewers positively referred to the pedestrian-friendly design of the district (48), and suggested others discover the side streets (39) and hidden attractions of those. Interestingly, only a few reviewers mentioned and suggested the side streets in the recent dataset (3) and the reviews about Beyoğlu mostly refer to Istiklal and Taksim square areas as if the visitors are squeezed in this limited space. Consequently, congestion (36) emerges as a significant issue in the recent dataset, which is a result of overcrowding. Congestion is a disruptive factor for the tourist experience, and an important source of tourists' expressions of annoyance and dissatisfaction in this study.

Although most reviews about the landscape design are positive, there are reviews regarding the area is not designed to allow disabled people to travel comfortably. A reviewer suggests that "…the cobble stones and the steep side streets will make it difficult for people with mobility problems." Similarly, another reviewer suggests "If I could change one thing about this street: please consider additional areas for the public to sit. I use an electric wheelchair, and although I can always use my chair as a seat, having a table to eat some snacks or check my phone would make

my next visit even better. Even if only small benches, installing more of any type of seating would allow for more comfort for the general public."

Regarding the attractions and activities to do in the area, the historical tram emerges as the most frequently mentioned element in both datasets. It is both suggested as a means of transport, and a symbol of nostalgia which adds to the authenticity of Beyoğlu. The tram also stands out as a nice spot for taking photos in the comments. In the past dataset, mentions of the historical tram is followed by sanctuaries (19) including churches and mosques in the area, the activity of people-watching (19) due to diverse visitor profiles, embassies (18) with beautiful architecture, street performers (16), historical theaters & cinemas (15), and arcades (11) that has many cinemas, stores inside. Similarly, In the recent dataset, sanctuaries (13), monuments (11) and street performers (9) are also significant. However, in this group, none of the reviewers suggested visiting the embassies and only one reviewer mentioned the activity of people-watching. The reason behind the lack of people-watching mentions could be related to increased congestion in the area.

Shifting the focus to social aspects, both groups attribute a modest degree of importance to the rich culture and history of Beyoğlu when compared to the frequencies of other dimensions within their respective sets. Regarding social interactions, codes are similarly limited in both groups. An intriguing observation is that, in the earlier dataset, the demonstrations and protests that used to frequently occur in the area were generally stated as positive experiences, often perceived by tourists as an opportunity to engage with local communities. One reviewer suggests "…we have glanced people chanting. Maybe it was a memorial or something, a thing you won't find anytime…" another one says "…If you are lucky, you can meet a parade of antique cars or maybe see activist protest about political themes."

However, the mention of political demonstrations and protests are notably absent in the recent dataset, reflecting a decline in their frequency within the area after certain interventions by the local authorities.

Regarding negative social interactions, there is no mention of direct hostility towards tourists or incidents of harassment in each data sets. However, there are issues of tourists being taken advantage of by locals, namely tourist rip-offs, has been a noteworthy concern in the area in the past (22), and it has significantly escalated in the recent period (21). For example, one reviewer states "Terrible personal experience, scam is a culture in Istanbul, avoid this city, it's not safe,I give tips&they will still try to cheat me in restaurants, pubs, clubs, taxis, and when you try to stop them it turns aggressive almost everywhere, can't find peace here, regret it really, hope none has to go through scams I have gone through, after just 3days, I can't wait to leave with 0 chance of returning even if everything is free."

The ultimate dimension of the influential realm is the products and services available in the area, which has many similarities across both datasets. For example, a wide range of shopping and eating options are the greatest attractions of Beyoğlu that are appreciated by the majority of reviewers. Specifically, when it comes to shopping preferences, branded stores are more commonly highlighted than boutique shops. Moreover, music and bookstores, artisan shops, as well as souvenir and antique stores, receive comparatively fewer mentions. In contrast to the prevalence of reviewers favoring branded shopping options, local food holds greater prominence compared to franchised restaurants in both datasets. A minority of reviewers also noted the presence of franchised stores and restaurants as a negative aspect that diminishes the authenticity of the area. Accordingly, one reviewer in the recent dataset suggests "There are some streets with some shops, all of them international

brands that you can find everywhere. There is a statue. There are pigeons. There is a church. That is basically it."

In the past dataset, the vibrant nightlife of the area is found to be a very prominent characteristic of Beyoğlu, therefore the mention of bars and nightclubs in a positive manner is also very frequent. However, in the recent dataset the nightlife is not found to be as significant as the past data set. Indeed, nightlife is mostly associated with perceived risks of crime, especially theft, and tourist rip-offs in this group.

Lastly, the mention of various accommodation facilities in the area is a recurring issue in both datasets, as is the convenience of accessing the area through various modes of transportation, such as buses, metro, trams, and so forth. While some suggest "Rent a hotel or AirBnB here. Believe me, you won't miss anything. Life, food, attractions, discos, metro. you can reach everywhere from here and Istiklal street is right next to it.", others advise against not staying in the area due to excessive noise.

5.3 The overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction

In the current study, most reviews expressing overall satisfaction, negative experiences and emotions were nonetheless mentioned, and conversely, in reviews expressing overall dissatisfaction, positive experiences and emotions were specified. In the process of analyzing the reviews for this study, it is important to note that neutral reviews were deliberately excluded from the dataset. The focus was specifically on reviews that expressed clear sentiments of overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Neutral reviews, which did not distinctly convey either positive or negative sentiments, were omitted to ensure a more focused examination of the

extreme ends of the satisfaction spectrum. This decision was made to provide a nuanced and detailed understanding of the factors influencing overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction among the reviewers. Focusing on overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction identified in the reviews, with the potential positivity bias (Bridges and Vásquez, 2018) in mind, the results are presented in this section.

Tse and Wilton (1988) suggest that understanding consumer satisfaction is complex, involving multiple comparison standards. They emphasize the need to explore conditions leading to both satisfaction and dissatisfaction, as destination managers aim to minimize the latter and maximize the former simultaneously.

It is acknowledged that providing excellent core services is not sufficient for customer satisfaction. Instead, satisfaction and repurchase intentions are influenced by various service encounters throughout the customer journey. Hence, destination managers must focus on preventing dissatisfaction and enhancing satisfaction strategically (Maunier & Camelis, 2013).

In the experiential context of tourism services, Kozak and Rimmington (2000) highlight the potential for positive experiences to stimulate repeat visits and attract new customers through word-of-mouth communication. Recognizing the emotional and social values in these experiences becomes crucial, as Williams and Soutar (2009) suggest. Emotional value pertains to a product's ability to evoke feelings, while social value is derived from interactions between people (Maunier & Camelis, 2013).

With this context in mind, in the previous dataset (PD), among the 346 reviews analyzed, 305 reviewers conveyed overall satisfaction with their trips, while 22 expressed overall dissatisfaction. The remaining 19 reviews did not distinctly express overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction, leading the researchers to opt not to

code them. In this group, the reviews coded as overall dissatisfaction mainly described their experience in Beyoğlu as ordinary (13), meaning they did not find Beyoğlu interesting and suggested that it lacks uniqueness and originality, likened the district to any other shopping districts around the world, and considered it as overcrowded (11).

In the recent dataset, out of 163 reviews, 111 reviewers expressed overall satisfaction, and 35 reviewers expressed dissatisfaction, which is a higher ratio of overall dissatisfaction compared to past dataset. The remaining 17 reviews did not express a clear overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction in their assessments. The reviews coded as overall dissatisfaction commonly described the tourist experience in Beyoğlu as ordinary (18), overcrowded (16), unsafe due to theft (9), and many incidents of tourist rip offs (8), and touristy (8).

These negative issues identified in the study point out negative social interactions with other tourists, service personnel and locals in the area, leading to negative emotions of annoyance and anxiety. A few examples from the recent dataset reviews include: "There is so many people at every time of the day. By day waiters invite you to their restaurants, there is a train riding up and down all the time, it is really busy with the garbage men constantly cleaning the street. ... it can get too much at some point". "This street is riddled with scammers, targeting solo travellers especially. Look up Let's get a drink scam for more details. I was stupid enough to follow them to a bar luckily I didn't follow them to the club afterwards where they'll charge you ridiculous amount for drinks. Trust your gut instinct and just leave if you feel it, don't talk to anyone who approached you!".

These results highlight areas that destination managers may need to address to enhance the overall tourist experience in Beyoğlu. Understanding the emotional

and social values associated with tourism experiences, as well as focusing on strategic measures to prevent dissatisfaction and enhance satisfaction, becomes crucial for destination managers aiming to optimize visitor perceptions and encourage repeat visits.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore how tourismification is reflected on personal and influential realms of tourist experience in Beyoğlu, Istanbul. To execute this purpose, a thematic analysis of TripAdvisor reviews related to Beyoğlu area have been conducted. The results have been coded as primary and secondary codes, which were presented in the previous section in an unbiased manner. Given the discrepancy in the volume of data between the two groups, intra-group examinations were conducted for each, instead of a direct comparison while presenting the results. Nevertheless, the frequency of certain elements in each group was sufficient to reveal the differences between these two datasets.

The most noticeable difference at first glance lies in the shift of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction ratios among reviewers of the past and recent datasets. In this regard, all issues related to the overall dissatisfaction expressions of reviewers align closely with the widely acknowledged negative impacts of tourismification in the literature. Consequently, it becomes apparent that tourismification poses not only a burden for local stakeholders but also disrupts the overall tourist experience, a fact that stands in contrast to its presumed benefits.

Before moving to the presentation and discussion of broader themes, it is worthwhile to restate Mendes' (2018) definition of touristification, which refers to the conversion of urban residential areas intended for the local workforce into destinations catering to tourists or centers of consumption. Specifically, touristification encompasses the situation where long-time inhabitants relocate due to the growing presence of establishments focused on accommodation, entertainment,

and recreation, all in response to the demands of tourism (Kwon, Kim, Kim & Park, 2021).

In this setting, the tourist infrastructure of Beyoğlu is meticulously crafted to enhance the comfort of its visitors. The complete pedestrianization of the area is widely regarded as a positive feature, contributing to a pleasant walking experience. Moreover, Beyoğlu serves as a central hub for public transportation, offering seamless access to metro stations, trams, and buses. Visitors consistently highlight the convenience of the public transportation network for efficiently exploring the city and reaching Beyoğlu from various parts of Istanbul. Notably, the area is celebrated for its diverse array of accommodation, dining and shopping options, emerging as a standout characteristic that garners praise in both datasets.

In this section, the goal is to gain a deeper understanding of how tourismification is reflected on tourist experience in Beyoğlu by examining broader thematic patterns derived from the primary and secondary codes. These themes include perception of crowds, nightlife transformation and safety challenges, commercialization and consumerism.

6.1 Perception of crowds

The first theme to be discussed is the perceived population of Beyoğlu and related transformations identified in the current study. Regardless of the season, Beyoğlu has always been filled with crowds most hours of the day, even until the morning. It offers diverse options of entertainment, shopping, eating, cultural activities and nightlife. Therefore, it is no surprise that the bustling nature of the area is often mentioned by visitors. However, the crowds of Beyoğlu are perceived differently by tourists in two datasets.

In the past dataset, the majority of reviewers mentioned the area as full of people, which leads to a lively and vibrant atmosphere. They also frequently emphasized the diversity of visitors as an interesting feature of the area. In this sense, they mainly referred to the area being frequented by both locals and tourists from many different countries, and especially the youth. This notion of the youth being visible in the area also relates to the area's perceived trendiness and modernity. One reviewer suggests "It is the new, hip, lively and youthful part of Istanbul!". Due to the perceived diversity of the crowds, 'people-watching' becomes a suggested activity for the area: "Fascinatingly diverse place to watch people. It was interesting to see people from every nation converging on one place, and at the same time to have local folks transiting for business".

Lately, however, there has been a shift in the perception of crowding in the area. The number of reviewers who perceive the area as 'overcrowded' surpasses those who view it positively as 'full of people'. For example, one visitor mentions, "The streets were packed with people, and it was hard to move around without bumping into someone or getting stuck in a crowd." A sense of congestion, accompanied by noise due to the sheer volume of people and activities, becomes overwhelming for many. The congestion also leads to concerns on safety and security for many visitors, especially in the night hours. "In the evening there are a lot of people, constantly someone is trying to lure them into a restaurant. Few trash bins, cars drive across the street. Someone tried to steal things from my bag." The issues related to nightlife and perceived safety of the area will be further discussed in the following section.

6.2 Nightlife transformation and safety challenges

The liveliness of the Beyoğlu extends to night hours, and the district is often referred to as an area that ‘never sleeps’ with many bars, nightclubs, and street performers. Accordingly, the vibrant nightlife is highly praised, especially in the past dataset. Indeed, the population of young locals have been gentrifiers themselves in certain neighborhoods of Beyoğlu, starting from the mid 1980s, causing formerly residential areas to become party streets filled with trendy bars and nightclubs, hosting renowned artists (Yetiskul & Demirel, 2018).

The study by Eder and Oz (2015) examines the process of commercialization of entertainment in the city, especially in Beyoğlu for this early period. Authors suggest that, compared to Bebek-Ortakoy and Nisantasi districts, Beyoğlu has never fully become the center of luxury entertainment despite the municipality’s previous efforts to ‘upgrade’ the area into an elite hub by ‘cleaning’ the area from noise and smells, improve safety and attract high-quality brands.

Due to a sequence of adverse events since 2011, which began with the prohibition of tradesmen setting up tables and chairs outside their shops, the youth in the area shifted to alternative districts like Beşiktaş and Kadıköy instead of Beyoğlu, leading to the closure of significant nightlife establishments like Babylon and Hayal Kahvesi and subsequently affecting smaller venues in their vicinity (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.313). The loss of places preferred by locals in nightlife is also reflected in tourist experiences according to the results of the current study.

In the recent dataset, not only have nightlife and its offerings not been a prominent positive factor in tourist experience, but also the low-quality offerings, those who turn the crowds of the night into opportunities and the effects of failure to manage the crowds in general come to the fore. One of the issues emerged is the

disturbance due to excessive noise, as some reviewers advise against staying at a hotel or daily rental in the area. Many reviewers caution others about the prevalence of scams targeting solo travelers, particularly the "Let's get a drink" scam, where unsuspecting tourists are lured into bars and charged exorbitant prices for drinks. In addition, several reviewers mention the potential scams of taxi drivers. For example, “You’ll get a good taxi driver If you are lucky enough. Otherwise you could face two types of problems. If they agreed to go by meter reading then they’ll make your trip longer by moving around to other streets. And if they bargain for money, they’ll take extra amount but you’ll reach at your place shortly.”

Additionally, there are numerous reports of pickpocketing and theft, leading to a sense of unease and caution among visitors. One visitor shares a particularly negative experience, stating, “Terrible personal experience, scam is a culture in Istanbul, avoid this city, it's not safe, I give tips & they will still try to cheat me in restaurants, pubs, clubs, taxis, and when you try to stop them it turns aggressive almost everywhere, can't find peace here, regret it really, hope none has to go through scams I have gone through, after just 3 days, I can't wait to leave with 0 chance of returning even if everything is free.”

Another visitor suggests, “…A bit shaken already, we looked up 'scams in Istanbul' and suddenly felt very unsafe. From pickpockets to excessive drink ordering schemes to some very scary and aggressive assaults, Istanbul seemed like an unfriendly place.” Accordingly, many reviewers suggest other visitors take care of their belongings at night, stay away from crowds and strangers, and always check prices at bars and restaurants. There are also multiple mentions of police presence in the area at all times, yet the reviewers suggest it is not very helpful in these situations.

6.3 Commercialization and consumerism

A ‘clone town’ describes areas where the high street is predominantly characterized by the presence of chain stores, leading to a lack of distinctiveness compared to other town centers (Simms, Kjell & Potts, 2004). An area becoming a clone town leads to a decline in the local economy, reduced consumer choice and damage to cultural diversity. The increase in chain stores on Istiklal Street, an important shopping street, increases rents significantly and causes small businesses such as craftsmen to leave the area, thus causing the loss of places of memory that make the area unique and authentic (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.31).

Accordingly, in the last decade, many traditional shops and restaurants, cultural venues, artisan stores, historical patisseries, local and foreign brands have been displaced from Beyoğlu (“Beyoğlu'nda 100 mekan kapandı”, 2019). This situation caused many Istanbulites to move away from the area and to prefer other districts of the city for leisure and shopping (Türkün, Sarıoğlu, & Çarıkçı, 2021, p.313). While tourists may not readily discern these transformations in Beyoğlu, it is observed that the new atmosphere reflects the tourist experience in various ways. Particularly in the recent dataset, a noteworthy number of respondents highlighted subpar quality and overly tourist-oriented offerings in the area. Additionally, many reported finding prices in Beyoğlu to be higher compared to other locations in Istanbul.

In addition, some express their discontent about the existence of many chain stores, restaurants and cafes in the area. These reviews illustrate the dominance of commercial activities and consumerism, shaping the identity of the area and contributing to the over-tourism phenomenon. For example, a visitor notes, “The

street was lined with international chain stores and luxury boutiques, catering to the consumerist culture. It felt more like a commercial hub than a cultural destination.", while another visitor defines the area as ‘plastic Istanbul’. Reviews suggest that the existing tourist-oriented, low quality but expensive offerings of the area diminish its authenticity, novelty and uniqueness. One comment reflects this sentiment, stating, "I was hoping to experience the local culture and cuisine, but all I found were chain restaurants and shops selling generic souvenirs. It felt like I could be anywhere in the world, rather than in Istanbul.", while another states “The same product you see in the market near Eminunu will be double or triple price when it is in Taksim. Taksim shop / stores have good price only for the brand product.” Multiple visitors suggested that they perceived Beyoğlu as just an ordinary tourist shopping district. This characterization aligns closely with the concept of a clone town, particularly in light of recent data.

However, Beyoğlu is not merely a shopping district but also a historical city center. Some reviewers emphasize the presence of sanctuaries, arcades, embassies and the harmonious blend of modern and traditional architectural elements. One reviewer specifically notes, "Amidst the chaos, I found pockets of history and culture that were truly captivating. It was a juxtaposition of old and new, which added depth to the experience." Similarly, another reviewer wrote that it's challenging to appreciate the historical architecture due to the prevalence of signs and billboards, suggesting that visitors should remember to look up and explore the 19th century buildings. Although these observations underscore the coexistence of cultural and historical elements within the commercialized environment and provide visitors with glimpses of the area's rich heritage, there is also a notable issue of mismanagement of this heritage.

In past datasets, tourists frequently mentioned side streets and advised others to discover attractions found there. Whereas in the recent dataset, there is a sense that their attention has almost exclusively narrowed down to Istiklal Street. Many are seemingly unaware of options beyond shopping at branded stores, remaining oblivious to the richness offered by markets, historical cinemas and theaters, and museums in Beyoğlu. Those who stumble upon the various attractions beyond shopping emphasize that their discoveries are entirely coincidental. This underscores a lack of intentional promotion or awareness of the diverse offerings, revealing a missed opportunity to showcase the richness of experiences beyond commercial activities.

6.4 Conclusions and theoretical implications

In conclusion, the qualitative thematic analysis of TripAdvisor reviews for Beyoğlu destination, divided into past and recent datasets, revealed notable shifts in the tourist experience over time. The juxtaposition of the past and recent datasets reveals a story of contrasts, where the subjective nature of tourist experiences intertwines with broader transformations in the area.

Findings of the study supports recent research in the field. The results are in line with the view that suggests tourism and landscape having mutual relationships and tourism-related impacts could be strong mutators of urban landscapes (Jansen-Verbeke, 2013). Yet, at the same time, tourism is also significantly dependent on the qualities of landscapes to remain attractive to visitors (Heslinga, Groote & Vanclay, 2017). In this sense, the shift from positive sentiments to negatives among tourists in the current study indicates that tourismification can undermine the intrinsic qualities that define a destination.

As an area under the influence of tourismification becomes primarily designated for recreation, leisure, and accommodation (Mendes, 2018), it also brings a series of issues for both local communities and visitors to be taken seriously.

The themes derived from the analysis shed light on specific aspects of this decade-long transformation. In Beyoğlu, the perception of crowds, once celebrated for its liveliness and diversity, has unfortunately shifted towards concerns about overcrowding, congestion, and safety issues. Nightlife, once a highlight of the area and an important pull factor for visitors, has undergone transformations marked by closure of significant establishments, noise disturbances, and safety challenges, reflecting a departure from its attractive past (Yetiskul & Demirel, 2018; Türkün, Sarıoğlu & Çarıkçı, 2021).

These negative experiences of tourists are visible in their emotional expressions as well, eventually leading to overall dissatisfaction with the trip for visitors. Emotions like surprise, relaxation, fun, and escapism, which were frequently recorded in the past dataset, do not manifest with the same prominence in the recent dataset. The prevailing emotions in the current dataset lean more towards annoyance, disappointment, and anxiety. As previously mentioned, these negative emotions are often correlated with overcrowding, congestion, tourist rip-offs and theft incidents and risks.

In this sense, the area seems to be more geared towards catering to tourists rather than fostering meaningful cultural exchanges in the recent period. The mention of scams and touts targeting solo travelers creates a sense of distrust among visitors and hinders authentic cultural exchange, as well as emotions like annoyance and anxiety. Research by Breitsohl and Garrod (2016) indicates that individuals experiencing emotions of hostility, such as anger, discontent, and disgust in response

to an unethical incident, are more likely to spread negative word-of-mouth and, consequently, are less likely to revisit the destination.

What has been going on in Beyoğlu is similar to many other south European cities going through tourismification. Like the case of Donostia, San Sebastián (García-Hernández, Calle-Vaquero & Yubero, 2017), Beyoğlu is facing serious issues of overcrowding, congestion, and lack of safety which leads the area to lose its attractiveness, authenticity and uniqueness for visitors. In addition, Similar to the case of Seville (González-Pérez, 2019), Beyoğlu is having problems of excessive noise and safety concerns based on TripAdvisor reviews, which cause some visitors to become so disturbed that they even advise others not to visit the area. This supports the theory that when visitors find that the charm and uniqueness that originally attracted them to the destination are compromised, it significantly impacts their enjoyment and satisfaction with the trip (Skotis & Livas, 2022; Pérez Guilarte & Lois González, 2018; García-Hernández, Calle-Vaquero & Yubero, 2017).

Furthermore, issues related to commodification of the public space, commercialization, cultural homogenization are also quite visible in the area. In this sense, the proliferation of chain stores, low quality tourist offerings and consequent rising prices contribute to the loss of Beyoğlu's authenticity, a phenomenon reminiscent of the concept of “clone towns” (New Economic Foundation, 2004; Türkün, Sarıoğlu & Çarıkçı, 2021). In addition to these changes in the commercial landscape, the results show a diminishment of perceived diversity in Beyoğlu, based on less mentions of local populations frequenting the area, and more mentions of overwhelming tourist concentrations in the recent dataset, compared to the past one. Both of these issues point towards a concerning process of depopulation in the area,

which is a significant characteristic of tourismified districts as identified by Sequera and Nofre (2018).

Accordingly, the theoretical implications of this study extend beyond the context of Beyoğlu, offering valuable insights for tourism scholars and tourism management authorities.

6.5 Practical implications

Overall, these changes stem from not only tourists and their actions, but also lack of sustainable urban tourism management practices. Depending too much on tourism to increase economic benefits without considering adverse impacts on culture and society creates irreversible impacts on historical urban areas. Therefore, practical implications for policymakers, urban planners and local stakeholders involve the urgent need for collaboration with different stakeholders on implementing sustainable tourism management strategies to minimize these impacts in Beyoğlu. Therefore, as suggested in the literature, striking a balance between the economic advantages of tourism and the preservation of local identity is a crucial need for the area (García-Hernández, De la Calle-Vaquero & Yubero, 2017).

In this sense, emphasizing the significance of places of memory in the region's tourism management and implementing regulations that allow tourists to explore the entire pedestrianized area can be a good strategy for the area. This would not only alleviate the impact of overcrowding but also shift the focus from attracting shopping-oriented visitors to cultural tourism. Consequently, prioritizing cultural tourism with a sustainability focus could contribute significantly to the preservation of cultural venues and local establishments in the area and prevent conflicts from arising between the various stakeholders of Beyoğlu.

Policymakers should leverage insights from both Beyoğlu-specific studies and similar destinations to implement effective measures. Taking cues from the experiences of other destinations like Barcelona's La Rambla or Amsterdam's Red-Light District (Pike, 2008), Beyoğlu authorities should consider implementing context-specific measures to manage above mentioned issues to prevent both local communities, historical and cultural values, and local businesses in the area. By doing so, they can ensure the sustained growth of tourism while respecting and protecting the unique character of Beyoğlu.

6.7 Limitations and further research

While this study represents a pioneering effort in applying qualitative methodology to assess Cutler and Carmichael's (2010) tourist experience model, it is crucial to recognize and address the inherent limitations in order to pave the way for future research. Firstly, the reliance on a singular website and the exclusive analysis of English-language reviews introduce potential biases, calling for an expansion of the dataset to multiple platforms and languages to access a more diverse and representative sample and to enhance the generalizability of findings. Additionally, the data of this study is only text-based, meaning they do not include non-textual data such as images, videos, or audio recordings. Visual and auditory aspects of tourist experiences could improve the results for a comprehensive understanding.

To overcome the limitations of relying solely on secondary sources, conducting interviews with tourists presents an invaluable opportunity to delve into their experiences in greater detail. This primary data collection method allows for a more nuanced understanding of the factors influencing tourists' perceptions, providing richer insights that can complement and enhance the findings derived from

the analysis of online reviews. Integrating interviews into future studies would contribute to a more comprehensive exploration of the intricacies of tourist experiences and offer a more holistic perspective on the subject matter. For example, the revisit intention of tourists can be measured in an interview. Additionally, conducting interviews would allow researchers to collect additional data, such as demographics and purpose of visit. Accordingly, future research could integrate a mixed-methods approach, incorporating quantitative measures to provide a more comprehensive understanding of tourist experiences.

Finally, for future research directions, scholars may consider examining multiple tourist destinations. Exploring diverse locales would not only expand the breadth of the study but also facilitate a comparative understanding of tourist experiences across different contexts. Such comparative analyses can unveil unique patterns, variations, and commonalities, contributing to a more robust and insightful body of knowledge in the field of tourism studies.

APPENDIX A

REALMS OF TOURIST EXPERIENCE

Table A1. Personal Realm of Tourist Experience

Positive Aesthetic Qualities	Negative Aesthetic Qualities
• Atmosphere (Aksoy & Kiyci, 2011; Beerli & Martin, 2004; Marine-Roig & Anton Clavé, 2016) • Authenticity (Marine-Roig, 2015; Rickly & McCabe, 2017; Tiberghien, Bremner, and Milne, 2020) • Uniqueness (Qu, Kim & Im, 2011; Binter, Ferjan & Neves, 2016). • Attractiveness (Oh, Fiore, & Jeoung, 2007) • Trendy/fashionable (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Do Valle, Mendes & Guerreiro, 2012) • Vibrant / Lively (Sahin & Baloglu, 2011) • Safety (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Binter, Ferjan & Neves, 2016; Do Valle, Mendes & Guerreiro, 2012).	• Lack of authenticity (Hallmann, Zehrer & Müller, 2015). • Overcrowded (Sahin & Baloglu, 2011) • Overtourism (Skotis & Livas, 2020) • Risk & crime (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Perpiña, Camprubí & Prats, 2019; Xie, Huang, Lin, & Chen, 2020; Sönmez & Graefe,1998).
Positive Emotions	Negative Emotions
• Amazement (Marine-Roig & Anton Clavé, 2016) • Joy (Oh, Fiore, & Jeoung, 2007; Chon, 1990) • "Relaxation (Qu, Kim & Im, 2011; Do Valle, Mendes & Guerreiro, 2012)	• Annoyance (Otoo, Badu-Baiden, & Kim, 2019) • Anxiety (Sönmez & Graefe,1998; Eid, El-Kassrawy, & Agag, 2019) • Disgust (Sönmez & Graefe,1998)

Table A2. Influential Realm of Tourist Experience

Physical Aspects
• Historical architecture (Aksoy & Kiyci, 2011; Sahin & Baloglu, 2011; Marine-Roig & Anton Clavé, 2016; Hallmann, Zehrer & Müller, 2015) • Landscape/surroundings (Beerli & Martin, 2004) • Cleanliness (Aksoy & Kiyci, 2011; Binter, Ferjan & Neves, 2016)
Social Aspects
• History and Culture (Sahin & Baloglu, 2011; Mohamed, Taheri, Farmaki, Olya, & Gannon, 2020) • Positive interactions (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Li, Feng & Chen, 2023) • Negative interactions (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Perpiña, Camprubí & Prats, 2019)
Products and Services
• Shopping options (Beerli & Martin, 2004) • Eating options (Restaurants, cafes) (Beerli & Martin, 2004) • Local eating options (Aksoy & Kiyci, 2011; Qu, Kim & Im, 2011) • Nightlife (Qu, Kim & Im, 2011, Beerli & Martin, 2004) • Transportation options (Chahal & Devi, 2015; Qu, Kim & Im, 2011; Beerli & Martin, 2004) • Accommodation options (Chahal & Devi, 2015; Qu, Kim & Im, 2011; Beerli & Martin, 2004)

APPENDIX B

RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

Table B1. Past Dataset Personal Realm of Tourist Experience Result

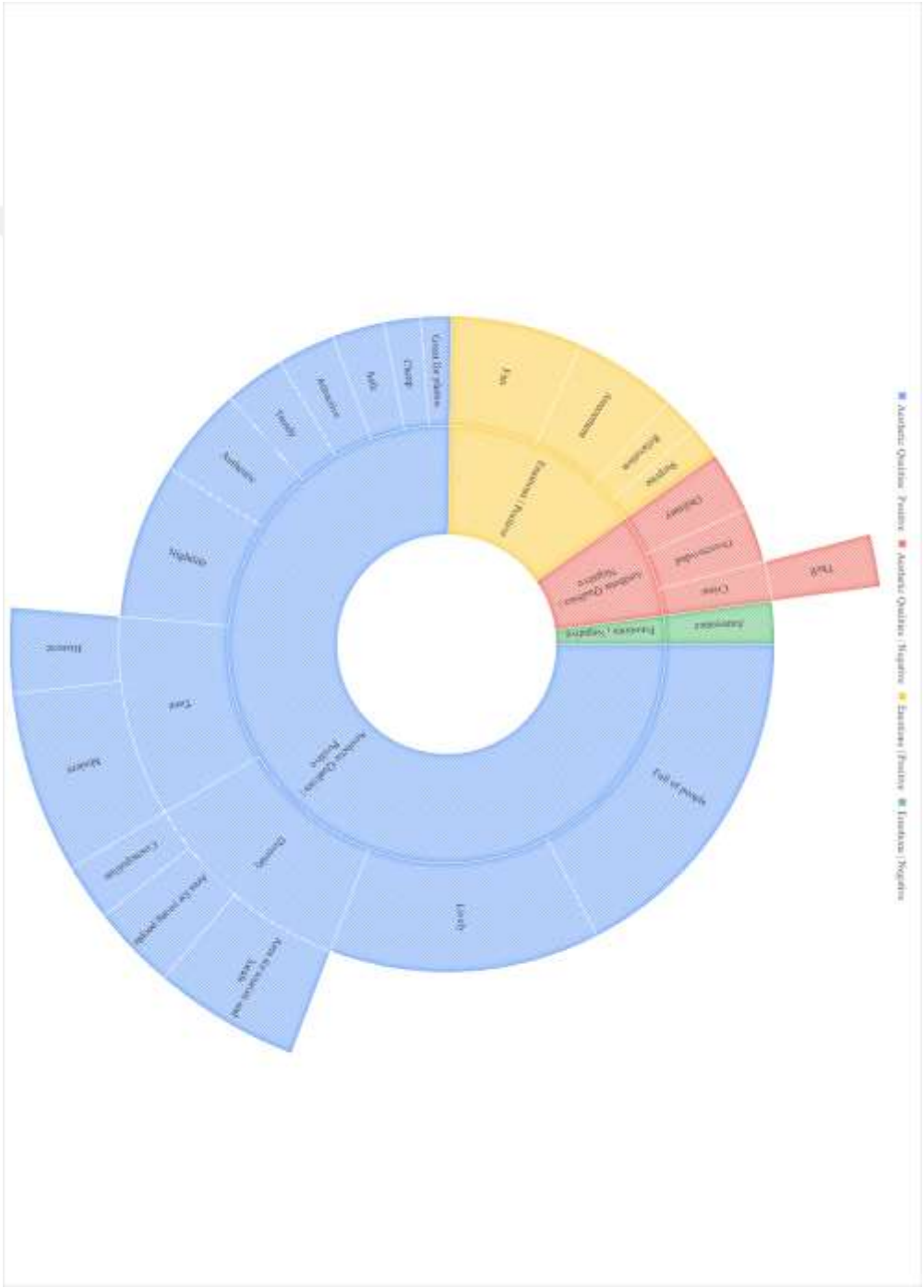


Table B2. Past Dataset Influential Realm of Tourist Experience Results



Table B3. Recent Dataset Personal Realm of Tourist Experience Results

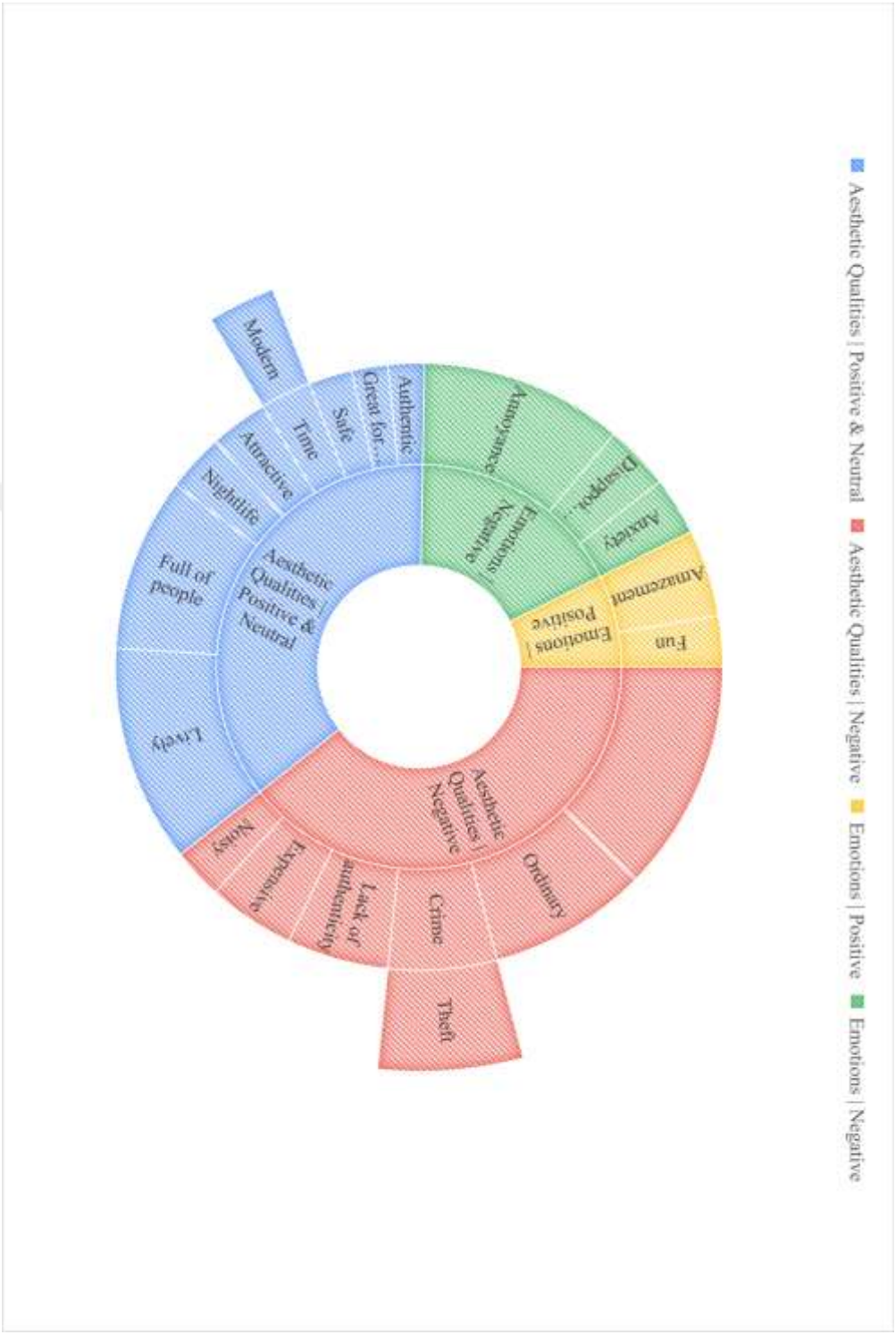


Table B4. Recent Dataset Influential Realm of Tourist Experiences Results



REFERENCES

Aalbers, M. B. (2019). *Introduction to the forum: From third to fifth-wave gentrification.* Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 110(1), 1-11.

Adanalı, Y. A. (2011). *Neoliberal ütopya olarak mekânsız mekânlar: Soylulaştırılan İstiklal Caddesi ve ticarileştirilen kent mekânları.* Red Thread, (3).

Agapito, D., Mendes, J., & Valle, P. (2013). *Exploring the conceptualization of the sensory dimension of tourist experiences.* Journal of destination marketing & management, 2(2), 62-73.

Airbnb'nin Merkez Üssü İstanbul. (2023, August 11). *Halk TV*. Retrieved from https://halktv.com.tr/gundem/istanbulda-45-bin-konut-airbnbde-761383h

Aitken, R., & Campelo, A. (2011). *The four Rs of place branding.* Journal of Marketing Management, 27(9-10), 913-933.

Akçay, H. (2022, October 17). *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı Ersoy: 47 milyon turist, 37 milyar dolar gelir hedefinin yakalanmasında sıkıntı görmüyorum.* AA. Retrieved August from https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur/kultur-ve-turizm-bakani-ersoy-47-milyon-turist-37-milyar-dolar-gelir-hedefinin-yakalanmasinda-sikinti-gormuyorum/2713585

Akpınar, I. (2003). *The Rebuilding of Istanbul after the Plan of Henri Prost, 1937-1960: from secularisation to Turkish modernisation.* University of London, University College London, United Kingdom.

Akpınar, I. (2010). *İstanbul'u (Yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı.* Cumhuriyetin Mekânları Zamanları İnsanları, Dipnot Yayınları, Ankara.

Aksoy, A. (2012). *Riding the storm: 'new Istanbul'.* City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action, 16(1e2), 94e111.

Aldaş, C. (2019). *Galata ve Peranın sosyo kültürel değişimi bağlamında Şark Aynalı pasajı ve Markiz pastanesininiç mimari analizi* [Master's dissertation, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi]. MSGSÜ Açık Bilim Sanat Arşivi.

Ali, F., Hussain, K., & Ragavan, N. A. (2014). *Memorable customer experience: Examining the effects of customers experience on memories and loyalty in Malaysian resort hotels.* Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 144(1), 273-279.

Ali, T., Marc, B., Omar, B., Soulaimane, K., & Larbi, S. (2021*). Exploring destination's negative e-reputation using aspect based sentiment analysis approach: case of Marrakech destination on TripAdvisor.* Tourism Management Perspectives, 40, 100892.

Amaral, F., Tiago, T., & Tiago, F. (2014). *User-generated content: tourists' profiles on Tripadvisor.* International Journal of Strategic Innovative Marketing, 1(3), 137-145.

Andersson, T. D. (2007). *The Tourist in the Experience Economy.* Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism. 7(1), 46–58. doi:10.1080/15022250701224

Arbaci, S., & Tapada-Berteli, T. (2012*). Social inequality and urban regeneration in Barcelona city centre: reconsidering success.* European urban and regional studies, 19(3), 287-311.

Aslan, P. Y., & Yavan, N. (2018). *The Production of Space and the Visibility of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad: The Case of Taksim Gezi Park.* Journal of Planning, 28(3), 302-314.

Aynalem, S., Birhanu, K., & Tesefay, S. (2016). *Employment opportunities and challenges in tourism and hospitality sectors.* Journal of tourism & Hospitality, 5(6), 1-5.

Bagdare, S., & Jain, R. (2013). *Measuring retail customer experience.* International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management, 41(10), 790-804.

Sakızlıoğlu B. & Uitermark J. (2014). *The Symbolic Politics of Gentrification: the Restructuring of Stigmatized Neighborhoods in Amsterdam and Istanbul.* Environment and Planning A 46:6 1373.

Basu, K., & Marg, V. S. (2010). *Impact of political instability and terrorism in the tourism industry of three Middle-East countries: An Econometric exploration*. In International conference on tourism, transport & logistic, UP organizer and publication Co, France.

Başyazici, B. (2012). *Cihangir'de soylulaştırma sürecinin semtin ticari kimliği üzerine etkileri.* İDEALKENT, 3(5), 198-219.

Beerli, A., & Martin, J. D. (2004). *Factors influencing destination image.* Annals of tourism research, 31(3), 657-681.

Berleant, A. (2005). *Aesthetics and environment: Variations on a theme.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Bertocchi, D., & Visentin, F. (2019). *"The overwhelmed city": Physical and social over-capacities of global tourism in Venice.* Sustainability, 11(24), 6937.

Beyoğlu'nda 100 mekan kapandı… (2019, December 31). *Turizm Aktüel.* Retrieved from https://www.turizmaktuel.com/haber/Beyoğlu-nda-100-mekan-kapandi

Bilginsoy, Z. (2021, May 14). Turkish tourism video sparks outcry, unequal treatment claim. *CTV News.* Retrieved from https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/turkish-tourism-video-sparks-outcry-unequal-treatment-claim-1.5427708

Binter, U., Ferjan, M., & Neves, J. V. (2016). *Marketing mix and tourism destination image: The study of destination bled, Slovenia.* Organizacija, 49(4), 209-223.

Björk, P., & Kauppinen-Räisänen, H. (2017). *Interested in eating and drinking? How food affects travel satisfaction and the overall holiday experience.* Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 17(1), 9-26.

Blazeska, D., Strezovski, Z., & Klimoska, A. M. (2018). *The influence of tourist infrastructure on the tourist satisfaction in Ohrid.* UTMS Journal of Economics, 9(1), 85-93.

Bourassa, S. C. (1990). *A Paradigm for Landscape Aesthetics.* Environment and Behavior, 22(6), 787-812. doi:10.1177/0013916590226004

Breiby, M. A., & Slåtten, T. (2018). *The role of aesthetic experiential qualities for tourist satisfaction and loyalty.* International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research, 12(1), 1-14.

Breiby, M. A., Duedahl, E., Øian, H., & Ericsson, B. (2020). *Exploring sustainable experiences in tourism.* Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 20(4), 335-351.

Bridges, J., & Vásquez, C. (2018). *If nearly all Airbnb reviews are positive, does that make them meaningless?.* Current Issues in Tourism, 21(18), 2057-2075.

Brosch, T., Scherer, K., Grandjean, D., & Sander, D. (2013). *The impact of emotion on perception, attention, memory, and decision-making.* Swiss medical weekly, 143(1920), w13786-w13786.

Bryman, A. (2004). *The disneyization of society*. SAGE Publications Ltd, doi:10.4135/9781446220122

Bughin, J., Doogan, J., & Vetvik, O. J. (2010). *A new way to measure word-of-mouth marketing.* McKinsey Quarterly, 2, 113-116.

Butler, T. (2007): *For gentrification?* In: Environment and Planning A. Vol. 39. 162-181.

Butler, T., & Lees, L. (2006). *Super-gentrification in Barnsbury, London: globalization and gentrifying global elites at the neighbourhood level.* Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 31(4), 467-487.

Chahal, H., & Devi, A. (2015). *Destination attributes and destination image relationship in volatile tourist destination: role of perceived risk.* Metamorphosis, 14(2), 1-19.

Chandralal, L. & Valenzuela, F. (2013). *Exploring memorable tourism experiences: antecedents and behavioral outcomes*. Journal of Economics, Business and Management, 1(2): 177-181.

Chen, Y., Liu, Y., Wang, C., & Chen, K. (2019). *Is hosting tourism events a sustainable way of destination branding: Evidences from Sanya, China.* Cogent Social Sciences, 5(1), 1692456.

Chon, K. S. (1990). *Consumer satisfaction and dissatisfaction in tourism as related to destination image perception.* Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Cocola-Gant, A. (2016). *Holiday rentals: The new gentrification battlefront.* Sociological Research Online, 21(3), 112-120.

Cocola-Gant, A. (2018). *Tourism gentrification.* In Handbook of gentrification studies. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Coffey, H. (2020, December 15). Turkey lockdown means locals must stay home while tourists can explore. *Independent.* Retrieved from https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/istanbul-turkey-lockdown-rules-tourists-locals-b1774214.html

Çolak, Y. (2006). *Ottomanism vs. Kemalism: Collective memory and cultural pluralism in 1990s Turkey*. Middle Eastern Studies, 42(4), 587-602.

Colomb, C., & Novy, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Protest and resistance in the tourist city.* Routledge.

Correia, A., Kozak, M., Gnoth, J., & Fyall, A. (2017). *Co-Creation and Well-Being in Tourism.* Traits in Tourists' Experiences: Senses, Emotions and Memories, 10.1007/978-3-319-44108-5(Chapter 14), 179–194. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-44108-5_14

Craig, V. (2022, February 8). Tourists return to Turkey as cheap lira offers luxury living for a fraction of the price. *Marketplace*. Retrieved from https://www.marketplace.org/2022/02/08/tourists-return-to-turkey-as-cheap-lira-offers-luxury-living-for-a-fraction-of-the-price/

Cros, H. D. (2008). *Too much of a good thing? Visitor congestion management issues for popular world heritage tourist attractions.* Journal of Heritage Tourism, 2(3), 225-238.

Cunningham, P., Smyth, B., Wu, G., & Greene, D. (2010). *Does TripAdvisor makes hotels better?.* University College Dublin. School of Computer Science and Informatics. Technical Report UCD-CSI-2010-06.

Cutler, S. Q., & Carmichael, B. A. (2010). *The dimensions of the tourist experience.* In The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Vol. 07/80 (Issue 2, pp. 3–26). Multilingual Matters. doi:10.21832/9781845411503-004

Daventry, M. (2020, October 1). Turkey not counting positive COVID-19 cases unless there are symptoms, health minister admits. *Euronews*. Retrieved from https://www.euronews.com/2020/10/01/turkey-not-counting-positive-covid-19-cases-unless-there-are-symptoms-health-minister-admin

Demircioğlu, C. Y. (2017). *Küresel kent bağlamında limanlar: Galataport örneği* [Doctoral dissertation, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi].

Demirel, Ş. (2015). *Reconceptualizing the gentrification process: The case of Cihangir, Istanbul* [Master's dissertation, Middle East Technical University].

Do Valle, P. O., Mendes, J., & Guerreiro, M. (2012). *Residents' participation in events, events image, and destination image: a correspondence analysis.* Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 29(7), 647-664.

Doğan, R. (2018, October 20). Hakim şerh düştü: Restorasyon Narmanlı Han'ın özgün yapısını yok etti. *Artı Gerçek*. Retrieved from https://artigercek.com/guncel/hakim-serh-dustu-restorasyon-narmanli-han-in-ozgun-yapisini-yok-etti-73759h

Donaldson, R. (2009). *The making of a tourism-gentrified town: Greyton, South Africa.* Geography, 94(2), 88-99.

Doucet, B. (2009). *Living through gentrification: subjective experiences of local, non-gentrifying residents in Leith, Edinburgh.* Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 24(3), 299-315.

Duran, A.E. (2021, April 29). Turkey's tourism sector pins hope on lockdown. *DW.* Retrieved from https://www.dw.com/en/covid-turkeys-tourism-sector-pins-hope-on-strict-lockdown/a-57372206

Edwards, D. C., Griffin, T., & Hayllar, B. R. (2007). *Development of an Australian Urban Tourism Research Agenda.* CRC for Sustainable Tourism.

Eid, R., El-Kassrawy, Y. A., & Agag, G. (2019). *Integrating destination attributes, political (in) stability, destination image, tourist satisfaction, and intention to recommend: A study of UAE.* Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research, 43(6), 839-866.

Enlil, Z. M. (2011). *The neoliberal agenda and the changing urban form of Istanbul.* International Planning Studies, 16(1), 5-25.

Erbas, A. E. (2018). *Cultural heritage conservation and culture-led tourism conflict within the historic site in Beyoğlu, Istanbul*. WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment, 217, 647-659.

Estevens, A., Cocola-Gant, A., López-Gay, A., & Pavel, F. (2023). *The role of the state in the touristification of Lisbon.* Cities, 137, 104275.

Fairey, J. (2007). [Review of the book The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6–7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul]. Journal of Modern Greek Studies 25(2), 333-336. doi:10.1353/mgs.2008.0007.

Farkić, J., Perić, D., Lesjak, M., & Petelin, M. (2015). *Urban walking: Perspectives of locals and tourists.* Geographica pannonica, 19(4), 212-222.

Fernandes, C. S. G. (2021). *Graffiti and urban art as political participation in the process of touristification in Lisbon: A psychosocial analysis* [Doctoral dissertation, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa].

Foreign minister under fire after saying Turkey will vaccinate 'everyone that tourists can see'. (2021). *Bianet*. Retrieved from https://bianet.org/english/politics/243709-foreign-minister-under-fire-after-saying-turkey-will-vaccinate-everyone-that-tourists-can-see

Francesconi, S. (2012) *Generic Integrity and Innovation In Tourism Texts in English*. Trento, Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche, p.112.

Gall, C. (2020, April 20). Istanbul Death Toll Hints Turkey Is Hiding a Wider Coronavirus Calamity. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/20/world/middleeast/coronavirus-turkey-deaths.html

Ganzaroli, A., De Noni, I., & van Baalen, P. (2017). *Vicious advice: Analyzing the impact of TripAdvisor on the quality of restaurants as part of the cultural heritage of Venice.* Tourism Management, 61, 501-510.

García-Hernández, M., De la Calle-Vaquero, M., & Yubero, C. (2017). *Cultural heritage and urban tourism: Historic city centres under pressure.* Sustainability, 9(8), 1346.

Gasle, H., (2018) *The Reign of Word-of-Mouth (WOM): The effect of review variance and valence on consumers' purchase intention.* Erasmus School of Economics MSc Economics and Business Master's Thesis

Glass, R. 1964. *London: Aspects of Change*. Edited by The Centre for Urban Studies. London: MacGibbon & Kee

Godovykh, M., & Tasci, A.D.A. (2020). *Customer experience in tourism: A review of definitions, components, and measurements*. Tourism Management Perspectives, 35, 1-10. doi:10.1016/ j.tmp.2020.100694

González, S., & Waley, P. (2013). *Traditional retail markets: The new gentrification frontier?.* Antipode, 45(4), 965-983.

González-Reverté, F., & Soliguer-Guix, A. (2022). *Tourismification narratives and the 'Transformative turn'in tourism. An analysis derived from the Spanish press debate on the Barcelona tourism model.* European Journal of Cultural Studies, 13675494221084119.

Gökçek, H. A. (2023). *Neoliberal İktisat Politikaları ve 1980-1989 Yılları Arasında Türk Ekonomisinin Genel Görünüşünün Altı Faktör Altında İncelenmesi ve Değerlendirilmesi*. Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, C.7, S.1 Mart 2023 s.147-161

Gravari-Barbas, M. (2017). *Super-gentrification and hyper-tourismification in Le Marais, Paris.* In Tourism and Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises (pp. 299-328). Routledge.

Gül, M. (2017). *Architecture and the Turkish city: An urban history of Istanbul since the Ottomans.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Guo, X., Pesonen, J., & Komppula, R. (2021). *Comparing online travel review platforms as destination image information agents.* Information Technology & Tourism, 23, 159-187.

Güzel, F. Ö. (2014). *The dimensions of tour experience, emotional arousal, and post-experience behaviors: A research on Pamukkale in Turkey.* Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences, 150, 521-530.

Hackworth, J., & Smith, N. (2001). *The changing state of gentrification.* Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 92(4), 464-477.

Hallmann, K., Zehrer, A., & Müller, S. (2015). *Perceived destination image: An image model for a winter sports destination and its effect on intention to revisit.* Journal of travel research, 54(1), 94-106.

Hamnett, C. (1991). *The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification.* Transactions of the institute of British Geographers, 173-189.

Han X., Praet C. L. C., & Wang L. (2021). *Tourist–Tourist Social Interaction in the Co-creation and Co-destruction of Tourism Experiences among Chinese Outbound Tourists.* Tourism Planning & Development, doi:10.1080/21568316.2021.1873833

Hancilar, U., Sesetyan, K., & Cakti, E. (2020). *Comparative earthquake loss estimations for high-code buildings in Istanbul.* Soil Dynamics and Earthquake Engineering, 129, 105956.

Harvey, D. (2012). *The right to the city.* In The urban sociology reader (pp. 443-446). Routledge.

Heslinga, J. H., Groote, P., & Vanclay, F. (2017). *Using a social-ecological systems perspective to understand tourism and landscape interactions in coastal areas.* Journal of Tourism Futures, 3(1), 23-38.

Henig, J. R. (1981). *Gentrification and displacement of the elderly: An empirical analysis.* The Gerontologist, 21(1), 67-75.

Heung VCS, Cheng E. (2000). *Assessing tourists' satisfaction with shopping in the Hong Kong special administrative region of China.* Journal of Travel Research 38: 396–404.

Hosany, S., Hunter-Jones, P., & McCabe, S. (2020). *Emotions in tourist experiences: Advancing our conceptual, methodological and empirical understanding.* Journal of Destination Marketing & Management, 16, 100444.

Huang, Songshan, and Cathy H. C. Hsu. (2009). *Effects of Travel Motivation, Past Experience, Perceived Constraint, and Attitude on Revisit Intention.* Journal of Travel Research, 48 (1): 29-44.

Hucal, S. (2022, December 8). Turkey's weak lira affects the tourism industry. *DW.* Retrieved from https://amp.dw.com/en/turkeys-weak-lira-affects-the-tourism-industry/a-63943972

Hughes, N. (2018). '*Tourists go home': anti-tourism industry protest in Barcelona.* Social movement studies, 17(4), 471-477.

Hwang, J., & Sampson, R. J. (2014). *Divergent pathways of gentrification: Racial inequality and the social order of renewal in Chicago neighborhoods.* American sociological review, 79(4), 726-751.

International Labour Organization (2010) *Development and challanges in tourism and hospitality sector.* Geneva, Switzerland.

İslam, T. (2006). *Merkezin Dışında: İstanbul'da Soylulaştırma. In İstanbul'da Soylulaştırma* (pp. 24–33). İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Istanbul Il Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü. (2023). Istanbul turizm istatistikleri raporu. Retrieved from https://istanbul.ktb.gov.tr/TR-310679/istanbul-turizm-istatistikleri---2022.html

Istanbul, Inside Airbnb. (n.d.). Retrieved September 15, 2023, from http://insideairbnb.com/istanbul/ Filter by: Beyoğlu.

İstiklal ağaçsız kalıyor. (2005, November 2). *Milliyet.* Retrieved from https://www.milliyet.com.tr/pembenar/istiklal-agacsiz-kaliyor-133375.

Jang, S., & Namkung, Y. (2009). *Perceived quality, emotions, and behavioral intentions: Application of an extended Mehrabian–Russell model to restaurants.* Journal of Business Research, 62(4), 451–460. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2008.01.038

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (1998). *Tourismification of historical cities.* Annals of tourism research, 25(3), 739-742.

Jansen-Verbeke, M. (2009). *Tourismification of cultural landscapes: A discussion note.* Resources Science, 31(6), 934-941.

Jelinek, C. (2010). *The phenomena of displacement and relocation during the process of gentrification in Budapest.* Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai-Sociologia, 55(2), 105-116.

Jim, C. Y. (2000). *Environmental changes associated with mass urban tourism and nature tourism development in Hong Kong.* Environmentalist, 20, 233-247.

Karadağ, S., & Bağcı, Ö. Ü. E. *Döviz kurundaki yükselmenin turizm sektörüne etkisi: 2010-2018 arası Türkiye örneği* Öz.

Kauppinen-Räisänen, H., Gummerus, J., & Lehtola, K. (2013). *Remembered eating experiences described by the self, place, food, context and time.* British Food Journal, 115(5), 666–685. doi:10.1108/00070701311331571

Kennedy, N., & Kingcome, N. (1998). *Disneyfication of Cornwall—developing a poldark heritage complex.* International Journal of Heritage Studies, 4(1), 45-59.

Kirillova, K., & Lehto, X. (2015). *Destination Aesthetics and Aesthetic Distance in Tourism Experience.* Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, (), 1–18. doi:10.1080/10548408.2014.958608

Kızılkaya, S., & Bakiler, O. (2023, May 31). Turizm sektörünün umudu döviz kurunda artış olması. *VOA Türkçe*. Retrieved from https://www.voaturkce.com/a/turizm-sektorunun-umudu-doviz-kurunda-artis/7117435.html

Kladou, S., & Mavragani, E. (2015). *Assessing destination image: An online marketing approach and the case of TripAdvisor*. Journal of destination marketing & management, 4(3), 187-193.

Knox, L. P. (2005). *Creating Ordinary Places: Slow Cities in a Fast World.* Journal of Urban Design 10, 1, 1-11.

Koyuncu, M. N. (2022). *Beyoğlu Airbnb Analiz ve Etki Değerlendirme Raporu*. İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Şehir Planlama Müdürlüğü. Retrieved from https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/Beyoğlu-senin-calismalari-raporlar/#toggle-id-4.

Kozak M. & Rimmington M. (2000) *Tourist satisfaction with Mallorca, Spain, as an off-season holiday destination.* Journal of Travel Research 38: 260–269.

Kudla, D. (2013). *Who Produces Urban Space?: Gentrification and Contestations Over Urban'Authenticity'*. The University of Western Ontario (Canada).

Kwon, Y., Kim, J., Kim, J., & Park, C. (2021). *Mitigating the impact of touristification on the psychological carrying capacity of residents.* Sustainability, 13(5), 2737.

Larsen, J. (2001). *Tourism Mobilities and the Travel Glance: Experiences of Being on the Move.* Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 1(2), 80–98. doi:10.1080/150222501317244010

Lee, C., Moudon, A. V. 2004. *Physical activity and environment research in the health field: implications for urban and transportation planning practice and research.* Journal of planning literature 19, 2, 147-181.

Lee, H. M., & Smith, S. L. (2015). *A visitor experience scale: historic sites and museums.* Journal of China Tourism Research, 11(3), 255-277.

Lee, T., & Crompton, J. (1992). *Measuring novelty seeking in tourism.* Annals of Tourism Research, 19(4), 732–751. doi:10.1016/0160-7383(92)90064-V

Lees, L. (2016). *Gentrification, race, and ethnicity: towards a global research agenda?* City & Community, 15(3), 208-214.

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2008) *Gentrification.* Routledge.

Lei, S., & Law, R. (2015*). Content analysis of TripAdvisor reviews on restaurants: A case study of Macau*. Journal of tourism, 16(1).

Li, X., Feng, Z., & Chen, S. X. (2023). *The impact of perceived social hospitality on destination image: The moderating effect of cultural intelligence.* Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management, 56, 214-228.

Li, Y. (2000). *Geographical consciousness and tourism experience.* Annals of tourism research, 27(4), 863-883.

Litvin, S. W., Goldsmith, R. E., & Pan, B. (2008). *Electronic word-of-mouth in hospitality and tourism management.* Tourism Management, 29(3), 458–468. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2007.05.011

Liu, R. (2015). *A review on overseas and Chinese studies on tourismification.* Tourism Tribune, 30(2), 110-117.

Lovering, John; Türkmen, Hade (2011). *Bulldozer Neo-liberalism in Istanbul: The State-led Construction of Property Markets, and the Displacement of the Urban Poor.* International Planning Studies, 16(1), 73–96. doi:10.1080/13563475.2011.552477

Lozano-Monterrubio, N. & Huertas, A. (2020). *The image of Barcelona in Online Travel Reviews during 2017 Catalan independence process.* Communication & Society, 33(3), 33-49.

Maessen, E. (2017). *Reading Landscape in Beyoğlu and Tarlabasi: Engineering a 'Brand New'Cosmopolitan Space, 1980–2013.* International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity, 5(1), 47-67.

Maoz, D. (2006). *The mutual gaze.* Annals of Tourism Research, 33(1), 221-239.

Marine-Roig, E. (2015). *Identity and authenticity in destination image construction.* Anatolia, 26(4), 574-587.

Marine-Roig, E., & Anton Clavé, S. (2016). *A detailed method for destination image analysis using user-generated content.* Information Technology & Tourism, 15, 341-364.

Markwell, K. (2001). *'An intimate rendezvous with nature'?: mediating tourist-nature experiences at three tourist sites in Borneo*. Tourist Studies 1: 39–57.

Marson, D. (2011) From mass tourism to niche tourism. In *Research Themes in Tourism* (Ed.) (pp. 1-16) Oxfordshire, UK. CAB International.

Mattila, A. S., & Ro, H. (2008). *Discrete negative emotions and customer dissatisfaction responses in a casual restaurant setting.* Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research, 32(1), 89–107.

Maunier, C., & Camelis, C. (2013). *Toward an identification of elements contributing to satisfaction with the tourism experience.* Journal of Vacation Marketing, 19(1), 19-39.

McCarthy, J. (2006). *Regeneration of cultural quarters: Public art for place image or place identity?.* Journal of Urban Design, 11(2), 243-262.

Mendes, L. (2018). *Gentrification and the new urban social movements in times of post-capitalist crisis and austerity urbanism in Portugal.* Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies, 22, 199-215.

Mendes, L. (2018). *The Panacea of touristification as a scenario of post-capitalist crisis.* David I (ed.) Crisis, Austerity, and Transformation: How Disciplinary Neoliberalism is Changing Portugal. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, pp.25–46.

Mendonça M. (2015). *The Tourismization of Ilha Grande, Brazil.* Tourism Research Frontiers: Beyond the Boundaries of Knowledge; Chambers, D., Tijana, R., 27–47.

Meng, F., Tepanon, Y., & Uysal, M. (2008). *Measuring tourist satisfaction by attribute and motivation: The case of a nature-based resort.* Journal of Vacation Marketing, 14(1), 41–56. doi:10.1177/1356766707084218

Mill, R. C., & Morrison, A. M. (1985). *The tourist system*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Mínguez, C., Piñeira, M. J., & Fernández-Tabales, A. (2019). *Social vulnerability and touristification of historic centers.* Sustainability, 11(16), 4478.

Mohamed, N., Taheri, B., Farmaki, A., Olya, H., & Gannon, M. J. (2020). *Stimulating satisfaction and loyalty: transformative behaviour and Muslim consumers.* International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 32(9), 2903-2923.

Monroe Sullivan, D., & Shaw, S. C. (2011). *Retail gentrification and race: The case of Alberta Street in Portland, Oregon.* Urban Affairs Review, 47(3), 413-432.

Mossberg, L. (2007). *A marketing approach to the tourist experience*. Scandinavian journal of hospitality and tourism, 7(1), 59-74. doi:10.1080/15022250701231915

Nofre, J., & Martins, J. C. (2017). *The Disneyfication of the neoliberal urban night.* Keep it Simple Make it Fast!, 1, 113-124. Universidade do Porto

Novy, J., & Colomb, C. (2013). *Struggling for the right to the (creative) city in Berlin and Hamburg: new urban social movements, new 'spaces of hope'?*. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(5), 1816-1838.

Nyden, P. W., Edlynn, E., & Davis, J. (2006). *The differential impact of gentrification on communities in Chicago*. Chicago, IL: Loyola University Chicago Center for Urban Research and Learning.

Oh, H., Fiore, A. M., & Jeoung, M. (2007). *Measuring experience economy concepts: Tourism applications.* Journal of Travel Research, 46(2), 119-132.

Otoo, F. E., Badu-Baiden, F., & Kim, S. (2019). *A qualitative cognitive appraisal of tourist harassment.* International Journal of Tourism Research, 21(5), 575-589.

Özalp, S., & Erkut, G. (2016). *Kamu yararı perspektifinden İstanbul'da kentsel müdahaleler.* Journal Agent, 26(3): 234-250

Pan, S. & Ryan, C. (2009) *Tourism sense-making: the role of the senses and travel journalism.* Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 26: 625–639.

Pan, S., Ting, P. H., & Bau, D. Y. (2014*). Perceptions of Taipei as revealed in travel blogs: A tale from two sides*. Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 19(6), 700-720.

Papathanassis A. & Knolle F. (2011). *Exploring the adoption and processing of online holiday reviews: A grounded theory approach*, 32(2), 215–224. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2009.12.005

Pasquinelli, C., & Bellini, N. (2017). *Global context, policies and practices in urban tourism: An introduction.* In Tourism in the city: Towards an integrative agenda on urban tourism (pp. 1-25). Springer, Charm. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-26877-4_1

Perpiña, L., Camprubí, R., & Prats, L. (2019). *Destination image versus risk perception*. Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research, 43(1), 3-19.

Phillips, M. (2005). *Differential productions of rural gentrification: illustrations from North and South Norfolk.* Geoforum, 36(4), 477-494.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1998). *The experience economy*. Harvard Business Press.

Polat, F. (2021, November 23). Bir çifte soylulaştırma mekanı: Galataport. *Evrensel.* Retrieved from https://www.evrensel.net/haber/448518/bir-cifte-soylulastirma-mekani-galataport

Prayag, G., Hosany, S., & Odeh, K. (2013). *The role of tourists' emotional experiences and satisfaction in understanding behavioral intentions.* Journal of Destination Marketing & Management, 2(2), 118-127.

Qu, H., Kim, L. H., & Im, H. H. (2011). *A model of destination branding: Integrating the concepts of the branding and destination image.* Tourism management, 32(3), 465-476.

Quan, S., & Wang, N. (2004). *Towards a structural model of the tourist experience: An illustration from food experiences in tourism.* Tourism management, 25(3), 297-305.

Radical Graffiti [@GraffitiRadical]. (2023, July 31). "Tourist, your luxury trip, my daily misery" Seen in Istanbul, Turkey. [Image] [Tweet]. *Twitter.* Retrieved from https://twitter.com/GraffitiRadical/status/1685989632368877568?s=20

Rickly, J. M., & McCabe, S. (2017). Authenticity for tourism design and experience. In *Design Science in tourism: Foundations of destination management* (pp. 55-68). Springer.

Riganti, P., & Nijkamp, P. (2008). *Congestion in popular tourist areas: A multi-attribute experimental choice analysis of willingness-to-wait in Amsterdam.* Tourism Economics, 14(1), 25-44.

Rodrik, D. (2016). *Premature deindustrialization.* Journal of economic growth, 21, 1-33.

Sahin İ., & Güzel, F. Ö. (2020). *Do experiential destination attributes create emotional arousal and memory? : A comparative research approach*. Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management, doi:10.1080/19368623.2020.1746214

Sahin, S., & Baloglu, S. (2011). *Brand personality and destination image of Istanbul.* Anatolia–An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research, 22(01), 69-88.

Sakarya, İ. (2011). *The role of the local municipalities in the urban regeneration projects of Istanbul.* In New Housing Researcher's Colloquium-Workshop (Vol. 4).

Salazar, N.B. (2009). *Imaged or Imagined? Cultural Representations and the. Tourismification" of Peoples and Places"*. Cahiers D'tudes Atricaines, 49, 49-71.

Seng, O. C. (2005). *State-civil society relations and tourism: Singaporeanizing tourists, touristifying Singapore.* Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia, 20(2), 249-272.

Şengül, T. (2016). *Gezi başkaldırısı ertesinde kent mekanı ve siyasal alanın yeni dinamikleri.* METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, 32(1).

Sequera, J., & Nofre, J. (2018). *Shaken, not stirred: New debates on touristification and the limits of gentrification.* City, 22(5-6), 843-855.

Seraphin, H., Sheeran, P., & Pilato, M. (2018). *Over-tourism and the fall of Venice as a destination.* Journal of Destination Marketing & Management, 9, 374-376.

Servidio, R., & Ruffolo, I. (2016). *Exploring the relationship between emotions and memorable tourism experiences through narratives.* Tourism Management Perspectives, 20, 151-160.

Sevgili, C., & Sezer, C. (2023, January 31). Turkey's tourism gains in war-hit 2022 but trade deficit widens. *Reuters.* Retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/markets/turkeys-tourism-gains-war-hit-2022-trade-deficit-widens-2023-01-31/

Shmool, J. L., Yonas, M. A., Newman, O. D., Kubzansky, L. D., Joseph, E., Parks, A., ... & Clougherty, J. E. (2015). *Identifying perceived neighborhood stressors across diverse communities in New York City.* American Journal of Community Psychology, 56, 145-155.

Simms A., Kjell P. & Potts R. (2004). Clone Town Britain Report. *New Economics Foundation.* Retrieved from https://neweconomics.org/uploads/files/1733ceec8041a9de5e_ubm6b6t6i.pdf

Skotis, A., & Livas, C. (2022). *A data-driven analysis of experience in urban historic districts.* Annals of Tourism Research Empirical Insights, 3(2), 100052.

Slater, T. (2004). *Municipally managed gentrification in south Parkdale, Toronto.* Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien, 48(3), 303-325.

Smith N. (1987). *Gentrification and the Rent Gap*. 77(3), 462–465. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.1987.tb00171.x

Soldatkin, V. and Stolyarov, G. (2021, April 12) Russia restricts flights to Turkey as political tensions rise. *Reuters.* Retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/russia-restricts-flights-turkey-covid-19-cases-increase-2021-04-12/

Sönmez, S. F., & Graefe, A. R. (1998). *Influence of terrorism risk on foreign tourism decisions.* Annals of tourism research, 25(1), 112-144.

Sorupia, E. (2005, September). *Rethinking the role of transportation in tourism.* In Proceedings of the Eastern Asia Society for Transportation Studies, Vol. 5, No. 11, pp. 1767-1777.

Spinney, A., Reynolds, M. A., Wulff, M., & Atkinson, R. (2011). *Gentrification and displacement: the household impacts of neighbourhood change.* Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Stamboulis, Y., & Skayannis, P. (2003). *Innovation strategies and technology for experience-based tourism.* Tourism management, 24(1), 35-43.

Sthapit, E. (2013). *Tourists' perceptions of memorable experiences: Testing the memorable tourism experience scale (MTEs) among tourists to Rovaniemi, Lapland.* [Master's thesis, University of Lapland].

Stors, N., & Kagermeier, A. (2013). *Crossing the border of the tourist bubble: Touristification in Copenhagen.* Tourismus und grenzen, 9, 115-131.

Tekin, İ., & Akgün Gültekin, A. (2017). *Rebuilding Of Beyoğlu-İstiklal Street: A Comparative Analysis Of Urban Transformation Through Sections Along The Street 2004-2014.*

Turkey: International tourism revenue, percent of GDP. (n.d.). *The Global Economy.* Retrieved June 20, 2023, from https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Turkey/international_tourism_revenue_to_GDP/

Turkey Tourism Revenue. (n.d.). CEIC DATA. Retrieved June 20, 2023, from https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/turkey/tourism-revenue

Turkey Tourism Revenue Growth. (n.d.). CEIC DATA. Retrieved June 20, 2023, from https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/turkey/tourism-revenue-growth

Turkey Visitor Arrivals Growth. (n.d.). CEIC DATA. Retrieved June 20, 2023, from https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/turkey/visitor-arrivals-growth

The Washington Post editöründen 'Keyfini çıkarın, ben aşılıyım' reklamı yorumu: Neredeyse sömürge zihniyetini andırıyor. (2021, May 14). *T24.* Retrieved from https://t24.com.tr/haber/the-washington-post-editorunden-keyfini-cikarin-ben-asiliyim-reklami-yorumu-neredeyse-somurge-zihniyetini-andiriyor,952349

Tiberghien, G., Bremner, H. and Milne, S. (2020) *Authenticity and disorientation in the tourism experience.* Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism, 30, 100283. doi: 10.1016/j.jort.2020.100283

Tim Freytag & Michael Bauder (2018) *Bottom-up touristification and urban transformations in Paris.* Tourism Geographies, 20:3, 443-460. doi: 10.1080/14616688.2018.1454504

Timur, S., & Getz, D. (2008). *A network perspective on managing stakeholders for sustainable urban tourism.* International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management.

Taksim Meydan Düzenlemesi. (2012). *TMMOB PMO*. Retrieved from www.peyzajmimoda. org.tr/ resimler/ekler/2ed1e6976d7f22d_ek.pdf.

Erdoğan: Topçu Kışlası AVM olacak. (2013, April 29) *Cumhuriyet.* Retrieved from https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/erdogan-topcu-kislasi-avm-olacak-418826

Tonbul, Z. (2011). *Politics of renovation: urban regeneration the case of Tarlabaşı, İstanbul. In Fourth International Symposium on Architectural Theory".* Fourth International Symposium on Architectural Theory, Beirut.

Tosun C., Temizkan S. P., Timothy D. J., & Fyall A. (2007). *Tourist shopping experiences and satisfaction*. 9(2), 87–102. doi:10.1002/jtr.595

Investor relations. (2023, April 13). *TripAdvisor.* Retrieved from https://ir.tripadvisor.com/#:~:text=Tripadvisor%20is%20the%20world's%20largest%20travel%20site&text=As%20a%20travel%20guidance%20company,The%20subsidiaries%20of%20Tripadvisor%2C%20Inc.

Tsaur, S. H., & Lo, P. C. (2020). *Measuring memorable dining experiences and related emotions in fine dining restaurants.* Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management, 29(8), 887-910.

Tse D.K. and Wilton P.C. (1988) *Models of consumer satisfaction formation: An extension.* Journal of Marketing Research 25(2):204–212.

Türkün A. Sarıoğlu A., Çarıkçı Ç. (2021). *Tarihi Kent Merkezlerinin Yeniden Yapılanmasında Belirleyici Faktörler ve Olası Senaryolar: Istanbul Beyoğlu Örnegi.* TÜBİTAK ULAKBİM TR Dizin.

Ünsal, B. O. (2015). *Impacts of the Tarlabaşı urban renewal project:(forced) eviction, dispossession and deepening poverty.* WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment, 193, 45-56.

Ünsal, Ö., & Kuyucu, T. (2010). *Challenging the neoliberal urban regime: Regeneration and resistance in Başıbüyük and Tarlabaşı.* Orienting Istanbul: cultural capital of Europe, 51-70.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze.* London: Sage

Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze 3.0.* Sage.

Urry, J. (2002). *The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Uysal, Ü. E. (2006). "Soylulaştırma Kuramlarının İstanbul'da Uygulanabilirliği: Cihangir Örneği". *Planlama Dergisi*

Uzun, N. (2000). "Cihangir ve Kuzguncuk'da Sosyal ve Mekansal Yenilenme; Eski Kentte Yeni Konut Dokusu". *İstanbul Dergisi*, sayı 35.

Van der Duim, R. (2007). *Tourismscapes an actor-network perspective.* Annals of Tourism research, 34(4), 961-976.

Van der Zee, E., Bertocchi, D. & Vanneste, D. (2020) *Distribution of tourists within urban heritage destinations: a hot spot/cold spot analysis of TripAdvisor data as support for destination management*. Current Issues in Tourism, 23:2, 175-196, DOI: 10.1080/13683500.2018.1491955

Van der Zee, E., van der Borg, J., & Vanneste, D. (2017). *The Destination Triangle. In Knowledge Transfer to and within Tourism.* Emerald Publishing Limited.

Van Gent, W., & Hochstenbach, C. (2020). *The impact of gentrification on social and ethnic segregation.* In Handbook of Urban Segregation. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Van Hoven, B. (2005). *Multi-sensory tourism in the Great Bear Rainforest.* Power, 48.

Vardar, N. (2013, December 24). Beyoğlu imar planları iptal. *Bianet.* https://m.bianet.org/kurdi/toplum/152308-Beyoğlu-imar-planlari-iptal

Vardar, N. (2017a, July 20). Beyoğlu İmar Planları İkinci Kez İptal Edildi, Peki Neyi Kapsıyor? *Bianet.* Retrieved from https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/188446-Beyoğlu-imar-planlari-ikinci-kez-iptal-edildi-peki-neyi-kapsiyor

Vardar, N. (2017b, March 2). Mimarlar Odası Galataport İnşaatı Hakkında Suç Duyurusunda Bulundu. *Bianet.* Retrieved from https://bianet.org/haber/mimarlar-odasi-galataport-insaati-hakkinda-suc-duyurusunda-bulundu-184138

Vittersø, J., Vorkinn, M., Vistad, O. I., & Vaagland, J. (2000). *Tourist experiences and attractions.* Annals of Tourism Research, 27(2), 432-450.

Volo, S. (2017). *Emotions in tourism: From exploration to design.* Design science in tourism: Foundations of Destination Management, 31-40.

Volo, S. (2021). *The experience of emotion: Directions for tourism design.* Annals of Tourism Research, 86, 103097.

Wang, F., Li, J., Yu, F., He, H., & Zhen, F. (2018). *Space, function, and vitality in historic areas: The tourismification process and spatial order of Shichahai in Beijing.* International Journal of Tourism Research, 20(3), 335-344.

Wilder, V., Mirto, A. L., Makoba, E., & Arniella, G. (2017). *The health impact of gentrification.* J Gen Emerg Med, 4, 1981-1991.

Wilson, A. (2018, August 9). Holidays to Turkey rise as lira hits record low against pound. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2018/aug/09/holiday-bookings-to-turkey-rise-as-lira-hits-all-time-low-against-pound

Wong, I. A.; Wan, Y. K. P. (2013*). A Systematic Approach to Scale Development in Tourist Shopping Satisfaction: Linking Destination Attributes and Shopping Experience.* Journal of Travel Research, 52(1), 29–41. doi:10.1177/0047287512457263

Xie, C., Huang, Q., Lin, Z., & Chen, Y. (2020). *Destination risk perception, image and satisfaction: The moderating effects of public opinion climate of risk.* Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management, 44, 122-130.

Yeginsu, C. (2020, December 8). Istanbul Is Locking Down. But Not if You're a Tourist. The *New York Times.*Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/08/travel/istanbul-tourists-curfew.html

Yeni Düzenleme Airbnb'yi Bitirir Mi?. (2023, November 1). *Bloomberg HT*. Retrieved from https://www.bloomberght.com/yeni-duzenleme-airbnbyi-bitirir-mi-2341149

Yetiskul, E., Kayasü, S., & Ozdemir, S. Y. (2016). *Local responses to urban redevelopment projects: The case of Beyoğlu, Istanbul.* Habitat international, 51, 159-167.

Yırtıcı, H. (2020, November 5). Galata Kulesi'nin bugününü tasarlamak. *Gazete Duvar.* Retrieved from https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/galata-kulesinin-bugununu-tasarlamak-makale-1503564

Young, B. (1983). *Touristization of traditional Maltese fishing-farming villages: A general model.* Tourism Management, 4(1), 35-41.

Zatori, A. (2013). *Tourism Experience creation from a business perspective* [Doctoral Dissertation, Corvinus University of Budapest]

Zeithaml, V. & Bitner, M. J. (2003) *Services Marketing.* 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.