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AirBnB's Socio-Economic Effects to Neighborhood Dynamics: Besiktas, Istanbul

AirBnB'nin Mahalle Dinamiklerine Sosyo-Ekonomik Etkisi: Beşiktaş, İstanbul

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ÖZ

İnternet teknolojilerinin gelişmesiyle birlikte P2P paylaşım ekonomisi modelleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışma, P2P paylaşımli ekonomi konut platformlarından biri olan Airbnb'nin sosyo-ekonomik etkilerini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Airbnb kavramı ilk olarak literatür taraması ile incelenmiştir. Airbnb'nin İstanbul'daki hâcmi Airbnb web sitesine erişilerek analiz edilmiş ve vaka çalışması için Airbnb'nin en yoğun kullanılan bölgelerinden biri olan Beşiktaş seçilmiştir. Vaka çalışması için üç grup aktör tanımlanmıştır: (i) mülk sahipleri, (ii) misafirler ve (iii) komşular. Bu aktörlerden oluşan bir örneklem (n= 40) ile yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Vaka çalışmasından elde edilen sonuçlara göre, mülk sahipleri ekonomik fayda sağlamakta ve genel olarak farklı kültürden misafirleriyle iyi vakit geçirmektedir. Misafirler, kendilerini daha yerel hissettikleri, ekonomik ve biricik bir konaklama deneyimi yaşamaktadır. Komşuların bazıları Airbnb'nin çevrede tanımadıkları insanlar kısa süreli konakladığı için güvenlik tehdidi oluşturduğunu düşünmektedir. Bazıları ise mahalleye Airbnb ile gelen canlılıktan memnundur. Aktörler arası ilişkiler bağlamında gelişen; ekonomik fayda, kültürler arası paylaşım, sosyalleşme, gürlüğü, hırsızlık, ırkçılık, güven, hijyen, güvenlik tehdidi gibi kodlar Airbnb'nin mahalle dinamiklerine etkisi bağlamında bu çalışma ile üretilmiştir.

ABSTRACT

With the development of Internet technologies, P2P sharing economy models have emerged. This study aims to reveal the socio-economic effects of Airbnb, one of the P2P sharing economy housing platforms. In this study, the Airbnb concept was investigated first by the literature review. The volume of Airbnb in Istanbul was analyzed by accessing the Airbnb website. Besiktas district, which is one of the most used areas of Airbnb, was selected for the case study. For the case study, three groups of actors were identified: (i) the hosts, (ii) the guests and (iii) the neighbors. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a sample (n=40) of these actors. According to the results of the field study, the hosts derive economic benefits, and also they enjoy the time spent with guests from different cultural backgrounds. The guests benefit from affordable and unique accommodation options where they feel more like a local. Some of the neighbors are in the opinion that Airbnb poses security threats for the fact that they do not know the people who rent these short-term accommodations. On the other hand, some of the neighbors are pleased that Airbnb reinvigorates the economy in the neighborhoods. With this study, codes such as economic benefit, cross-cultural sharing, socialization, noise, robbery, racism, thrust, hygiene, security threat etc. developed within the context of the relationship of actors are generated in relation to Airbnb's impact on dynamics of neighborhoods.

1. Introduction

Together with the developing social technologies, concepts such as "sharing, bartering, lending, trading, renting, and swapping" have recently been widely placed in our lives. The sharing economy, which has emerged in the last ten years, enables peer-to-peer (P2P) use of products, transportation, and houses through online platforms.

Following the economic crisis that affected the whole world in 2008, sharing economy models became widespread worldwide (Killick, 2015).

It can be said that while the sharing economy provides solutions that make life easier for individuals, it also creates new environmental, economic, and sociological problems. Although sharing has been an important concept throughout

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history, it is only recently that commodities are being shared with strangers via Internet.

Digital technology companies, often supported by venture capital, have created platforms where people can share unused or underused goods and services with those who want to use them for a short time (Riley, 2012).

Sharing with a stranger, especially on P2P platforms offered by social technologies, has become an everyday habit. On P2P platforms, mutual parties' leaving comments and scoring each other, increases the reliability of these environments. In addition to the characteristics of the sharing object, people choose the person to share, based on the previous comments and score. This process makes sharing with a stranger less risky and more attractive (Oskam and Boswijk, 2016).

There are studies compiled in the literature, with the opinions of the users of P2P sharing economy platforms. However, there are only a few studies regarding the impact of these platforms on society. This study aims to reveal the social effects of Airbnb, one of the P2P sharing economy housing platforms, in the neighborhood.

The scope of the study conducted covers only the Airbnb platform, which was founded by three students (Gallagher, 2017). Airbnb is a system established in 2008 where a host leases his entire home or part of it to another person or people on a short-term journey (Jefferson-Jones, 2014).

Airbnb is based on the logic of matching people who lease their homes or parts of them with those seeking short-term rentals. Airbnb has 150M users, 6M houses, with 2M accommodations per night, and 35B USD value in 190 countries around the world. Airbnb's total number of leasable venues worldwide is higher than that provided by chain hotels such as Hilton, Intercontinental, and Marriott (Mudallal, 2015).

In this study, the Airbnb concept was investigated first by the literature review. The volume of Airbnb in Istanbul was analyzed by accessing the Airbnb website. The area selected for the case study is Besiktas district, where Airbnb is quite common. For the case study, three groups of actors were identified: (1) the hosts (2) the guests and (3) the neighbors. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a sample (n=40) of these actors. The raw qualitative data obtained from the interviews were processed by the content analysis method.

In the literature review part of this study, the socio-economic effects of Airbnb in the context of Airbnb phenomenon and neighborhood dynamics have been set forth conceptually. Then, the method, research design, and field data derived from the case study are presented. In the discussion part of this study, the results of the case study conducted in Besiktas district and the existing literature data were compared. In conclusion, the socio-economic effects of Airbnb in the context of different actors are emphasized.

2. Literature Review

With the development of Internet technologies, online peer-to-peer (P2P) sharing economy models have emerged. Online payment systems, pricing, and matching algorithms, user-friendly types of software are standard tools of peer-to-peer sharing economy platforms. P2P platforms have their own rules and function as a trusted third party, where they provide an environment of trust between the parties. In general, they earn money from each transaction by receiving a transaction fee or commission. P2P platforms allow consumers to share products, houses, or services instead of buying them and they have the potential to improve consumer welfare by reducing costs associated with adverse outcomes such as environmental pollution, and waste (Benjafaar et al., 2015). In addition to economic and ecological benefits, sharing economy platforms are an online environment where individuals can communicate, share experiences, meet others and socialize. The motivation behind the sharing economy is to benefit from unused or underused goods. The P2P sharing economy platform that this study focuses on is Airbnb, which allows people to share their homes or part of them with others.

2.1. AirBnB Concept

In large cities, the sharing economy has a significant volume. The peer-to-peer sharing economy platforms, which have been in use for the last ten years, are more economical and user-friendly, offering more opportunities than traditional methods. Airbnb, a short-term accommodation rental platform, has introduced a new approach to the tourism sector, and this process has been described in the literature as the post-tourism period (Jefferson-Jones, 2014).

Airbnb emphasizes that it provides an authentic accommodation experience to people by sharing their home in promotional campaigns, and offers the opportunity to maximize the use of unused spaces (Finck and Ranchordas, 2016; Schor, 2014).

Founded in 2008 in San Francisco, Airbnb has become a worldwide phenomenon with exponentially increasing popularity. While Airbnb transforms millions of people into part-time entrepreneurs (Geron, 2013); Brian Chesky, Airbnb's Chief Executive Officer, stated that Airbnb is nothing new. According to Chesky, Airbnb is an old idea (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). Airbnb does not own the place or property listed on its page. It provides a P2P platform for secure exchange between hosts and guests (Geron, 2013).

Germann Molz (2011) states that Airbnb offers a different accommodation experience to a new generation of travelers, and define Airbnb as a network of hospitality. This different accommodation experience is a valuable opportunity to integrate the time spent with non-professional landlords in a private property and maybe with the locals (Bialski, 2012). In other words, Airbnb offers a more authentic way of traveling to those who choose to be travelers rather than

tourists (Steylaerts and O'Dubhghall, 2011). This so-called new urban tourism (Füller and Michel, 2014) does not imply that people have diverged from touristic highlights altogether; instead, they mix visiting these highlights with more local areas (Maitland, 2010). In the cities, it is seen that an increasing number of visitors are moving away from the touristic areas to find accommodation in settlements close to the historical center not organized for tourism (Maitland, 2010; Ioannides et al., 2018). Airbnb defines itself as a platform that meets the demands of new city travelers, providing unique and authentic accommodation and travel experiences while offering the chance to meet local people. By renting a house or a part of it, talking to a local host (Belarmino et al., 2017) unlike a touristic trip, you can live as a temporary resident (Russo and Quagliari, 2016). In addition to these social factors, experiencing this locality with decent prices is the economic component of Airbnb's success (Oskam and Boswijk, 2016; Gutiérrez et al., 2017; Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2016).

In line with the data provided by Airbnb on its web page; 79% of travelers want to explore a specific neighborhood, and 91% want to experience "living like a local". 74% of Airbnb's properties are located outside the main hotel areas, while Airbnb guests stay 2,1 times longer than regular visitors, 42% of these expenses are spent in the neighborhoods where guests stay. Airbnb claims to benefit local economies all over the world by supporting local people and businesses and encouraging cultural exchange. (<https://www.airbnb.com/tr/economic-impact>).

Despite Airbnb's improvements on productivity and its ability to generate income for homeowners, there are concerns about the economic and welfare effects of Airbnb's presence on the housing market (van der Zee, 2016). In addition to the opportunities that Airbnb offers as a sharing economy model, it also has adverse effects, especially in the context of neighborhood dynamics.

2.2. AirBnB in the Context of Neighborhood Dynamics

In terms of the adverse effects of Airbnb, most cities focus on two issues. These are the scarcity of accessible housing and the social impact of short-term rentals on neighborhood dynamics. The structure of Airbnb, which poses a threat to classical tourism, does not concern the public (Guttentag, 2015).

Local people say that online short-term housing rental vehicles such as Airbnb are getting increasingly crowded and causing an increase in rents (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand, 2017). In times of housing crisis, Airbnb provides a solution to the problem by providing additional income to people who have difficulty in paying their rents or mortgages. It is seen that Airbnb creates a vital economy in the USA with its job opportunities (Zervas et al., 2017). Businesses that provide services not only to the host but also to the guests, from significant disruptions to full management services, also offer economic benefits. Despite

the economic benefits provided by Airbnb, there is a growing worldwide response to the adverse effects of Airbnb in the neighborhood. The noise, traffic, parking problems, waste management, and security problems associated with guests, cause concern in the neighborhood (Gallagher, 2017; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017). For example, in Barcelona, Airbnb has led to the loss of local culture and harmony in the neighborhood (Gallagher, 2017).

Another significant social impact of Airbnb is that it increases the effect of gentrification in the housing sector (Cócola Gant, 2015; Füller and Michel, 2014). Commercial investors purchase housing in the neighborhood and convert them into Airbnb units and generate economic benefits (Gurran and Phibbs, 2017). In this process, residents have to bear the financial burden of rising prices in the rents, retail and service sectors (Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Lines, 2015).

For example, the expansion of Airbnb in New York led to a 6-11% increase in property values (Sheppard and Udell, 2016). Increased property values are positive for hosts, but for those who have difficulty paying increased rents, this gentrification effect results with displacement. In addition to direct displacement, the increase in housing and rental prices is having an exclusive impact for those who want to move to the neighborhood (Cócola Gant, 2016). Another economic problem created by Airbnb for the entire society is that the hosts are not taxed on this exchange (Oskam and Boswijk, 2016).

In the current literature, three regulatory approaches to these socio-economic problems posed by Airbnb have been identified: (1) prohibition, (2) laissez-faire economic system and (3) specific restrictions (Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Miller, 2014; Guttentag, 2015). Of these approaches, laissez-faire should not be considered as a regulation since no concrete measures have been taken. Prohibition is not found to be an appropriate solution. In some regions, local governments place tax on transactions made through Airbnb and if prohibited this shall cause loss of revenue (Jefferson-Jones, 2014), which will arise a lot of reaction (Lines, 2015). Therefore, limiting Airbnb is seen as the most logical approach.

Restrictions can be divided into quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative restrictions can be defined as the limitations on leased units, number of guests, number of days leased, how many times an Airbnb can be rented at most in a year, Airbnb rentals being allowed only in certain locations or maximum limit to the Airbnb units in the neighborhood (Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Guttentag, 2015; Gottlieb, 2013; Miller, 2014; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017). Qualitative restrictions include elements such as accommodation type and availability of a smoke detector. Leasing license requirements of hosts should be taken into consideration together with qualitative and quantitative restrictions (Guttentag, 2015; Miller, 2014). However, different arrangements are needed for different countries and cities since no same strategy can be applied for all due to different conditions of each location (Gurran and Phibbs, 2017;

Guttentag, 2015; Edelman and Geradin, 2016). Some cities that lack traditional accommodation capacity need the Airbnb model to promote tourism whereas some cities want to ban or restrict Airbnb because of its security threat, taxation and other socio-economic impacts (Oskam and Boswijk, 2016). To date, many regulations have been unsuccessful because Airbnb's innovative character is ignored and it is treated as a traditional business company (Espinosa, 2016). However, in the Airbnb model, Airbnb company itself does not hold any responsibility, the exclusive responsibility lies on the hosts (Lines, 2015).

3. Case Study

Following the conceptual framework of the Airbnb concept and the socio-economic impact of Airbnbs' to neighborhood dynamics, a case study was conducted in Besiktas, Istanbul. In this section, the method, scope, sample of the field research, and the data obtained from the field will be presented.

3.1. Method

Besiktas, one of the settlements in Istanbul where Airbnb circulation is the most intense, was selected for the case study to reveal the socio-economic effects of Airbnb. Since the influence of neighborhood dynamics of Airbnb has different meanings for different actors, the sample set is represented by three groups of actors. The sample-set (n=40) consists of three groups of actors as hosts, guests, and neighbors, which were randomly selected from the accessible research universe.

In the field study, structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the hosts (n=11), guests (n=14) and neighbors (n=15) for each group. The research was carried out between 15 July to 15 August 2019, including the official holiday of sacrifice feast and the super cup final (Liverpool vs. Chelsea).

First of all, Airbnb hosts in the neighborhood already known were contacted and asked for help in reaching their guests. Afterwards, local people were interviewed as the actor group, neighbors. The scope of the research has been limited with Besiktas district of Istanbul and three actor groups.

Different structured interviews were designed for different groups of actors. The questions for in-depth interviews to be made with hosts, guests, and neighbors are given in Table 1. The qualitative data were processed with the content analysis method. With the data obtained, first the themes and then the codes were created.

Table 1. In-Depth Interview Questions- Actor groups

Hosts
- How long have you been renting your property on a daily basis?
- How did you decide to rent your house daily?
- How do you entrust your home with a stranger?
- Is there a high demand for daily rental housing?
- Are you renting the entire house or part of it?
- What are the common characteristics of people renting daily housing?
- Has there been any change in the neighborhood dynamics after people started daily renting their houses in the neighborhood?
- Do you think daily housing is a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood?
- Do you think daily rental housing provides any added value? What do you think these added values are?
- Through which platform do you rent?
Guests
- Have you rented daily housing before?
- Why do you rent daily housing instead of staying in a touristic facility?
- Through which platform did you rent this residence?
- Based on which properties did you choose this residence?
- Do you rent the entire house or part of it?
- What are your expectations from the daily rental houses?
- Do you think daily rental housing provides any added value?
- What do you think are these added values of daily rental housing?
- Do you think daily housing is a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood?
- What were the positive experiences with your Airbnb accommodation?
- What were negative experiences with your Airbnb accommodation?
- Do you plan to rent daily housing in the future?
Neighbors
- Who rents Airbnb in your neighborhood?
- What is the common feature of Airbnb guests?
- What are the prominent features of your neighborhood?
- What are the prominent negative features of your neighborhood?
- Has there been any change in the neighborhood dynamics after daily house renting started in your neighborhood?
- Do you think daily housing is a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood?
- Do you think there is any added value provided by Airbnb rentals?
- What is the added value of Airbnb rentals?

3.2. Presentation of Field Data

Area related data were classified on actor basis.

(i) Hosts

Interviewed hosts have been renting their homes on Airbnb for 1-4 years. Some of the hosts stated that they did not use any other sites such as sahibinden.com for posting daily

rentals, and that they considered Airbnb's reciprocal comment system as secure.

The hosts stated that the primary purpose of renting a house through Airbnb is to generate income, and the secondary aim is to meet foreigners (mainly Europeans). Developing language skills by sharing their homes with people from different cultures is another motivation of Airbnb hosts.

Airbnb builds trust between the host and the guests based on their mutual comments. Hosts' priority filter when evaluating guests' offers is the comments posted under their profiles. Another criterion is the profiles of the guests. There are factors such as appearance, sex, race, country of residence, and education. An offer sent by a Northern European woman to the host is to be accepted several times more likely than an offer sent by a Middle Eastern man. Both hosts and neighbors feel distant towards the Middle Easterners. Hosts stated that they do not prefer to rent their houses to the guests from Middle East due to past poor experiences such as difference in perception of hygiene, daily habits, and damage to the property.

Hosts stated that Airbnb is very common in Besiktas and they personally chose to stay with Airbnb whenever they travel abroad. Hosts have stated that depending on their needs sometimes they rent only a room and sometimes the entire house. A few hosts stated that they would be ready to leave their property in case a nice offer comes up for the renting of the entire place. Those same hosts also noted that when they rent out their entire property, they stay with their families or friends.

Hosts gave the following answers when they were asked about the characteristic features of Airbnb and their guests; people who (1) seek economic accommodation, (2) want to live like a local and experience the local culture, (3) prefer to stay in a home environment rather than a hotel, (4) seek new adventures, (5) wish to be in close contact with locals and experience the local culture. In addition to these characteristic features, it is stated that guests want to be social, they do not want to be imprisoned in a hotel, they want to stay in a central settlement, and they plan to benefit from the extra facilities such as gardens, terraces, and kitchens.

When hosts were asked about the short-term renting of residences in their neighborhood and whether there was any change in the neighborhood dynamics, their answers were as follows: "Other people also started to rent their properties on Airbnb"; "the neighbors sometimes have complaints"; "more foreigners are visiting the neighborhood"; "tradesmen generate higher income as tourists shop around"; "the rent prices have increased in the neighborhood". One of the hosts said that he is planning to rent another house himself so that he can put it up on Airbnb, and generate more revenue.

When hosts were asked whether Airbnb posed any threat to the social structure of the neighborhood; they stated that the neighbors regard the people in the housing area whom they

don't know as a security threat. Also, they stated that some people rent their houses for the purpose of making new friends, which brings more foreigners to the neighborhood and rather than considering this as a negative influence they perceive this as an opportunity to integrate with the rest of the world. In this question, the hosts mentioned once more that the guests from Middle East countries are not wanted in the neighborhood, and that there had been some reactions in the past. They underlined some bad past experiences such as robbery and damage to the houses rented on Airbnb, and therefore they emphasized the importance of selecting the guests carefully. One of the hosts stated that Airbnb did not pose a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood, while another noted that the neighbors were satisfied with this diversity as more foreigners came to the neighborhood.

When hosts were asked about the added value provided by Airbnb, the answers were as follows; (1) deriving economic income, (2) meeting new people, (3) guests make financial savings, (4) guests have unique local experiences, (5) supporting small entrepreneurs instead of extensive hotel facilities. In addition to this, hosts stated that they helped the guests about their touristic visit of Istanbul, and prevented them from being overcharged when travelling around, and gave them advices on places to visit, and these arise cultural interactions, and that the diversity in the neighborhood has increased.

(ii) Guests

All of the guests interviewed booked an entire house or a private room in a house through Airbnb. Most of the guests have rented a place on Airbnb before, and most are considering to rent again in the future. All guests interviewed are foreign nationals, and one of them was an Iranian national who the hosts and neighbors had cast out. The guests interviewed rented mostly the entire house. The reason they stated was to have the opportunity to live like a local for a while in a residence and neighborhood where they would not afford to live otherwise.

When the guests are asked why they rent Airbnb instead of staying in a touristic facility, they gave the following answers; (1) it is economical, (2) it is a more comfortable environment, (3) because they like the style of the house, (4) they want to have a unique local experience. Some of the guests stated that they found it more economical and comfortable to stay as a group in a house rather than having to book a couple of hotel rooms since they were crowded. Some preferred to stay in a property with a kitchen and terrace because this way they could save money by cooking instead of dining out. A few of these guests reported that they had friends who visited them in their Airbnb unit, and they had a very pleasant evening.

When the guests were asked which characteristic features, they preferred the Airbnb for, the answers were as follows; (1) location, (2) price, (3) capacity, (4) style of the home, (5) the possibilities of the house, (6) comments, (7) cleanliness.

When guests were asked what they expect from an Airbnb, the answers were as follows; (1) should be in a central location, (2) should be economical, (3) should be clean, (4) should have comfortable beds, (5) and should be safe. In addition to this, the fact that the owner is friendly, understanding, and helpful is among the priority expectations of the guests. Some guests have added that for short-term rentals they expect to have enough kitchen equipment to prepare meals, and a washing machine in the Airbnb.

When guests were asked whether Airbnb provides any added value or not; all but one person said that it does. That one person said that he had no idea about this. Those who believed Airbnb provides added value have mostly stated that the host generated an economic income and the guest saved money compared to when staying in a hotel. Furthermore, the guests stated that the social interaction between hosts, guests and neighbors is a very valuable factor. They explained that they had opportunity to save money both by renting a single property as a group and by shopping from local shops in the neighborhood.

When guests were asked whether Airbnb poses a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood; 4 people stated that it does, whereas 11 people expressed that it does not. The most obvious idea in the minds of those who think that Airbnb poses a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood is that it represents a security threat by leading to strangers staying in a neighborhood for a short time. Some of the guests said it may be true that neighbors feel their privacy may have been violated and therefore they may feel uncomfortable.

When guests were asked about the positive experiences of their stay, they answered as; (1) budget of stay, (2) staying in a fairly central neighborhood, (3) the bed being comfortable, (4) having a kitchen, (5) the view of the house being beautiful, (6) the cleanliness of the Airbnb being satisfactory, (7) the host being polite, helpful, and warm-hearted. A few of the guests stated that they had the opportunity to live like a local in a house where they would never have the chance to live otherwise for a long time.

When guests were asked about the negative experiences of their stay, they answered as; (1) the apartment being old, (2) the residence and spaces being small, (3) the neighborhood being a noisy area and (4) the bathroom and kitchen being old, (5) presence of flies, (6) not being very clean, (7) access being difficult. One of the guests expressed his discomfort about an issue that he was not expecting where the host demanded a cleaning fee even though it was not mentioned before and he had to pay an extra charge of 80 TL, which was about 15 USD. Two of the guests stated that they did not have any negative experiences.

(iii) Neighbors

In the Besiktas district, where Airbnbs are very common, when the neighbors were asked about the people in the neighborhood who rented their houses, their answer was that

mostly foreigners rented their houses. When neighbors were asked about the common characteristics of the guests, the answers were as follows; (1) foreign nationals, (2) young people, (3) people with low-income, (4) crowded groups, (5) people who are adventurous.

When the neighbors were asked about the prominent positive features of their neighborhood, they gave the following answers: (1) it's a central location, (2) all residents know each other, (3) tradespeople are friendly, (4) neighbor relations are strong, (5) robbery is not common. Also, due its central location Besiktas is a neighborhood with easy access to the entire city by public transport. When the neighbors were asked about the negative features of the neighborhood, the most common answers were; housings are very old, there is a parking problem, the rental costs are very high, it is a very noisy area since a lot of students wander in the streets until late at night.

When neighbors were asked if there were any changes in the dynamics of the neighborhood after Airbnb daily house rentals have started in the neighborhood, they answered as follows; (1) Airbnb is becoming more and more common in the neighborhood, (2) foreigners wandering in the street are usually guests of the Airbnb, (3) most Airbnb renting take place between May-September, and (4) residents no longer recognize the people who enter the apartments. Two of the neighbors are of the opinion that Airbnb did not cause any changes in the neighborhood dynamics.

When neighbors were asked whether Airbnb's short-term rental housings pose a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood; 11 of them said it does whereas 4 of them said it does not. The most common concern of those who think Airbnb poses a threat to the social structure of the neighborhood is the security threat created by it, and the reason for this is that people no longer recognize those in their neighborhood. Some of the neighbors stated that the parking facilities in the neighborhood, which are already limited, have become more problematic as the result of Airbnb rentals. While a significant number of neighbors described the most prominent problem posed by Northern European tourists as noise, almost all of them stated that they did not want a Middle Easterner in their next door. When people were asked why they don't want a Middle Easterner as a neighbor, they pointed out that there are some cultural differences such as issue of hygiene and family structure; they also expressed their concern about robbery.

A neighbor explained that especially young and crowded groups are listening to loud music until late at night and disturb the other residents by their weekday entertainments; neighbors' approach to this issue is relatively moderate during the weekends.

One of the neighbors reported that he had met a group of young people at the market and had a good time chatting with them, and this pleased him. A few of the neighbors stressed that criminals prefer to stay in an Airbnb the system does not require identity registration from the guests. Some

neighbors have stated that foreign nationals staying at Airbnb rentals in the Besiktas neighborhood also shop in restaurants and go to cafe there, which is considered as an advantage for the tradespeople.

When the neighbors were asked if there was any added value provided by Airbnb, 12 of them said yes whereas 3 of them said no. The neighbors emphasized that only resulting added value is the revenue that the hosts generate.

Themes obtained from the socio-economic evaluation of Airbnb from interviews with owners, guests and neighbors are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Themes obtained from the socio-economic evaluation of Airbnb from interviews

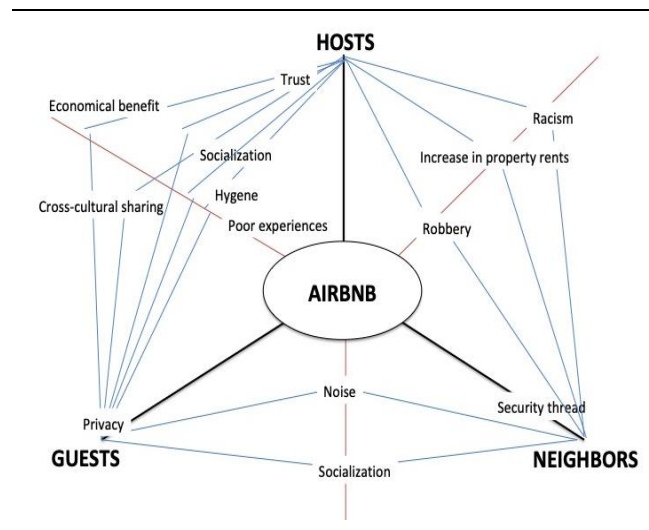
Themes	Actors
Airbnb is based on providing economic benefit to parties.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Cultural sharing environment.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Security vulnerability in the neighborhood.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Neighbor complaints in residential areas	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Issue of racism during Airbnb bookings.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
The opportunity to experience local life with local people rather than staying in a standard hotel.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Complaints about guests who do not comply with the general rules of the neighborhood or housing units.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Hosts having exclusive responsibility throughout the entire process.	Hosts Guests Neighbors
Experience the local culture and get the chance to live, for a short-term, in a settlement where one would not otherwise afford to live in.	Hosts Guests
Prices are more affordable than hotels.	Hosts Guests
Having a kitchen where you can cook reduces dining out costs.	Hosts Guests
Bad experiences	Hosts Guests
When you open a house to an unfamiliar person, you may be exposed to individual problems of that person.	Hosts
Neighbors generally don't like having foreigners in the neighborhood.	Neighbors

Codes have been developed as the result of in-depth interviews made with Hosts, Guests and Neighbors. Hosts and guests are the two actor groups those have the most direct relationship, and the most important code arising from this relationship is the economic benefit. Cross-cultural sharing and socializing are the positive codes arising from this relationship. Whereas hygiene, thrust, privacy and bad experiences are the negative codes arising from the

relationship of these two actors. Socializing is listed as a positive and noise and security threat is listed as negative codes arising from the relationship between the guests and the neighbors. In the relationship network of hosts and neighbors, it is seen that both parties demonstrate a racist approach towards some guests and this is listed as a negative code. Another negative code arising from the relationship of hosts and neighbors is the concern for robbery.

Codes obtained from the socio-economic evaluation of Airbnb from interviews with owners, guests and neighbors are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Codes obtained from the socio-economic evaluation of Airbnb from interviews



4. Discussion

In this section, the data obtained from the field study is discussed from literature perspective. Discussion is classified according to codes obtained from the field.

(i) Economic benefit

Airbnb does not own any property; the purpose of the Airbnb is to provide to hosts a platform where they can rent their properties for short term. Airbnb turned a lot of people around the world into part-time entrepreneurs. A lot of people join Airbnb system, this commercial initiative, in order to gain an economic benefit. According to the big companies in the sector, the motivation behind the sharing economy is to benefit from less used goods, and the field study carried out in Besiktas supports this perspective.

Airbnb claims to benefit local economies around the world by supporting the local people and businesses (<https://www.airbnb.com.tr/economic-impact>) and the results obtained in the field study in Besiktas are similar. Airbnb also believes that in times of housing crisis the platform provides additional income to people who have difficulty paying their rents or mortgages (Oskam and Boswijk, 2016). Year 2019 when the field study in Besiktas has been carried out, can be considered as a rough period for

Turkey in economic terms. Therefore, the primary motivation of people who put their property or part of them up on Airbnb was to gain economic benefit. Renting through Airbnb has become a very common side business.

The field study in Besiktas also supports the idea that Airbnb creates a significant economy with the job opportunities created in the USA (Zervas et al., 2017).

Sheppard and Udell's (2016) findings that the expansion of Airbnb in New York led to a 6-11% increase in property values, are in line with the field work in this study. Cocola Gant's (2016) stated that Airbnb increases property values, as a positive outcome for hosts, and that this leads to gentrification in the neighborhood. However, in the Besiktas field study, no evidence confirming the above statement was found.

Another problem caused by Airbnb is the tax issue as identified by Oskam and Boswijk (2016), where it is highlighted that no tax is imposed on landlords in relation to Airbnb transactions. Another view raised in this regard is Lines's (2015) opinion that the hosts should be responsible for taxation not the Airbnb company. This view expressed in literature issued until now is parallel with the data obtained from the field study carried out in Besiktas.

(ii) Cross-cultural Sharing

The second most important motivation for the hosts and guests is the cross-cultural sharing environment created during the stays at Airbnbs. This position has been addressed in earlier studies. According to Gutiérrez et al.'s study in 2017, in addition to its economic benefits, sharing economy platforms are online environments where individuals can communicate, share experiences and meet others. The data from field study in Besiktas supports this prevailing tendency.

The field study carried out in Besiktas supports Finck and Ranchordas' (2016) statement that Airbnb provides an authentic accommodation experience to residents by sharing their home in promotional campaigns, while offering homeowners the opportunity to maximize the benefits of unused areas.

The idea that Maitland (2010) and Ioannides et al. (2018) demonstrate in their works "an increasing number of people visiting cities are moving away from touristic areas to find accommodation close to historical centers not organized for tourism" is supported by the field study in Besiktas.

Airbnb has announced on its page that 79% of travelers want to explore a specific neighborhood, 91% want to live like a local, and 42% of guests spend time in neighborhoods where they stay (<https://www.airbnb.com.tr/economic-impact>), and the results of the field research in Besiktas district are parallel.

The idea put forward by Steylaerts and O'Dubhgall (2011) that Airbnb provides a more authentic travel opportunity for

those who choose to become travelers rather than tourists is also supported in this research.

(iii) Socialization

The main reason for the rapid spread of Airbnb is that it provides economic benefits for the parties. When compared with hotel prices, Airbnb prices in the region are more economical for three people and above. Along with this, concept of socialization during the Airbnb renting process is included in the Besiktas field study as a positive code both for hosts and guests. Some people rent a part of their house to a foreigner to experience cross-cultural sharing, to socialize, and to improve their foreign language skills. The theory of socialization has been supported in earlier studies, but it is with this study carried out in Turkey that improving one's language skill has come up for the first time as a benefit of Airbnb rentals.

There are some negative codes listed among process outputs, which have not been announced by the Airbnb company. Recently these negative outputs are on the agenda of various academic environments. The negative codes found in the Besiktas field study are noise, robbery, racism, security threat, hygiene related problems, increase in rent and privacy.

(iv) Noise

Gallagher's 2017 and Gurran and Phibbs's (2017) has shared their views regarding the problem of noise in different studies; the field study carried out in Besiktas supports the fact that despite the economic benefits provided by Airbnb, there is a worldwide response to the negative impacts of Airbnb in the neighborhood, and problems created by guests such as noise, traffic, parking problems, waste management and security are of great concern of the neighborhood.

(v) Robbery

Even though it does not have widespread coverage in worldwide literature, robbery is listed as another negative code in the study carried out in Besiktas. Hosts mentioned that they experienced some cases of robbery in the properties they rented to guests through Airbnb.

(vi) Racism

The chance that the offer you make as a guest to stay in an Airbnb property shall be accepted is closely related with the content of your profile. The gender, social status, race and nationality of the guest are the outstanding factors the host takes into consideration when choosing a guest for an Airbnb deal. The probability that hosts accept a Northern European woman to stay in their property is much higher than they would accept a Middle Eastern or an African-American man. Another important issue expressed in some web mediums around the world but not addressed in scientific studies is the issue of racism faced in Airbnb deals. Just like it is true for the rest of the world, racism also has its place in Airbnb deals made in Besiktas. It is apparent that in Besiktas both the hosts and the neighbors cast out

especially the Middle Easterner guests. In the Besiktas field study, this issue has been evaluated under the scope of racism and is identified as a negative code.

(vii) -Security thread

A negative impact of Airbnb on dynamics of the neighborhood is the security gap created. Oskam and Boswijk (2016) have put this issue forward in their study. In general, some of the hosts and neighbors interviewed in Besiktas stated that foreigners who rent properties in the neighborhood for a short term cause a security threat in the area.

(viii) Issue of hygiene

Airbnb guests rent out the properties over an online application. When booking a place, visitors review the photos and remarks, and read the comments uploaded by Airbnb. They complete the renting procedure without actually seeing the house and upon their arrival sometimes they are faced with hygiene related problems. Hygiene which is a negative code for guests may sometimes be held true for the hosts as well. Hygiene is also listed as a negative code for the host when the guests leave the houses in a dirty condition.

(ix) Increase in property rent

Number of people who rent out their property or part of them on Airbnb to generate economic benefits is increasing every day. People who are turning into part-time entrepreneurs sometimes rent another property in the neighborhood for the purpose of putting it up on Airbnb to generate extra income. The reason that hosts prefer short-term rentals rather than long-term, as this generates higher income, leads to rent increase in the neighborhood. Gravari-Barbas and Guinand's (2017) opinion is that online short-term housing rental platforms such as Airbnb are increasingly crowding the city centers and causing an increase in rents. Increase in rents caused by Airbnb is listed among negative codes of the field study done in Besiktas.

(x) Privacy

When even sharing a place with someone we know may cause problems from time to time, it is not a surprise that opening a house to strangers brings with it some problems. Renting a house/room from someone we do not know, in a place we are not familiar with, can sometimes lead to bad experiences. For example, staying all night with a hooker or dealer in the same house can be a bad experience. Hosts are also exposed to similar risks. Sometimes they may have to be involved in the private life and personal problems of the person from whom they rent a house. Privacy is listed as a negative code among data obtained in Besiktas field study.

In the world-wide literature, the issues of pollution addressed as an environmental impact of Airbnb and threat against classical tourism caused by Airbnb, are not included among the outputs of the field study in Besiktas.

(xi) Pollution

In their studies, Benfaar et al. (2015) stated that the Airbnb has the potential to improve consumer welfare by reducing costs related to negative outputs such as environmental pollution and waste. In the field study conducted in Besiktas district of Istanbul, there was no mention of the environmental effects of Airbnb.

(xii) Threat to classical tourism

Guttentag's (2015) view that Airbnb's structure that poses a threat to classical tourism has not been supported by this field study carried out in Besiktas.

5. Conclusion

The main motivation behind booking and staying in a house on Airbnb rather than a professional touristic enterprise is to gain an economic benefit, which is the case in Besiktas just like it is in the rest of the world. Thrust in this respect is established by the platforms that enable the sharing economy between two foreigners, and these platforms are in operation for a long time. Comments are the most critical factors that parties take into consideration when choosing to make a deal with one another. Thereby a lot of people have become part-time entrepreneurs and are choosing to travel around like locals instead of tourists, to gain local experiences. Guests staying with Airbnb can come together with local culture and live like a local for a short time in a settlement, which they would not have the chance to live otherwise. However sometimes one may have to get involved in the private life of a person by staying in one's apartment or by opening his house to a stranger. On the other hand, just like many examples around the world we see that racism in Airbnb deals is also a very common problem here.

Airbnb presents positive outputs not only for the host and the guest but also for the shops and restaurants in the neighborhood? Both world-wide literature and the results of Besiktas field study show that Airbnb users prefer to prepare meals at home rather than eating at touristic restaurants, which in turn generates economic benefits for the artisans in the neighborhood. Airbnb guests staying in Besiktas support tradesmen and small shops in the neighborhood by shopping from them.

The only unsatisfied actor of Airbnb system, which is perceived as positive by many actors since it provides both economic benefits and allows for cross-cultural sharing, is the neighbors in the neighborhood. Neighbors complain about Airbnb, which do not provide economic benefits to them. Also, neighbors have to deal with problems such as security threat, noise, parking, robbery, and increase in property rent in the neighborhood.

Even though Airbnb system satisfies the small entrepreneurs, the situation is to the contrary for the state, both in Turkey and the world. Airbnb in a way creates financial loss on the side of the state since deals are not subject to taxation on the system. Therefore, it can be said

that realistic legal arrangements for Airbnb should be made in the context of local dynamics.

Future studies on Airbnb, which has widespread in a very short time and is believed to continue this trend, should focus on its social-economic outputs. Airbnb system that satisfies many of the actors may be turned into a more beneficial platform with some restrictions and adjustments to be made.

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