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ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ / RESEARCH ARTICLE

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MODERN AND POSTMODERN ACCOMMODATION SUPPLY: A CASE STUDY OF İZMİR (TURKEY)

Modern ve postmodern konaklama arzlarının coğrafi dağılışı: İzmir (Türkiye) örneği

Ersin DEMİR¹

Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi
Coğrafya Bölümü
ersin.demir@ege.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0003-3772-8567

Gözde EMEKLİ

Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi
Coğrafya Bölümü
gozde.emekli@ege.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0001-8528-5209

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Abstract

In this study, the geographical distribution of modern accommodation facilities and postmodern sharing residences in Izmir are compared. First, the geographical distribution of traditional facilities was observed by using the data of Izmir Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism. Afterwards, the locations of local residents who included their living spaces in CouchSurfing and Airbnb were determined. In this respect, 392 CouchSurfers were selected by random sampling method and they completed an online survey. The spatial data of Airbnb residences, on the other hand, were obtained from Airdna.

According to the findings, modern supply is concentrated in districts such as Çeşme (96-35%), Selçuk (19-7%) and Menderes (15-5%) which are characterized by sea-sun-sand and material, whereas postmodern supply is concentrated in Karşıyaka (181-12%), Bornova (161-11%), and Buca (61-4%) which are outside the traditional accommodation corridor and focus on non-material culture. On the other hand, the supply of Airbnb provides accommodation in the districts such as Çeşme (339-32%), Urla (46-4%) and Karaburun (44-4%) where traditional facilities are generally concentrated. The geographical distribution of modern (69-25%) and postmodern (235-16%) supply in central Izmir shows parallelism only in Konak. When this similarity on the district is examined on a quarter levels however, it turns out that the facilities are concentrated in central and coastal quarters and adjacent quarters whereas the residences are more dispersed and are located in the outskirts.

In conclusion, the opening of residences in tourism by individuals, adopting the sharing culture, has brought about more balanced distribution of accommodation within the destination. It has provided a range of locations and prices as well as creating an alternative accommodation possibility and this situation allows post-tourists to go outside of tourist bubble and transition to areas in the back regions which are the actual residential areas.

Keywords: Postmodern tourism, network society, sharing economy, CouchSurfing, Airbnb, Izmir.

¹ Sorumlu Yazar/ Corresponding author: Ersin DEMİR / ersin.demir@ege.edu.tr

Öz

Bu çalışmada, modern turizmin geleneksel konaklama tesisleri ile postmodern turizmin paylaşım konutlarının coğrafi dağılışı ve bu dağılışın nedenleri İzmir ölçeğinde ele alınmıştır. İlk olarak, İzmir İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü verilerinden yararlanılarak, geleneksel konaklama tesislerinin coğrafi dağılışı yapılmıştır. Daha sonra, yaşam alanlarını CouchSurfing ve Airbnb platformlarına dâhil eden yerel sakinlerin kümelendiği lokasyonlar tespit edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, CouchSurfing platformu üzerinden rastgele örneklem yöntemiyle belirlenen 392 kişiye çevrimiçi anket uygulanmış, Airbnb konutlarının mekânsal verileri ise Airdna aracılığıyla elde edilmiştir.

Çalışma kapsamında, modern arz unsurlarının; deniz-kum-güneş ve maddi kültür öğeleriyle karakterize olan Çeşme (96-%35), Selçuk (19-%7), Menderes (15-%5) gibi ilçelerde, postmodern arz unsurlarının ise Karşıyaka (181-%12), Bornova (161-%11), Buca (61-%4) gibi geleneksel konaklama koridorunun dışarısında kalan ve maddi olmayan kültür öğeleri merkezli destinasyonlarda yoğunlaştığı saptanmıştır. Ayrıca, Airbnb arz unsurları ağırlıklı olarak geleneksel konaklama tesislerinin kümelendiği; Çeşme (339-%32), Urla (46-%4), Karaburun (44-%4) gibi diğer ilçelerde alternatif konaklama imkânı sağlamaktadır. Modern (69-%25) ile postmodern (235-%16) arz unsurlarının kent merkezindeki coğrafi dağılışı, sadece Konak'ta paralellik göstermektedir. İlçe bazındaki bu benzerlik, mahalle ölçeğinde irdelendiğinde ise geleneksel tesislerin merkez kıyı ve bunların çeperinde yoğunlaştığı, paylaşım konutlarının ise çok daha saçaklı bir özellik sergileyerek arka mahallerde kümelendiği bulunmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, paylaşım kültürünü benimsemiş ağ toplumunca kişisel konutların arz unsuru olarak turizme açılması, konaklama olanaklarının daha dengeli dağılışı beraberinde getirmiş, lokasyon ve fiyat çeşitliliği sağlamış ve alternatif konaklama imkânı oluşturmuştur. Bu durum ise post-turistlerin turist balonu dışarısına çıkmasını ve kurgulanmış ön bölgelerden, yerel sakinlerin yaşam alanları olan arka bölgelere geçmesini sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Postmodern turizm, ağ toplumu, paylaşım ekonomisi, CouchSurfing, Airbnb, İzmir.

1. Introduction

The emergence, diversification and globalization of tourism activities are products of a historical process. In the body of literature of tourism, this process is separated in three periods as pre-modern, modern and postmodern (Akoğlan Kozak et al., 2013). The pre-modern tourism activities are characterized by the long term travels of wealthy classes and educated professionals, who made up only a small fraction of societies, to important cultural capitals and these ended with the socio-cultural, economic and technological developments triggered by the Industrial Revolution. The development of a mid-class travel culture especially since the 1950s and the emergence of popular destinations based on sea-sun-sand and material cultural attractions have brought about short term and entertainment-based mass movements. In this era, tourism has turned into a business sector which is organized professionally by stakeholders; in a short period of time, it has

become one of the biggest industries in the modern world.

Adoption of an industrial character by modern tourism has resulted in emergence of similar destinations in different locations as well as ecological, social, cultural and economic problems. These conditions caused paradigm shifts in tourism and paved the way for alternative tourism. Another breaking point in the history of tourism has to do with postmodern tendencies developing into an alternative to modern tourism industry by means of information and communication technologies. Specifically, the effective use of social media tools by locals and tourists alike as a way of replacing the traditional stakeholders accelerated the creation of a structure which is considerably different than the one before.

The transition from organized capitalism towards unorganized capitalism, in other words, from Fordism to post-Fordism in modern societies accelerated the transition from mass consumption to personalized consumption structures (Lash and Urry, 1994; Shaw and Williams, 2004). The reflection of these production and consumption changes in tourism were summed up by Mowforth

and Munt (1998) in these three steps: First of all, the Fordist production model has turned into the post-Fordist model; secondly, the modern has turned into postmodern; thirdly, these changes set off a transition from the package tourism into a flexible and personal tourism. The postmodern era has diversified, increased and personalized the demand and supply of tourism in terms of quality and quantity. Alternatives for traditional stakeholders were created and this has caused changes in terms of the relations between destinations, locals and tourists. In this way, practices in production and consumption in tourism changed and a new and flexible structure of organization found room to thrive.

While Smith (1977) and Cohen (1979) lay emphasis on the feature of modern tourism experiences that separates it from the everyday life, MacCannel (1973) highlights that mass tourism has no access to *backstages* which are the real living areas of locals and that it experiences a performance of *staged authenticity* in *frontstages* which are specifically catered for the tourism industry. Cohen (1972) argues that those who take part in the organization structure of tourism are contained in a *tourist bubble* and that they are isolated from the outside world. The postmodern era started a de-differentiation process in tourism by causing the differences between daily life and tourism experiences vanish as well as making traveling more personalized (Richards, 2002; Uriely, 2005; Larsen, 2008). In this regard, Lash and Urry (1994) conceptualized the diminishing differences between daily life and tourism experiences as the end of tourism. The postmodern era, characterized by personalization and de-differentiation, removed the difference between what is daily and what is touristic and merged them together.

The supply elements of postmodern tourism are provided through social media tools. The social media, which is defined as a system of mobile networks that change forms and become diversified depending on requirements (Altan 2015: 86), brought with it new types of individual and social relationships and new commercial mechanisms by affecting all the components of social structure (Kara, 2013) and quickly led to its users perceiving and living the new aspects of sharing as a way of life (Erdal, 2013: 63). These online cultural and economic relations, which can take place for many

different reasons and forms, occur between the members of network society who has gained a global scale that is independent from time and space.

Today's online communities produce, share and consume all kinds of goods and services. These circumstances feed the members of network society to practice the culture of "join, connect and share" in their lives (Nicholas, 2014) and it creates a new cultural and economic system that allows the production, distribution and consumption of traditional goods and services (Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015). By this way, new supply methods are being provided by creating alternatives to supplying the goods and services which are under the monopoly of traditional structures and a sharing economy is being founded (Schor and Fitzmaurice, 2015).

In sharing economy, transactions of bartering, lending, gifting, renting and swapping between peers are carried out without traditional market structures and any intermediaries (Botsman and Roger, 2010). The fact that this new ecosystem grew and spread in a short period of time and on a level that threatens traditional business models has to do with the aforementioned innovation's becoming popular, especially among younger population for cultural, economic, ecological or life-style related reasons. This situation accelerated the new sharing mechanism, which is shaped by participatory culture and take place online, to achieve a magnitude that allows it to answer all kinds of needs, which may be required for tourism. Thus, the tasks of transportation, accommodation, refreshments and organization of mass tourism, which is hard to get involved in and therefore displaying a strict organizational structure, are carried out by people in the individualized and de-differentiated tourism conception of postmodern era while the power to create supply, produced and put into circulation by stakeholders, are achieved by using social media tools.

2. Research Area, Selected Platforms and Literature Review

Tourism activities hold an important place in the evolution of cities, which had been characterized by production relationships based on industrialism, into a course of de-industrialization in the

postmodern era (Kaygalak and Işık, 2007). This leads to urban areas being the primary geographical locations for postmodern tourism era, which is based on voluntary sharing of all kinds of goods and services on social networks that are related to the tourism which is produced and presented for consumption by traditional stakeholders. Lane and Woodworth (2016) define urban areas as points of emergence and markets for innovations on a global scale and mention that they stand out as the first attraction points for creating the supply and meeting the demand for postmodern tourism activities. The cities which have emerged as the crossroads for information, creativity and cultural activities (Richards, 2012) are hosts to the masses who can easily adapt to technological changes in the fields of information and communication and are able to utilize these changes in every area and moment of their lives.

Within this context, the study focuses on the city of Izmir, one of the destinations in which the effects of postmodern tourism tendencies are expected to be seen. According to the 2018 population data of the address-based population registration system by Turkish Statistical Institute, Izmir (4,320,519) is the third largest city in Turkey after Istanbul (15,067,724) and Ankara (5,503,985) and roughly 30% of its population are members of Generation Y who are the primary users of social media tools. In addition, the existence of various state and private institutions of higher education, a significant job market for white collar employees and an educated mass of people with a high degree of awareness and the habit of using technological innovations actively in their lives, who have embraced the sharing culture, removed the language barrier and are open to learning and experiencing new cultures also support the field and subject of the study. In fact, Izmir is among the biggest destinations in Turkey in terms of the number of social network members of the selected CouchSurfing (Istanbul -193,897-, Izmir -42,247-) and Airbnb (Istanbul -17,061-, Antalya -8,437-, Izmir -1.063-) platforms.

Within the scope of the study, the market structure of Izmir as a touristic destination was considered and the districts were divided in four as northern (Bergama, Dikili, Kınık, Aliağa, Foça and

Menemen), southern (Urla, Karaburun, Çeşme, Seferihisar, Menderes and Selçuk), eastern (Kemalpaşa, Torbalı, Bayındır, Tire, Ödemiş, Beydağ and Kiraz) and central (Çiğli, Karşıyaka, Bayraklı, Bornova, Konak, Buca, Gazıemir, Karabağlar, Balçova, Narlıdere and Güzelbahçe) districts. The districts outside the center, in other words the northern, southern and eastern districts are occasionally referred to as “the other districts” (Figure 1).

In this study, CouchSurfing² and Airbnb³, the biggest free and paid platforms that provide accommodation on a global scale, are examined. CouchSurfing, founded in 2004, is the most widespread (used in more than 200 thousand cities), biggest (about 14 million members) and the most active (more than 550 thousand active members) platform among room sharing services (CouchSurfing About Us). Depending on their eagerness, the possibilities they possess and what they expect from the platform, the users are able to change their statuses as *accepting guests*, *maybe accepting guests* or *wants to meet up*. This allows users to host tourists who visit their living spaces, to become guests themselves in the residences of their peers during personal travels and to attend meetings, activities and gatherings organized by other members of the platform. Users can also access first-hand travel experiences and tips on CouchSurfing forums.

Prior research on CouchSurfing has examined various aspects such as belonging, connectedness, intimacy, reciprocity, reputation, authenticity and trust (Lauterbach et al., 2009; Tan, 2010; Rosen et al., 2011; Molz, 2013). In addition, the contents of the profiles and the importance of the reference system (Franz, 2013) as well as the relations between hosts and guests and interior/exterior privacy boundaries (Lampien, 2016; Bialski, 2011) were also emphasized. These early works are significant in defining the phenomenon of CouchSurfing in terms of host-guest relations. However, in this study, a geographical point of view is taken and it is aimed to make a unique contribution to the literature by focusing on the spatial distribution of the hosts of the platform and the causes of this distribution.

² CouchSurfing: “<https://www.couchsurfing.com>”

³ Airbnb: “<https://www.airbnb.com.tr/>”



Figure 1- The location map and the market structure of İzmir.

Airbnb, founded in 2008 in order to offer local, authentic, different, inclusive and sustainable accommodation, operates in 191 countries and 100 thousand cities while providing an accommodation supply of over 6 million. Apart from providing accommodation supply, Airbnb acts as a sharing platform where over 30 thousand activities are listed (Airbnb About Us). On the platform, users can advertise their places and proposals for activities for a price which they determine themselves. Airbnb lists on which residences of any type, characteristic and location can be shared, has three distinct types as *entire place*, *private room* or *shared room*.

In recent years, there has been a growing number of studies in the context of tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005; Herrera et al., 2007; Liang and Bao, 2015), processes which, in the past, had been predominantly characterized as working-class quarters, evolving into middle and upper class areas, located in popular neighborhoods of cities (Guttentag, 2015; Zervas et al., 2017; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017; Smith et al., 2018; Nofre et al., 2018; Novy, 2018). These studies emphasize that the

strengthening of urban centers with touristification has played an important role in the transition from industrial-oriented cities to entertainment-centered cities, emphasizing that therefore a social, economic and spatial transformation in urban centers has been accelerating. In addition, these studies draw attention to Airbnb's impact on the residential market, the traditional accommodation facilities, the community liveability, the tensions among locals and tourists, security, noise and taxation problems. This study aims to contribute to the literature by referring to the geographical distribution of Airbnb residences in İzmir, the main reasons for this distribution, the relationship between the type of sharing and the geography and the reasons of this relationship.

3. Research Questions, Data Sources and Method

The main purpose of this study is to exhibit the urban distribution of modern (traditional facilities such as hotels, holiday camps, hostels etc.)

and postmodern (sharing residences of CouchSurfing and Airbnb) accommodation elements of supply along with its basic reasons. In line with this purpose, the answers to the following questions were sought in the study:

1. How is the geographical distribution of the traditional facilities of modern tourism industry which provide supply in Izmir and what are the main reasons behind this distribution?
2. How is the geographical distribution of the sharing residences of CouchSurfing in Izmir and what are the main reasons behind this distribution?
3. How is the geographical distribution of the sharing residences of Airbnb, in Izmir and what are the main reasons behind this distribution? Is there a relation between the type of sharing residence and the geography it is located in and if there is, what are the reasons behind it?
4. How do the similarities and differences in the geographical distribution of modern and postmodern accommodation supply in Izmir occur and what is its effects on creating alternative accommodation possibilities?

In this study, initially a district-based distribution is made with the facilities that provide accommodation supply in Izmir due to the development of mass tourism mainly based on the 3S and material cultural attractions. The data of traditional supply is put together by considering the January-2018 data of accommodation facilities with administration and investment certificates published by Izmir Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism. When dealing with data, no distinction was made between administration and investment certificated facilities and both elements of supply were assessed within the context of traditional accommodation.

After making the geographical distribution of modern elements of supply, the sharing residences are taken into focus which are located in Izmir and listed on the CouchSurfing platform, which is an essential element of supply in meeting the accommodation demands of post-tourists. As of October 2018, the number of members of the platform in Izmir is 42,247. Of these members,

38,960 has set their status as *accepting guests* or *maybe accepting guests* and since these members constitute the number of available and potential sharing residences in Izmir, they were selected as the target population of the study. Among this target population, 5% sampling error and 95% confidence interval were estimated and a sample size of 384 was determined. An online form of survey created with *Google Forms* was sent to these members by instant messages on the platform. In this form, the participants were asked about their demographic features, the districts they currently reside in and how many guests they could host through the system at a given time. The lack of group messaging feature on the platform became a hindrance in reaching the whole target population. For this reason, the n number of people who make up the target population were randomly sent a form of survey and the survey was terminated when the sample number reached the quorum.

After traditional facilities and CouchSurfing sharing residences, the distribution of the supply element of Airbnb in Izmir was put into perspective. The geographical distribution of Airbnb listings in Izmir was obtained in August 2018 by using Airdna⁴ which provides statistical data related to Airbnb listings on a global scale. This data was double-checked on the Airbnb platform and the districts, bed capacities, type of sharing and the users who put on the listings were all recorded. While examining the sharing lists, there have been some instances where the same residence was listed multiple times by different users and/or the same user. The listings with this aspect were taken into consideration only once. Additionally, it was observed that some traditional accommodation businesses listed their facilities on the Airbnb platform in order to increase their market share and become more visible, especially on social media. These listings were assessed separately from the personal living spaces listed by local residents.

⁴ Airdna: "<https://www.airdna.co/>"

4. Findings

4.1. Geographical Distribution of Modern Accommodation Facilities and Bed Capacities

Mass tourism dominates the whole tourism industry and it has also shown its effects in Turkey. Turkey has taken steps to become a tourism country since 1963, the year in which the planned period tourism activities began with five-year development plans. In line with this aim, the deficiencies in infrastructure and superstructure were tried to be fixed and a great distance has been covered, especially in terms of the increase in accommodation supply (Figure 2).

There was a significant increase in the number of facilities, rooms and beds in Turkey between 1970 and 2015. The number of facilities which was 593 in 1970, went up to 5,066; the number of rooms which was 28,615 went up to 564,524 and the number of beds which was 54,226 went up to 1,196,436. In a period of 45 years, net increases in terms of facilities, rooms and beds are 4,473; 535,909 and 1,142,210 respectively. The big differences in net increases are closely linked to the accommodation facilities' appeal to mass tourism market. Thus, the decrease in the number of facilities from 3,181 in 1990 to 3,124 in 2000 and the increase in room numbers from 240,655 to 269,819 and bed capacity from 498,742 to 568,962 coincides with the market structure of traditional tourism.

Turkey's inclination towards mass tourism in line with the global tendency brought along a fast paced tourism structuring, especially on the coasts of Marmara, Aegean and Mediterranean regions. This leap towards mass tourism also showed its effects in İzmir and the supply of accommodation there increased (Figure 3).

As of 2018, there are 275 facilities and 50,848 beds in İzmir. The top five districts, where facilities are mostly concentrated in, are Çeşme, Konak, Selçuk, Menderes and Dikili. Of these top five; Çeşme, Menderes and Dikili are characterized

by 3S while Selçuk is characterized by material culture. From the central districts, only Konak makes it to top 5 (Table 1).

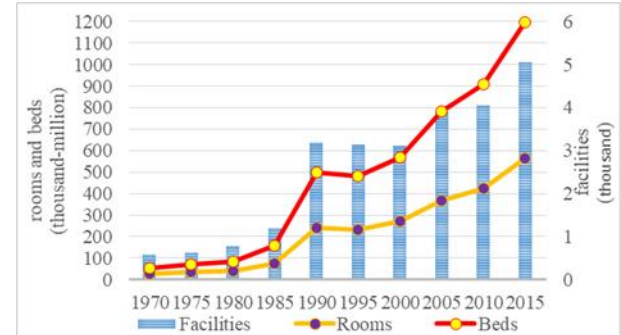


Figure 2- The changes in the number of facilities, rooms and beds in Turkey.⁵

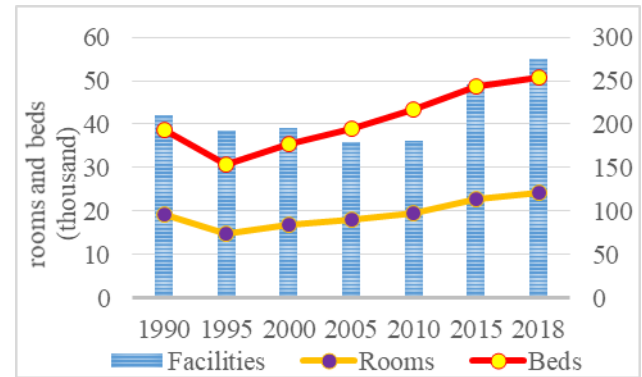


Figure 3- The changes in the number of traditional facilities, rooms and beds in İzmir.⁶

When the facilities in İzmir are grouped as southern, northern and eastern districts, the southern districts, which are coastal and cultural mass focused, stand out. Çeşme, an important destination for both the southern districts and for İzmir, single-handedly makes up 30% of İzmir's and 48% of southern districts' bed capacities with a number of 15,420 elements of supply (Table 1 and 2). In a similar fashion, Selçuk which possesses cultural attractions such as Ephesus, House of Virgin Mary and Şirince, has an important status in terms of bed capacity. The northern districts significantly fall behind the southern districts with regards to the

⁵ The data between the years 1970-2000 only consists of the data of ministry-certificated facilities recorded by The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and after the year 2005, the data of municipal-certificated facilities were also included in this data.

⁶ The data between 1990-2015 are obtained from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the data which belongs to the period after the year 2018 is obtained from İzmir Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism.

elements of supply. Dikili, which has turned its coastal location and proximity to the ancient city of Pergamon into an advantage, is the pearl in the north in accommodation supply with its 12 facilities and bed capacity of 1,969. However, the eastern districts

were not able to get enough share from the development of supply due to their lack of connection to the sea and elements of material culture which would cater to demands of tourism (Table 2).

Table 1- The district-base distribution of modern elements of supply.

Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Çeşme	96	35	15,420	30	Seferihisar	9	3	2,654	5
Konak	69	25	9,915	20	Urla	9	3	587	1
Selçuk	19	7	6,375	13	Foça	8	3	637	1
Menderes	15	6	7,038	14	Gaziemir	6	2	957	2
Dikili	12	4	1,969	4	Others	32	12	5,296	10
Total	Accommodation Supply				Bed Capacity				
	275				50,848				

Table 2- The distribution of modern elements of supply in other districts.

Southern Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Northern Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Çeşme	96	64	15,420	48	Dikili	12	46	1,969	58
Selçuk	19	13	6,375	20	Foça	8	31	637	19
Menderes	15	10	7,038	22	Aliğa	4	15	535	16
Seferihisar	9	6	2,654	8	Bergama	2	8	258	7
Urla	9	6	587	2	Kınık	-	-	-	-
Karaburun	2	1	72	0	Menemen	-	-	-	-
Total	150		32,146		Total	26		3,399	
Eastern Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Other Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Tire	2	25	238	27	Southern	150	82	32,146	88
Torbalı	2	25	218	25	Northern	26	14	3,399	9
Ödemiş	2	25	162	19	Eastern	8	4	871	3
Kemalpaşa	1	13	232	27					
Bayındır	1	12	21	2					
Beydağ	-	-	-	-					
Total	8		871		Total	184		36,416	

When the distribution of modern facilities and bed capacities is examined specifically among the central districts, it can be noticed that Konak possesses 76% of facilities and 69% of bed capacity. This is closely related to the fact that Konak is the center of the city and also contains iconic structures such as the ancient Agora of Smyrna, Kemeraltı Bazaar, the Historical Elevator, the Clock Tower, Kültürpark and the Historical Towngas Factory. Konak is followed

by Gaziemir, which harbors Adnan Menderes International Airport and Fuarizmir (exposition center) with 6 facilities and 957 bed capacity. Balçova is also an important destination among central districts and it holds 17% of thermal tourism facilities and 15% bed capacity in Izmir. Among central districts, Konak, Gaziemir and Balçova make up 87% of supply elements with a total of 79 facilities, whereas the districts of Bornova, Karşıyaka, Narlıdere, Bayraklı, Çiğli and Buca

make up the rest 13% element of accommodation with their 12 facilities. These latter districts also have a bed capacity of only 2,044 whereas the first three districts have 12,388 (Table 3). Beydağ, Güzelbahçe, Karabağlar, Kınık and Menemen lack any facilities (Table 2 and 3).

When the other districts and the central districts are compared in terms of facilities and bed capacities, it is seen that 67% of the facilities are located in the other districts while 33% are in the central districts. The central districts contain 91 facilities and 14,432 bed capacity in total, whereas the other districts have 184 facilities and 36,416 bed capacity. The reason for this advantage held by the other districts is mainly the two regions, namely, the southern districts with 150 facilities and 32,146 bed capacity and northern districts with 26 facilities and

3,399 bed capacity. Konak, which makes up a significant rate of the number of facilities and bed capacity among the central districts, prevents a bigger gap between the other and the central districts and plays a role for a somewhat even spread within the destination (Table 2 and 3). The main reason for the difference with regards to modern elements of supply is directly linked to the destination development of İzmir. The natural and cultural attraction possessed by İzmir, its public policies and private sector initiatives quickly evolved it into a market aimed at mass tourism. This resulted in a rapid development in modern accommodation supply which focused on coastal-mass and cultural-mass market and the concentration of this supply in specific parts of the city.

Table 3- The distribution of modern elements of supply in central districts.

Central Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Central Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Konak	69	76	9,915	69	Bayraklı	2	2	414	3
Gaziemir	6	7	957	7	Çiğli	1	1	156	1
Balçova	4	5	1,516	11	Buca	1	1	60	0
Bornova	3	3	406	3	Güzelbahçe	-	-	-	-
Karşıyaka	3	3	360	2	Karabağlar	-	-	-	-
Narlıdere	2	2	648	4					
Total			Accommodation Supply				Bed Capacity		
			91				14,432		

4.2. Geographical Distribution of CouchSurfing Sharing Residences and Bed Capacities

Of the 392 locals who have opened up or have the potential to open up their living spaces for sharing through the CouchSurfing and who took part in the survey, 23% live in the district of Bornova and offer a bed capacity of 197. Bornova is followed by Karşıyaka, Konak and Buca. 173 locals who reside in these three districts provide a bed capacity of 345. The southern, northern and eastern districts have limited contribution to supply (Table 4).

When the distribution of sharing rooms in the other districts is examined, the list goes as the

southern, the northern and the eastern districts. Çeşme, Selçuk and Urla make up 76% of the total supply among the southern districts. Foça tops the list in the northern districts while Torbalı is the leading the eastern districts (Table 5). It was also detected that none of the participants reside in Menderes, Dikili, Kınık, Kemalpaşa, Bayındır, Beydağ or Kiraz.

When CouchSurfing elements in the central districts are studied, it is revealed that 27% of the residences and 29% of bed capacity is located in Bornova, followed by Karşıyaka, Konak and Buca. In addition to this, accommodation possibilities have been generated in the districts which are outside the traditional accommodation corridor (Table 6).

Table 4- The distribution of CouchSurfing elements of sharing in districts.

Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Bornova	92	23	197	26	Balçova	19	5	35	5
Karşıyaka	73	19	148	20	Bayraklı	11	3	16	2
Konak	59	15	121	16	Gaziemir	11	3	17	2
Buca	41	10	76	10	Çeşme	8	2	9	1
Karabağlar	24	6	44	6	Others	54	14	93	12
Total	Accommodation Supply				Bed Capacity				
	392				756				

Table 5- The distribution of CouchSurfing elements of sharing in the other districts.

Southern Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Northern Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Çeşme	8	33	9	28	Foça	4	29	8	33
Selçuk	7	29	9	27	Menemen	4	29	7	29
Urla	5	21	7	21	Aliağa	3	21	3	13
Seferihisar	3	13	7	21	Bergama	3	21	6	25
Karaburun	1	4	1	3					
Total	24		33		Total	14		24	
Eastern Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Other Districts	Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Torbali	7	78	13	72	Southern	24	51	33	44
Ödemiş	1	11	2	11	Northern	14	30	24	32
Tire	1	11	3	17	Eastern	9	19	18	24
Total	9		18		Total	47		75	

Table 6- The distribution of CouchSurfing elements of sharing in the central districts.

Central Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Central Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Bornova	92	27	197	29	Bayraklı	11	3	16	2
Karşıyaka	73	21	148	22	Gaziemir	11	3	17	3
Konak	59	17	121	18	Narlidere	6	2	9	1
Buca	41	12	76	11	Güzelbahçe	5	1	8	1
Karabağlar	24	7	44	6	Çiğli	4	1	10	2
Balçova	19	6	35	5					
Total	Residence Supply				Bed Capacity				
	345				681				

When the other districts and the central districts are compared in terms of sharing rooms and bed capacities, it is seen that 88% of the total residence supply and 90% of the total bed supply are located in the central districts. The other districts possess 47 residences and 75 beds as

opposed to the central districts, which provide 345 residences and 681 beds (Table 5 and 6).

The reason why CouchSurfing elements of supply display an opposite geographical distribution to that of traditional elements of supply has to do with the structure of postmodern tourism.

Postmodern structure of supply is not provided by traditional stakeholders as it is in modern elements of supply but uses the available living areas of the sharing society. The fact that network society and sharing economy is adopted mostly by younger populations contribute to the individualization and de-differentiation processes of postmodern tourism, as well as determining the geographical distribution of accommodation. Indeed, 35% of the participants are between the ages of 18-24, while 55% are between 25 and 34. This shows that 90% of the participants are members of Generation Y, while those older than 35 years of age make up only 10%. 49% of the participants work in a job while 40% are students. When the occupation of those who work are put under categories, it was revealed that 24% are civil servants, 19% are engineers and 9% are white collar workers such as lawyers. When a distribution is made specifically in terms of the participants' occupations, 67% of those who are employed reside in Konak, Karşıyaka and Bornova while 78% of the students reside in Bornova, Buca and Karşıyaka. These central districts contain work areas of white-collar workers and institutions of higher education.

The average bed capacity provided by 392 participants is 2. When this data provided from the sample is applied to 38,960 people who set their

status on the platform as *accepting guests* and *maybe accepting guests* the number of CouchSurfing bed capacity in İzmir as of October 2017 is determined as 77,920. This situation shows that sharing economy became widespread in a short period of time and it created alternatives to traditional ways of doing business and provides an increase and diversity to the accommodation supply in İzmir.

4.3. Geographical Distribution of Airbnb Sharing Residences and Bed Capacities

There are 1,063 spaces on Airbnb in İzmir. The bed capacity that these residences provide is 4,340. Çeşme is the leading districts with a rate of 32% of all sharing residences and 42% of bed capacity, followed by Konak. Karşıyaka and Bornova, two of the central districts, provide an important supply with their combined 177 residences and 453 beds. These are followed by the southern districts such as Urla, Karaburun, Selçuk and Seferihisar which make up 15% of Airbnb residences and 16% bed capacity and two prominent northern districts Dikili and Foça with a combination of 63 residences and 309 beds. The impact of the eastern districts' on Airbnb is very limited (Table 7).

Table 7- The distribution of Airbnb elements of supply in districts.

Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%	Districts	Residence Supply	%	Bed Capacity	%
Çeşme	339	32	1,807	42	Selçuk	38	4	178	4
Konak	176	17	517	12	Seferihisar	36	3	178	4
Karşıyaka	108	10	301	7	Dikili	32	3	165	4
Bornova	69	6	152	4	Foça	31	3	144	3
Urla	46	4	189	4	Menderes	31	3	172	4
Karaburun	44	4	195	4	Others	113	11	342	8
Total			Residence Supply		Bed Capacity				
			1,063		4,340				

When southern, northern and eastern districts are compared, it is visible that sharing residences are concentrated in the southern and the two northern districts of Dikili and Foça. This situation is closely related to tourism development of İzmir. These districts have gained popularity due to development in mass tourism and along with the development of facilities, they witnessed a

substantial structuring of second homes (Zoğal and Emekli, 2018). Indeed, during the examination of the listings among the other districts visited through the social networks of Airdna and Airbnb, it was observed that almost all of them are villa-type detached living spaces confined in housing estates and act as a second home. When a distribution of supply was made under the categories of entire

place and private room, it was deduced that these residences, which remain vacant most of the year, were listed so that they can bring an extra income (Table 8).

When the Airbnb supply is examined within the central districts, it is seen that 39% of residences and 41% of beds is contained in Konak, followed by Karşıyaka and Bornova. Supply of accommodation is also provided and is being diversified in Buca,

Karabağlar and Çiğli. When a distribution of these supply was made in terms of the type of sharing, it was detected that 54% of these residences are private rooms, 43% are entire places and 3% are shared rooms. This is an indicator that the locals are generally opening up one of the rooms for tourism in an effort to make sociocultural-economic gains by living under the same roof with tourists (Table 9).

Table 8- The distribution of Airbnb elements of sharing in the other districts.

Other Districts	Total Residence Supply and Bed Capacity				Entire Home Supply and Bed Capacity				Private Room Supply and Bed Capacity				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Southern	Çeşme	339	63	1,807	66	288	63	1,658	67	51	65	149	57
	Urla	46	9	189	7	34	8	166	7	12	15	20	8
	Karaburun	44	8	195	7	38	8	166	7	6	8	29	11
	Selçuk	38	7	178	7	32	7	130	5	6	8	48	19
	Seferihisar	36	7	178	7	34	8	174	7	2	2	4	2
	Menderes	31	6	172	6	29	6	163	7	2	2	9	3
Total	534		2,719		455		2,460		79		259		
Northern	Dikili	32	46	165	49	27	48	151	50	4	34	13	38
	Foça	31	45	144	43	24	43	125	41	7	58	19	56
	Bergama	3	4	17	5	2	3	15	5	1	8	2	6
	Aliğa	2	3	8	2	2	3	8	3	-	-	-	-
	Menemen	1	2	4	1	1	2	4	1	-	-	-	-
Total	69		338		56		303		12		34		
Eastern	Ödemiş	3	30	13	38	2	29	11	38	1	33	2	40
	Torbali	3	30	9	26	2	28	8	27	1	33	1	20
	Bayındır	2	20	8	24	2	29	8	28	1	34	2	40
	Tire	2	20	4	12	1	14	2	7	-	-	-	-
Total	10		34		7		29		3		5		
Other Districts	Total Residence Supply		%		Total Bed Capacity		%						
	Southern Districts		534		87		2,719		88				
	Northern Districts		69		11		338		11				
	Eastern Districts		10		2		34		1				
Total		613				3,091							

Tablo 9- The distribution of Airbnb elements of sharing in the central districts.

Central Districts	Total Residence Supply and Bed Capacity				Entire Home Supply and Bed Capacity				Private Room Supply and Bed Capacity				Shared Room Supply and Bed Capacity			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Konak	176	39	517	41	83	43	336	44	91	38	179	39	2	40	6	37
Karşıyaka	108	24	301	24	46	24	181	23	56	23	114	25	6	34	5	31
Bornova	69	15	152	12	24	12	82	11	40	16	65	14	5	13	3	19
Buca	20	5	46	4	6	3	20	3	12	5	23	5	2	13	2	13
Balçova	17	4	53	4	5	3	25	3	12	5	28	6	-	-	-	-
Others	60	13	180	15	29	15	125	16	31	13	55	-	-	-	-	-
Total	450		1,249		193		769		242		464		15		16	

When Airbnb residences and beds are compared under the categories of the other and the central districts, it is apparent that 58% of all sharing residences are located in the other and 42% is located in the central districts. This situation which shows a balanced distribution on a list basis, reveals differences when looked from the perspective of bed capacities. The central districts provide a bed capacity of 1,249 as opposed to the number of 3,091 by the other districts. This stems from the difference of the types of sharing between the other and the central districts. While 73% of the listings where an entire place is shared is located in the other districts; 72% of the private rooms and 94% of the shared rooms are in the central districts. The average

number of guests which the residences listed as an entire place are capable of hosting is 5, whereas this number is 3 in private and 1 in shared rooms (Table 10).

During the examination of Airbnb listings, it was detected that the rooms of traditional facilities were listed on the platform as well as the listings by locals. Total shared element of supply is 180 and the bed capacity is 1,183. 85% of these listings are in the southern, 15% are in the central and 12% are in the northern districts. Additionally, among the other districts, only one shared room was detected in Dikili.

Table 10- The distribution of Airbnb elements of sharing in the other and the central districts.

Districts	Total Home Supply and Bed Capacity				Entire Home Supply and Bed Capacity				Private Room Supply and Bed Capacity				Shared Room Supply and Bed Capacity			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Southern	534	50	2,719	62	455	64	2,460	69	79	23	259	34	-	-	-	-
Central	450	42	1,249	29	193	27	769	22	242	72	464	61	15	94	16	94
Northern	69	7	338	8	56	8	303	8	12	4	34	4	1	6	1	6
Eastern	10	1	34	1	7	2	29	1	3	1	5	1	-	-	-	-
Total	1,063		4,340		711		3,561		336		762		16		17	
Districts					n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Other	613	58	3,091	71	518	73	2,792	78	94	28	298	39	1	6	1	6
Central	450	42	1,249	29	193	27	769	22	242	72	464	61	15	94	16	94

4.4. Geographical Distribution of Modern and Postmodern Accommodation Elements of Supply

When traditional facilities and sharing residences compared on districts level, Çeşme and Konak take the first two spots. In Çeşme, 96 facilities constitute 15,420 bed capacity compared to 1,816 bed capacity of 347 sharing residences. In the distribution of modern facilities, Çeşme, which possesses the biggest coastal-mass tourism market share in Izmir, and the central district of Konak are followed by the southern districts of Selçuk, Menderes, Seferihisar, Urla and the northern districts of Dikili and Foça. The total supply, provided by the districts other than these top eight, are 12% and the bed capacity is 11%. The supply provided by the facilities in the central districts except Konak are very limited. These districts have a total of 22 facilities with a bed capacity of 4,517 compared to the other districts which have 184 facilities and a bed capacity of 36,416. On the other side, Çeşme and Konak which hold the biggest number of postmodern supply are followed by the central districts of Karşıyaka, Bornova and Buca which have a limited number of traditional facilities. These three districts provide 27% of sharing residences and 18% of their bed capacity. Urla, Karaburun, Selçuk and Seferihisar provide an important supply with a total of 180 residences and a bed capacity of 764 (Figures 4 and 5).

There is a parallelism in the distribution of traditional facilities and sharing residences in the other districts. The southern districts which hold 82% of the modern elements also host 84% of the postmodern elements. While the order in terms of

facilities is the northern districts first with 14% and the eastern districts second with 4%, with regard to residences this order goes as the northern first with 13% and the eastern districts second with 4% (Figures 4 and 5).

When both eras are compared within the central districts, the top three districts with most facilities are Konak, Gaziemir and Balçova while the residences are concentrated in Konak, Karşıyaka and Bornova. Among the central districts, accommodation supply only show similarities in Konak. When this data on a district scale is examined on a quarter level, it is detected that the traditional facilities are concentrated in the central and coastal quarters such as Kültür and Alsancak along with the adjacent quarters of İsmet Kaptan and Kahramanlar. While sharing platforms offer an alternative in these quarters, they also display a more dispersed distribution. Specifically, in the quarters of Turgut Reis, Akın Simav, Çankaya, Göztepe and Güzelyalı, where traditional supply is limited, sharing residences provide a substantial element of supply. In addition, alternative options are generated in districts such as Buca and Bayraklı where traditional supply is limited and in Karabağlar where it is non-existent (Figures 4 and 5).

When the geographical distribution of modern and postmodern supply is made among the other and the central districts; it is visible that of the traditional elements, 67% are located in the other and 33% are in the central districts whereas the sharing elements show more of a balanced distribution with 55% in the central and 45% in the other districts (Figures 4 and 5).

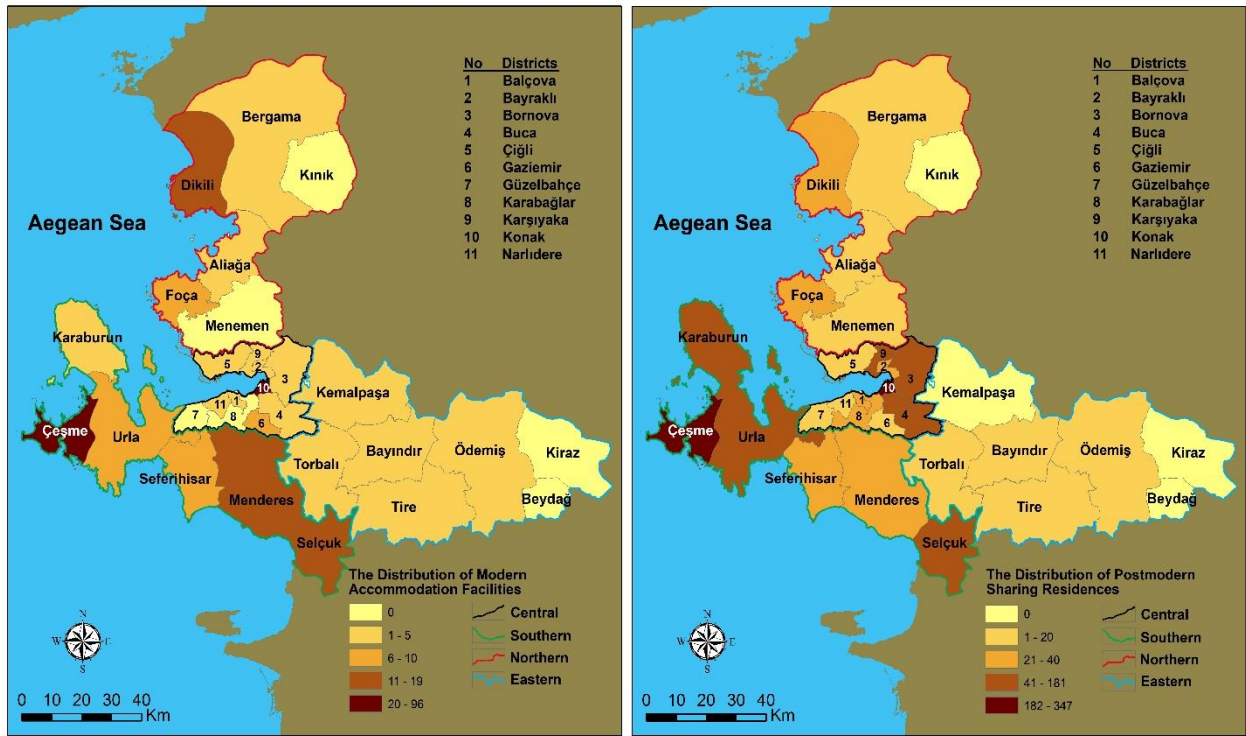


Figure 4- The geographical distribution of modern and postmodern accommodation supply.



Figure 5- The geographical distribution of modern and postmodern bed capacities.

5. Conclusion

In this study, the current distribution of modern and postmodern accommodation elements in Izmir was revealed. The reasons of the geographical distribution of numbers and the bed capacities of the accommodation elements, representing each era, were assessed considering also the differences. In this respect, it was detected that the modern elements of supply are mostly developed in the southern and northern destinations characterized by coastal-mass and cultural-mass tourism along with the central district of Konak. Such a geographical distribution is the result of the natural and cultural attraction appeal possessed by Izmir and its long-term marketing for mass tourism by public policies and private sector initiatives.

Postmodern elements, on the other hand, create an alternative possibility of accommodation, especially in the central districts where traditional supply is inadequate or non-existent. This is linked to the reason that postmodern accommodation supply is being provided by the local residents. The fact that younger population is concentrated specifically in the districts of Konak, Karşıyaka, Bornova and Buca due to job opportunities or institutions of higher education, also results in the sharing elements of supply concentrating on these districts. Indeed, this population show the feature of being online in every part of their lives and adopt sharing economy as a lifestyle. Apart from this, a significant amount of supply element related to Airbnb was detected in the southern and northern districts which are specific development areas for second homes.

Among the central districts of Izmir, an overlapping geographical distribution of both modern and postmodern accommodation supplies is observed exclusively in the district of Konak. Konak is the densely populated urban center area of Izmir, including its CBD thus has been home to not only most of the modern accommodation facilities but also

the postmodern ones at the same time. However, a micro-geography of the distribution of two different type of accommodation facilities within this central district can also be mentioned at “neighbourhood” scale. It was found out that traditional facilities such as hotels are mostly concentrated in the coastal neighbourhoods of the center and their adjacents. Here, this creates an intertwined traditional accommodation zone. Sharing residences on the other hand, display a more dispersed distribution in the center while creating alternatives in the aforementioned accommodation zone. Sharing residences serve as an important element of supply, especially in the back quarters where there is limited traditional accommodation supply. Due to sharing economy, alternatives are being created also in the districts where traditional supply is limited or already absent, such as Karşıyaka, Bornova, Buca, Bayraklı and Karabağlar. In this way, there is a way out of the traditional accommodation corridor in the central districts and the living areas of local residents are being opened up for tourism activities too. The alternatives, created by sharing residences to traditional accommodation facilities, especially in urban areas have also been determined by various field studies on a global scale such as London (Quattrone et al., 2016), Barcelona (Sans and Domínguez, 2016), Sydney (Gurran and Phibbs, 2017), New York (Stabrowski, 2017) Boston (Horn and Merante, 2017) and Sofia (Roelofsen, 2018). In this context, this change in the global scale has been traced with this study conducted in Izmir.

As a result, postmodern structure’s creation of alternatives to the operating mechanisms of traditional stakeholders before, during and after tourism activities has increased, personalized and equates the supply and demand of tourism in terms of quality and quantity. Therefore, the production and consumption practices of tourism have changed and a new, flexible organizational structure has found room to grow.

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