Impactos del turismo

Koray Genç

Assistant Prof. Dr., Ordu University, Vocational School of Social Sciences, Hotel, Restaurant and Catering Services Department, Turkey [koray.genc@yahoo.com]

Oğuz Türkay

Prof. Dr., Sakarya University of Applied Sciences, Faculty of Tourism, Gastronomy and Culinary Arts Department, Turkey [turkay@subu.edu.tr]

Şevki Ulema

Associate Professor, Sakarya University of Applied Sciences, Faculty of Tourism, Gastronomy and Culinary Arts Department, Turkey [ulema@subu.edu.tr]

TOURISM GENTRIFICATION: BARCELONA AND VENICE[1]

TURISMO GENTRIFICACIÓN: BARCELONA Y VENECIA

Abstract

With the continuation of the growth momentum of international tourism mobility and negative effects on important destinations, local administrations, international tourism organizations and academic community have directed their attention to what should be done to eliminate the negative effects. An important issue that needs to be considered is tourism gentrification, which is an indication that the basic dynamics of settlements and residents have been shaken. In this study, it is aimed to evaluate the reasons and effects of tourism gentrification in Barcelona and Venice, which attract overtourism demand and frequently come to the agenda with urban social movements against tourism. Secondary data sources have been used for this purpose. Ultimately, it was underlined that tourism gentrification should be taken into consideration by decision-makers as a process that triggers many negativities, exerting displacement pressure on the local population and causing radical social changes.

Key words: Tourism gentrification; overtourism; displacement; Barcelona, Venice.

Resumen

Con la continuación del impulso de crecimiento de la movilidad turística internacional, y los efectos negativos del turismo en destinos importantes, los gobiernos locales, las organizaciones internacionales de turismo y la comunidad académica centraron su atención en lo que se debería hacer para eliminar estos efectos negativos. Otro tema importante por considerar es la gentrificación del turismo. Esta situación indica que la dinámica básica de los asentamientos y la población local se ha visto sacudida. Este estudio tuvo como objetivo evaluar las razones y los efectos de la gentrificación

turística en Barcelona y Venecia, que atraen una demanda turística excesiva y con frecuencia llegan a la agenda con movimientos urbanos o sociales contra el turismo. Se han utilizado fuentes de datos secundarias para este propósito. En última instancia, se subrayó que la gentrificación del turismo debe ser considerada por los tomadores de decisiones como un proceso que desencadena muchos efectos negativos, ejerce presión de desplazamiento sobre la población local y provoca cambios sociales radicales.

Palabras clave: turismo; gentrificación; sobreturismo; desplazamiento forzado; Barcelona, Venecia.

Introduction

Tourism is a sector that requires the establishment of delicate balances due to its structure. Sanchez & Adams (2008) stated that tourism has a Janus-faced (dual) character. Such that, while tourism is a valuable economic development tool for many destinations, it is also the source of undeniably important and complex problems. Visentin & Bertocchi (2019) explain the relationship between economic tourism interests and the well-being of local residents using the analogy of 'uneasy marriage'. The fact that Barcelona and Venice, which are the leading destinations of the world, are shown as the victim of their own success with the tourism demand they receive is (Bremner, 2018; Visentin & Bertocchi, 2019) a concrete sign of the necessity of keeping tourism in balance.

In the last decade, overtourism discussions have come to the fore, at a level that rivals the rapid development of tourism activity. Anti-tourism voices have started to rise in many destinations around the world and urban social movements have emerged. Although the reasons for this situation differ from destination to destination, the reality is that the local people are more and more disturbed by tourism day by day and they are now expressing their reactions loudly. Following the discussions and protests, news content was created by internationally active media organizations, agenda was created on social media channels, and eventually the issue started to be examined in an academic dimension. Especially the power of social media has prepared the ground for the spread of anti-tourism and protests around the world. So much so that Séraphin *et al.* (2018; 2019) names the experiences as Trexit (tourism exit), referring to the "Brexit" debates that the whole world closely follows.

Although the situation in various destinations and the reactions of the local people are tried to be explained in different ways such as overtourism, tourist or tourism phobia, exceeding the carrying capacity, its background should be evaluated from a wide window. So much so that it is sufficient to examine Doxey's Irritation Index (1975) and Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (1980) models in order to explain this situation by only linking it to tourism. These models focus heavily on tourist numbers and emphasize carrying capacity. However, the phenomenon of overtourism is not only related to tourism and the number of tourists. It is thought that local people and especially protesters react to a complex set of problems such as neoliberal urban policies, the failure to form an ideal visitor management policy, the opinions of decision makers that prioritize profit maximization, urban problems that have become more noticeable with the pressure of tourism.

Considering the reflections from the destinations that come up with overtourism, it is possible to see that one of the leading complaint issues is tourism gentrification. In this study, which was designed based on the fact that this situation is also valid in Barcelona and Venice destinations, a spot is tried to be presented through secondary data sources.

Literature Review

Neoliberal Urbanization and Tourism Gentrification

Neoliberal policies that have influenced the world especially since the mid-1970s have made themselves felt in many areas and continue to be felt. Bahçeci (2017) shows one of the areas where this influence is most seen as urban places. Writer; Based on the thesis of the famous French sociologist Henri Lefebvre that "the survival of capitalism depends on the urban place", he stated that with neoliberal policies urban places are designed within the framework of capital-oriented competitiveness. Existence of free market economy; has also made places, culture and history marketable and caused cities to become tourism capital as show centers (Altanlar *et al.*, 2018). Cities are now turned from production place to consumption place and perceived by even their residents as touristic places rather than neighborhoods. (Değirmenci, 2011).

As a result of the implementation of neoliberal policies, a process called "gentrification" is experienced in urban places. The first definition to which academics adhere to this term was made by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964. Glass used the expression of gentrification to explain that in the 1960s, the shabby workers' housing in London fell into the hands of the wealthy as the lease commitments were filled and thus the houses became more beautiful day by day and then the social character changed (Smith, 2002). The tourism sector, where neoliberal policies are an important field of application, accelerates the gentrification process in urban places and a situation known as tourism gentrification emerges. So much so that tourism and leisure activities are shown as the most important actors in the transformation of place into a commodity (Kaygalak, 2008). Urban areas are equipped with restaurants, bars, shopping malls etc. that appeal to the likings and purchasing power of high income people and tourists day by day (Altanlar *et al.*, 2018). These areas, which were created to attract tourists, are defined as "tourist bubble" (Judd, 1999) and "tourist ghetto" (Esen, 2009). Gotham (2005) also made an assessment in this context and explains the gentrification of tourism as the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive settlement with the proliferation of institutional entertainment and tourism places.

Although the process of tourism gentrification creates decent living places in the image, it can be expressed as the igniter of many urban problems, environmental, economic and especially social. More precisely, there are many negative consequences that trigger each other in the process. Although the increase in rents, which is seen as one of the results of tourism gentrification, is perceived as an economic problem in the first stage, the fact that people who cannot afford the rent move to other neighborhoods and new people move to the neighborhood is a sign that also social problems may arise. Therefore, researchers from many fields, from urban planners to sociologists and economists, are busy with the subject.

According to Brenner *et al.* (2014) "capitalist cities are not just scenes where capital accumulation strategies are displayed; they are also arenas of reckoning in which conflicts and contradictions regarding specific strategies of accumulation historically and geographically are expressed ". In this arena, the main residents of the city are faced with the "pressure to displace" in Marcuse's (1985) phrase. Marcuse (2015) tried to embody this pressure with the following statements.

> When a family witnesses their neighborhood changing rapidly; when his friends slowly start leaving the neighborhood; when the shops where he was shopping are closed and new ones appealing to other customers are opened; as changes in public facilities, transport facilities and support services make the area increasingly uninhabitable, the pressure to displace is already severe. In this case, it is only a matter of time before people are displaced. Families living under these conditions will move themselves when they find the opportunity, rather than wait for the inevitable; one way or another they are displaced.

Research Framework

Purpose and Importance of the Research

With this research, it is aimed to evaluate the reasons and social effects of the tourism gentrification process experienced in Barcelona and Venice destinations. It is thought that conducting the evaluations on the destinations where the phenomenon of overtourism is dominant and the local people are in great uneasiness will provide remarkable information. This study can be explained as a simulation study that will allow foresight, especially for destinations that have not yet encountered the harsh effects of overtourism and tourism gentrification.

Research Method

Evaluations on the tourism gentrification process experienced in Barcelona and Venice destinations were made through secondary data sources. The secondary data sources used are written and visual news content, documentaries and short films, photobooks, reports prepared by various institutions and studies prepared in academic dimensions. Care was taken to obtain secondary data from highly reliable sources and to support the data obtained from these sources with different sources. In this way, it was aimed to increase the validity and reliability of the research.

Data Interpretation

Situation in Barcelona

Barcelona has come to the fore with the overtourism situation it has been in recent years and the urban social movements towards this situation. In the current situation, many factors are effective due to the inability to manage the demand together with the demand for tourism. One of these factors stands out as tourism gentrification. The highlights of the tourism gentrification process in the city are the illegal accommodation supply and the existence of businesses that provide services only to meet the demands and needs of tourists.

Table 1. shows the distribution of the Barcelona bed capacity in 2017 within the framework of accommodation unit status. When evaluated in comparison with other units, although the high bed capacity in apartments offered for tourist use is obvious, it should not be ignored that officially operated apartments are included in this table. Therefore, it can be said that there is a much higher supply of tourist apartments than those listed. So much so that in 2014, according to the number of guests of Airbnb, the apartment sharing platform for tourists, Barcelona; It ranks fourth after Paris, London and New York (Sans & Dominguez, 2016).

Table 1. Barcelona Accommodation Supply (2017)

Accommodation Unit	Establishments	Beds
Hotels	1.252	204.113
Guesthouses	786	17.631
Tourist Apartments	87	4.299
Homes	26.524	151.680
Campsites	76	44.337
Rural accommodation facility	622	5.063
Youth hostels	129	9.713

Source: Observatori del Turisme a Barcelona, 2017.

Accommodations in the city other than official accommodation units have caused many social, economic and environmental problems. Discomfort with the current situation is frequently expressed during the protests. In one of the protests, Oriol Casabell, on behalf of the residents, stated that the illegal rents were the basis of the ailments and used the following statements (Posta, 2014).

"We will not give up, we will defend our neighborhood until the end. We want to increase controls on real estate agents who illegally rent houses to tourists and more police deployment to ensure neighborhood security."

Sebastián Huguet from Barceloneta Defense Platform explained his idea as "every apartment rented to tourists, a family leaving the neighborhood" (Karar, 2017).

Another indication of the gentrification of tourism in a settlement is that commercial enterprises are largely comprised of those providing goods and services for tourists. This is the case in some parts of Barcelona. The statements of those who take an opposing attitude towards tourism clearly show that they are not satisfied with the changes that take place in the consumption areas where they live their daily lives. A citizen who spoke to NPR (America's National News Radio) reacted with the following statements and pointed out that tourism gentrification has occurred (Hurriyet, 2017).

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"We understand that other people love our city. However, our city has begun to turn into a park for tourists. Grocery stores are closing and places are opened for tourists. Locals live and work here. Barcelona is not just a place to have fun on the weekend.

Another citizen described her standard day in the Independent newspaper as follows (Diaz, 2017).

> Now imagine you live in Barcelona and life is becoming more expensive all the time. On Friday morning, like every week for years, you go to buy some groceries at the typical market in your neighbourhood, La Boqueria. But lately it is so crowded with tourists that it is hard to navigate the aisles; a trip that used to take you 20 minutes now takes over an hour. At the meat stand you run into your neighbour from the building opposite, an old lady who's lived there for decades. She looks upset: it turns out the owners are selling the whole building to an investor who is planning to turn the historic building into luxury apartments for wealthy foreigners, and the tenants have six months to leave. Where will this lady go? She was paying "old rental" prices and she cannot afford the new exorbitant market rates. The next day, Saturday, you decide to have lunch at the old place around the corner, which is one of the few left where a typical tapa is served. But there's a long queue of people waiting outside, most of them tourists. Since you are not willing to wait half an hour to eat uncomfortably in a crowded restaurant, you head home and eat whatever's in the fridge. In the evening you head to a pub you love with some friends, only to find it is gone: it is been replaced by a touristy restaurant. On your way home, you hear drunken youngsters speaking a foreign language as you approach your street. As you turn the corner, you realise it is the same group of people that rented the flat above yours, which you know does not have a licence for holiday rentals, and they have been partying for days, disrupting your sleep. Now one of them, a guy, is facing the wall beside the doorstep across the street. He is peeing. And it is useless to tell them off you have tried before and they just laugh at you. Your neighbours will have to endure the smell of dry pee for days. In the end you decide you can not take it anymore and start looking for a studio to rent in another area which is not as crowded. But after months of searching, you give up: the few ones on offer are either too expensive, too far from your office, too small for the price or too dodgy. You feel so much a stranger in your own city that it makes you angry. And one day you feel the need to express it somehow: writing angry graffiti fuelled by your sense of desperate isolation.

Those who stand against the urban social movements towards overtourism and tourism gentrification in Barcelona state that the actions are only the activities of a small minority group with political connections rather than reflecting the general view of the local people. The minority group in question is Arran Jovent, the youth organization of the CUP–a party that fights for Catalan independence and anti-capitalism- as stated by the leading written and visual media organizations such as 'BBC'. The organization has organized many resounding actions, which, according to some, are troubling. Some of these include blowing up the tires of tour buses and writing slogans on them, throwing sound bombs on restaurants, cutting off the tires of tourist bicycles. The organization has succeeded in creating an international agenda by sharing the images of these actions on social media with the "#touristgohome" tag. Some of the statements of the spokespersons who expressed their views to various media outlets on behalf of the Arran Jovent organization are as

follows. (Peter, 2017; Corderoy, 2017; Coldwell, 2017; Tourism Today, 2017; Euronews, 2017; Express, 2018).

Photo 1. A Graffiti in Barcelona

Source: Petkar (2017).

"We oppose mass tourism, which turns our country into an amusement park where only the bourgeoisie and capital benefit, and wants to make us slaves."

"We are anti-capitalist, we want to destroy the system and the tourism industry is part of it."

"We are against the development model that turns the country into an amusement park just for the sake of the economic interests of a small minority. ''

"The mass tourism in Catalonia is generating huge social inequality. Thousands of people are forced to leave their neighbourhoods and thousands more are forced into very bad working conditions."

"Today's model of tourism expels people from their neighbourhoods and harms the environment."

"The current tourism model is designed solely and exclusively on the basis of the economic interests of the class that exploits it and threatens the lives of people."

"Tourism generates work, of course, but we cannot base our economy on a finite, unsustainable sector."

Contents have been created in various media channels also in order to draw attention to the overtourism situation and tourism gentrification in the city of Barcelona. The movie "Bye Bye Barcelona", which was published on YouTube on 25 November 2014, reached

351,024 views and received 342 comments as of 07 August 2020. Some of the statements of the residents whose opinions were consulted in the film are as follows.

> This is not a city to live. It is a theme park like Prague or Venice where there is no local life left. It is all decoration.

> Barcelona? It is a theme park. The world's best shop. For me it is terrible and a shame. The city loses all of its charm.

> La Rambla not made for Barcelonans anymore. It is mainly focused for tourist. We sell ourselves and that is the truth.

> We no longer receive visitors that want to come a see how people live in Barcelona. But the ones that come the shop, hopping from store to store and consuming constantly. And that really generates a huge pressure that we and neighbors are suffering and that creates unease.

> It is not that one is against tourism. We are all tourist or wish to be. The problem is when a monoculture is produces. When a monoculture is produced, everything around is destroyed.

> Why do I have to leave this neighborhood that I like because they think only in the people that come visit it for an hour? Is that fair?

Another content created with similar concerns with ordinary citizens is the book named 'Tourist Walk' published by a photographer living in Barcelona. The book consists of 92 photographs taken in 2012 on the famous La Rambla street, which attracted great attention of tourists. The artist is in the preface of the book; explained his purpose as "to reveal the change in the direction of the disappearance of localism due to mass tourism" (Javierre-Kohan, 2013). In addition, the artist's opinions about his book were consulted in the also film mentioned above and he made explanations as follows.

"What I tried to denounce was the occupation of this place by tourists and the expulsion of the locals. It is terrible because they sell Barcelona like what it is not. Just shameful."

Situation in Venice

There is also tourism gentrification in the Venice destination due to the proliferation of both illegally rented apartments for daily rent to tourists and the proliferation of tourist-oriented businesses. So much so that, among the reasons for the rapid population decrease in the city, the increase in rents and the decrease in the business areas of those working outside tourism are insistently emphasized. Figure 1. Shows the number of tourists and the course of the local population in Venice historical city center between 1950-2000. Parallel to the increase in the number of tourists, the decrease in the local population is obvious.

In order to draw attention to the population decrease, the local people took their luggage, organized the 'Venexodus' protests, which they named with the combination of the words Venice and exodus. Matteo Secchi, one of the organizers of the Venexodus protests,

emphasized that homeowners earn a month's rent from permanent residents in a week from tourists and explained his concerns about the future of the city as follows, by analogy with the town of Pompei, where no one lives due to a volcano eruption (O'Sullivan, 2017; Melwani, 2016).

Figure 1. The Course of the Population and Tourist Numbers (Venezia autentica, 2017)
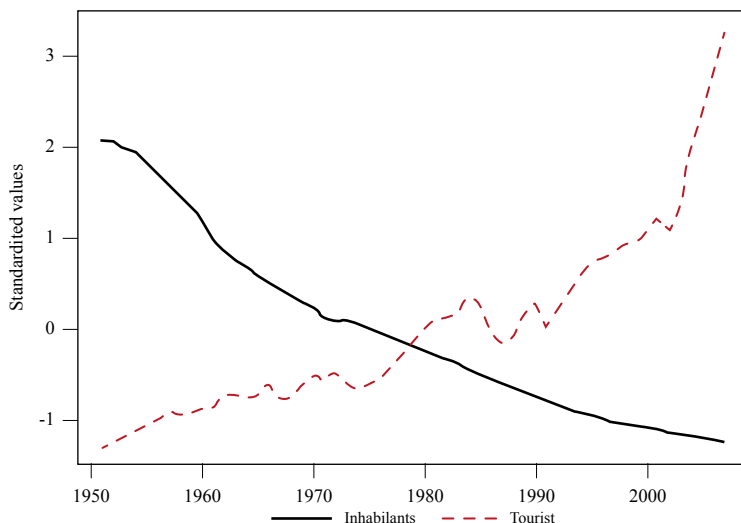
Today if you walk into an estate agent and we ask for an apartment, they will say, Yes, we have a few thousand properties available. As soon as we mention that we are looking for something long term, they would close the book and tell us they have nothing. We are turning into Pompei, a town which people come to visit and say it is magnificent, but no-one lives there.

One of the activists, Marco Vidal, drew attention to the business problem that is experienced together with the housing problem with the following statements (Nst, 2016).

"Many of my friends have had to leave the city, not just because of housing problems but also because the only work here is in tourism."

With the proliferation of tourism businesses with all the transformative power of the tourism sector in Venice; a situation emerged in which residents were forced to migrate due to reasons such as limited employment options, the shortage of rental housing, and the increase in the prices of consumer goods. As a result of this situation, a social change has naturally occurred. Michelangelo Adamo, one of the activists, tried to explain the change in the following statements (Giuffrida, 2017).

"Venetians of today are not so proud, not like our ancestors were. They do not really care about art or culture, they drive speedboats and eat junk food, it is more like Miami Beach."

Minoia (2017) also supports the above view; she stated that Venice is now a world city with a cosmopolitan identity rather than a local city with old traditions and sincere character and that the Venetians allowed it. Moreover, the author categorized the city's new inhabitants as the super-rich and intellectuals and stated that they can approach social issues more responsibly than local residents.

Gotham (2005) stated that tourism gentrification was tried to be explained mainly with demand approaches in the 1970s and 1980s, and later on, supply approaches were also seen and discussed as the cause of gentrification. The examples given by Giovanni Di Giorgio, a member of the non-governmental organization Generazione 90, who took part in the protests, show that tourism gentrification and subsequent social change can be supply-driven (O'Sullivan, 2017).

> Venice as it was 20 years ago just does not exist anymore. Changes have happened so fast that it feels like waking up from a coma. The population has dropped hard, theaters have closed, one of the largest bookstores has become a clothing store for visitors. Even though the streets are full to bursting with tourists, for us Venetians the place now seems empty. We feel like we are an endangered species.

Protests against tourism in the city were taken into consideration by decision-makers and preventive and corrective practices were implemented within the scope of "EnjoyRespectVenezia" and "Detourism" campaigns. Although these practices are important, they also brought criticism. Turnstiles placed at the points of tourist density during high seasons are one of the most criticized applications. The purpose of the turnstiles placed at certain points of the city is to separate local people and tourists from each other. In areas with turnstiles, transportation is only possible for locals and regular visitors who have Venezia Unica cards, and other tourists are considered to reach their destinations on different routes. Thus, it is aimed to prevent the human density from occurring on certain routes. However, according to activists, this practice is an application that magnifies problems rather than solving problems. The views of Alberto Nardi, who has chaired the St. Mark's Square Association, an effective non-governmental organization, for ten years, are as follows (Brunton, 2018).

"A knee-jerk reaction to a crisis and not a solution or long-term answer. Neither Venetians nor tourists want to see metal barriers at the entrance to this city."

The use of turnstiles has led those who advocate the "disneyfication of the city" view to defend their views more harshly. The criticisms of No No Big Ships Group representative Tommaso Cacciari are as follows (O'Sullivan, 2018; Frank-Keyes, 2018).

> The politicians who run this city want to turn it into a theme park. So these metal barriers are not to limit access but the opposite: to show that our home is already a museum and entertainment park. It announces to the world that, like Disneyland, Venice opens and closes with a gate.

Photo 2. Response to Turnstiles in Venice

Source: Smith (2018).

Discussion and Conclusion

It is possible to see tourism gentrification as one of the main reasons for the overtourism situation where local people protested in both destinations considered. With an assertive expression considering the effects and reasons, tourism gentrification can be pointed out as the main reason of the negative impression against tourism. Such that the process of tourism gentrification interactively leads to many negativities from the economic context to the social context. In this respect, it can be compared to the cancer cell that contains the negatives for the destinations focused on tourism.

There are basically two triggers of the tourism gentrification process in a destination. These are the proliferation of flats offered to tourists and businesses that produce goods and services by targeting them. There is a trend in this direction in both destinations evaluated. According to Barcelona City Council Statistics Department, while there is a decrease in traditional trade and industry business lines, there is an increase in tourism-oriented business lines (Mansilla & Milano, 2019). Despite the decrease in the local population in the destination of Venice, there is an increase in the number of shops and restaurants (Bertocchi & Visentin, 2019), which clearly shows that the businesses serve tourist-oriented. The opening of tourist-oriented businesses causes city dwellers to have difficulty in meeting their daily needs or to meet their needs more expensive than before. In addition, it is a great misconception that as the number of tourists increases in these destinations and employment opportunities will be created with newly opened businesses. As stated by Hughes (2018), although there was a 20% increase in the number of tourists visiting Barcelona between 2008 and 2016, employment increased by only 0.63%. In the context of apartments, it is possible to say that a new business line or sector has emerged in both destinations. (Gant, 2016; Llop, 2017). While 76% of the apartments for tourist accommodation in Barcelona Ciutat Vella are unregistered (Llop, 2017), more than half of the apartments in the Gotic neighborhood are offered through sharing platforms such as Airbnb (Hughes, 2018).

Ultimately, there is pressure on local residents to displace due to tourism activity in Barcelona and Venice. Urban dwellers; they are forced to change their living places with complaints such as difficult to find shops that can meet their daily needs and shopping more expensive than before, real estate speculation, deterioration of their social life, increased security concerns, restricted access opportunities with privatization of public places. All this is reflected in the statements of the residents who expressed their views. It has also been revealed through field studies. In the survey study conducted by Gant (2015) in the Gotic neighborhood of Barcelona, it was concluded that 65% of the participants had more than one friend moved from the neighborhood, and with this result, the researcher expressed tourism gentrification as an excluding mechanism. According to Bertocchi & Visentin (2019), the first three reasons for Venetians to move from their neighborhoods are; too many tourist crowds, shrinkage of consumption areas and the cost of living. Increase in prices of consumption goods and ıncrease in rents due to tourist rentals within the scope of cost of living should be evaluated. According to Sans & Domínguez (2016), the neighborhoods with the most local population loss in Barcelona are the neighborhoods with the most Airbnb apartments. As the complaints reached the highest level in Barcelona, a report was prepared by Airbnb and positive effects were tried to be revealed in the form of revitalizing the neighborhoods, providing quality tourism diversity and supporting families financially (Sans & Dominguez, 2016). However, it is understood from the statements of local residents that these positive effects are not accepted in Barcelona or Venice. The protests held in the city of Venice under the name of Venexodus are a reference to the pressure of displacement with negative effects.

Both destinations have become a tourism monoculture (Visentin & Bertocchi, 2019; Minoia, 2017). Therefore according to some (Settis, 2014; Giulio, 2019) Venice, is defined as a city that dies. The current situation is not only a problem for local people. Also it can be perceived as a big problem for tourists, who are the other side of tourism phenomenon. Because the main attractions of both destinations are their unique cultural values and they are included in the UNESCO World Heritage List with these cultural values. However, the process experienced puts these values in the background, degenerates them and turns these cities into ordinary metropolises. So much so that Venice has been warned by UNESCO to be included in the List of World Heritage in Danger. In the end, it can be said that the loss of the spirit of the destination and the formation of tourism monoculture will negatively affect the tourist experiences.

Based on the current findings, suggestions for decision makers in order to prevent the negativities related to tourism gentrification are as follows.

- A strategic plan should be created in which all stakeholders, especially local people, are included. Public opinion polls regarding tourism activity should be conducted in certain periods.

- Incentive policies should be created for the continuity and new investments of businesses in non-tourism sectors.

- Tourism oriented restaurants, bars etc. workplace opening conditions should be regulated. In order to prevent such businesses from concentrating on certain areas, investment incentives should be offered to open up in different areas.

- The tourist density in central areas should be prevented by emphasizing alternative attractions and routes. The realization of new hotel investments outside of central areas should be encouraged.

- The existence of traditional service businesses should be protected as an attraction for both local residents and tourists.

- Airbnb etc. there should be restrictions for platforms that supply tourist flats. For this purpose, high tax applications can be applied. In addition, there should be a dialogue with the authorities of these platforms.

- Heavy sanctions should be imposed on illegal tourist apartments. The activities of real estate agents should be monitored.

- The rise of real estate purchase and rental prices should be monitored. Official steps can be taken by establishing criteria for determining these costs.

- Efforts should be made to solve urban problems such as traffic infrastructure, which are multiplied by tourism.

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