



Slum Area for Tourists: From Residents' Perspective Tarlabaşı Case Study

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Abstract

Slum areas are the alienated areas of the city and therefore they have not been introduced as a tourism product in the past. Today, these areas are being visited by tourists as they seek different experiences. And a new tourism type is developed which is named as slum tourism. The aim of this study is to explain how the local people living in these areas define their region and their perspectives towards the visitors. In the study, qualitative research was preferred and interview technique was used for data collection. The data used in the study were obtained from 29 participants residing in Tarlabaşı, Istanbul and the data were analyzed in NVivo qualitative data analysis program. According to the results, local people defined Tarlabaşı as a region where the crime rates are high, the superstructures are inadequate and the visitors come to take pictures while the local people show positive attitude towards the visitors.

Keywords: Slum area, poverty, Tarlabaşı, tourism.

'What is a slum?...It is something that mostly exists in the imaginations of the middle-class do-gooders and bureaucrats: people who do not have to live in them in the first place and do not have to live in what they put up afterwards once they have pulled them all down. One person's slum is another person's community'
May Hobbs¹

¹ Cited from Lundy, K. S. & Janes, S. (2009). *Community Health Nursing: Caring for the Public's Health*. Jones & Bartlett Learning

INTRODUCTION

'I believe everything is real... Where we live is considered as the center of İstanbul, well maybe, therefore, we may also be considered real' (Participant #10). These 'unseen' areas that form actually the majority of the 'apparent' parts of the cities (UN Slums of the World, 2003) Slum areas started to arise during the World War II, developed in the following years and became a significant problem for the cities. Even though the slums are considered as the temporary solution for the sheltering problems of the migrants that come to the city, they bring not only economical but also cultural and social problems as well.

İstanbul, which is defined as a world city², also experiences the squatting problem as much as the other metropolis' around the world and also other big cities of Turkey. Even though squatting provides negative qualities for a city, it may be evaluated differently in terms of tourism. For reasons such as the search for authenticity (Dyson, 2012) and the expectation for novelty (Freire-Medeiros, 2008; Meschank, 2011), the tourists have started to discover the different areas of a city. One of these regions is known as the slum areas of the city and, includes the people currently living in the squatter houses. Far from being the showcase of the city, these regions, which are mostly different from the visitors' own lifestyles, are considered as the new trend and attraction area. But do these places offer a touristic attraction quality for the local people as much as they do for the tourists?

This study aims to determine the reaction of the public against the visitors who are coming to the region. Even though the slum/shanty house regions are considered as the new attraction areas for tourists, the contentedness and the reaction of the people in face of this situation and of the fact that their already lower living standards are published on the social media or that the tourists visiting the region are watching the people in a way that is defined as 'voyeurism'. Thus, Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink and Rogerson (2015) state that the issue is not evaluated from the perspective of the people living in the region (squatters/slum dwellers), but that future studies should focus on the characteristics of global slums tourism.

² Together with the globalization some cities undertake different functions in order to more effectively meet the demands of the international capital. The integration of a city with the world economy, becoming attractive for international capital, becoming an attraction point for internal and external migration, the separation of the classes through sharp limits and the creation of polarizations are qualities of a world city (Keleş, 2015).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Slums and Slum Tourism

The word slum (varoş) comes from Hungarian and defines the areas situated outside of the city walls (Yücel, 2016). The word is used to describe the inhabitants of shanty houses and it is started to be used in daily life after the events of March and May 1995. However, it became a definition that includes, but that is not limited to, the neighborhoods where the poor lives within the city center. Therefore, shanty towns (gecekondu) are also accepted as slums (Yücel, 2016; Kızıltan, 2003) and the slum concept gets started to be used in place of slum concept (Erman, 2004). However, although they are used interchangeably, shanties and slums are different concepts. The slum concept in Hungarian is defined as the living spaces of the Jewish people residing in Venice during the 10th century and the areas where entry and exit points are controlled are defined as ghettos. Over time, these regions become regions of exclusion and minority immigrants and possess a homogeneous population structure (Karaman, 2003). The word shanty is a word specific to Turkey and started to be used in the everyday spoken language after the 1940s (Keleş, 2015). The word is also conceptualized due to its social characteristics (Çakır, 2011). Thus, today squatting is a phenomenon experienced by all countries around the world (Keleş, 2015), but also every shanty settlement is unique (The World Bank, 2006; Yıldız, 2005).

According to the Gecekondu Kanunu (Law on Shanty) dated 1966 the shanty concept is defined as *'the structures that are constructed on lands or estates that do not belong to the builder without obtaining the consent of the land or estate owner and without following the legislations and general provision that regulates the urban planning and civil engineering works'* (Gecekondu Kanunu, 1966). There are various descriptions apart from the one provided above. But common qualities of these descriptions are; their illegality, the insufficiency of their hygiene and physical conditions, the fact that the land where the construction took place belongs to someone else and that there is no authorization taken from the said person, the fact that these don't have any license, that they are built in a quick and careless way and that they are illegal and unlicensed even though the land belongs to the builder. These structures that are solely built during nighttime in the past are now lost their secrecy specification and they started to be built also during the day time (Çakır, 2011).

Squatting started together with the migration from village to city. The migration caused the housing deficit. The need for housing which could not be met by legal housing processes (Triveno, 2016), was met through shanty houses, and local administrations supported this housing problem by providing infrastructure and public services (Yıldız, 2005). Squatting in Turkey's history emerged after the World War II and migration began from villages to big cities. The migration brought along the housing problem and caused the creation of the shanty house's concept. However, the shanty house concept had never been associated with negativities. On the contrary, it describes the lives of people who have not yet adapted to the city but are expected to adopt in the future; who do not yet have sufficient accommodation, but who aim to live in better conditions in the future. Slums, on the other hand, are often described as a concept of social exclusion and discrimination (Kızıltan, 2003; Erman, 2004).

Even though the social exclusion concept is evaluated together with poverty and is considered in a way that includes economic, social and political dimensions over time³ (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997), Adaman and Keyder (2006) describe that these should be separated from poverty through a quadruple matrix. According to this; (1) the *person is poor and excluded*. Researching whether poverty is the only cause of exclusion requires the study of different disciplines. For example, an individual living in the slums and having a low income. (2) the person is *poor but not excluded*. Poverty is considered temporary and therefore the person will not remain permanently excluded. For example, a student following his/her studies under financially difficult conditions. (3) the *person is not poor but is excluded*. The exclusion of the person is not caused because of poverty, but because of other reasons. For example, a person who is not accepted because of their sexual/religious preferences. (4) *the person is not poor and is not excluded*. They are individuals who don't have any financial difficulties and are accepted in society and can take part in social life. Therefore, poverty is not considered as the main reason for their exclusion (Adaman & Keyder, 2006).

The structure of migrants is also important as a result of migration, which is the main cause of squatting. Dinçer and Enlil (2002) classify the structure of migrants, especially in Tarlabası, as old migrants, new migrants and Istanbulites, and indicate that

³ The economic dimension of the social exclusion involves income and production problems and access to goods and services, in which some people are excluded, and some others are not. Its social dimension includes the exclusion of certain social groups in decision-making through employment, and the marginalization of disadvantaged groups (such as women and ethnic groups). And its political dimension includes the rejection of human and political rights for certain parts of the population (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997).

the majority of them are old migrants (51%), who migrated before the 1990's. This is followed by the new migrants who migrated after 1990 (27%) and those who are the second or third generation migrants who are born and raised in Istanbul (18%). Especially after the 1950's, with the rapid urbanization process (Önal & Akdemir, 2015), the migration towards the region becomes unprepared, which occurs intensively after 1990's in Southeastern provinces in the state of emergency (Dinçer & Enlil, 2002).

Migration movements also change the structure of the city over time (Önal & Akdemir, 2015). These regions meet the accommodation needs for the people arriving in the city (Şen, 2012) and even though they are actually the first place of visit for the ones arriving there, they are places where 'transit' people who consider their stay as temporary, reside. This situation can be observed by the high tenancy rates in Tarlabaşı, Istanbul (Yücel, 2016). This tenancy transforms itself into poverty rotation over time. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) define the concept of poverty rotation as *'a partnership formed by groups participating in the migration waves towards the city. Poverty rotation is defined as the relationship networks that are formed through the fact that migration groups that came to the city earlier and the base groups that already reside in the city can become richer through the sections who arrived later and other unprivileged groups and in a way that they can transfer their poverty to these new groups'* (p. 49). The foundation of this partnership is to survive and is established in the land-housing market. Its focus on citizenship, the unequal dispersion of the income within the group and its inclusion of political relations in connection with this, are its basic specifications (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001).

However, Keleş (2015) states that it is not a correct approach to consider shanty housing as an accommodation problem that occurs only after migration. Because no one chooses to live in poor housing conditions. However, the poor who are not able to afford the cost of good housing, are forced to accept shanty houses that are in poor condition (Triveno, 2016). Even though the word shanty is considered a type of shelter, the problem is actually related to development or underdevelopment. Therefore, resolving the housing problem of those living in these regions allows the resolution of only one dimension of the problem (Keleş, 2015). Tarlabaşı, which has poor physical conditions, has been ignored due to short-term and day-saving policies and rental returns, and the region has been left into turning into a slum area (Önal & Akdemir, 2015).

Yücel (2016) describes the concept of slums that is used instead of shanty (Erman, 2004) under three different types. In the inner slums (or hidden ghetto), the neighborhood has an intertwined structure that is physically close to the city center and is causing the ambiguation of social boundaries and distances. There is no place to be defined as a center in the shattered slums, the housing areas are more organized. The integrated slum is located around the city but is an area that starts to obtain city center qualities. Tarlabası district which is the subject of this study, is an example of the inner slum type (Yücel, 2016). At the same time, Tarlabası district, along with the Eminönü-Süleymaniye region in Istanbul, has the characteristics of a depression area together with Gedikpaşa, Kasımpaşa and Balat (Şen, 2012). Şen (2012) defines the depression areas as *'areas that start to become peopleless because of undesirable consequences such as job losses due to growing unemployment, increased social exclusion, physical collapse and poverty, and worsening living standards'* (p. 294). The depression in these areas is most prominent in physical structures and buildings. Buildings are mostly used for commercial purposes and not for residential purposes. The enterprises that are situated in these areas used for commercial purposes are not modern enterprises. Though, the distinction between housing and workplace is not very clear. However, when a general observation is made it is clear that the overall rate of housing use in the region is quite low. Therefore, the real estate values of buildings are also low.

Within the shanty houses that show a dramatic structure (Yıldız, 2005), the buildings are mostly worn, poor and neglected. Even the walls of the buildings in India are constructed by using cement, their ceiling structures are made of tin (Fernando, 2009). However, in the Kibera slum of Nairobi, Kenya, the houses are built from mud bricks and sheet metal (Golla, 2018). In Turkey, as the buildings do not have historical monument qualities, but as the zoning arrangements have been restricted due to the fact that the region has the historical city center qualities, the new buildings are not built at the expected speed and at the expected level and the existed ones aged over time. In addition, for reasons such as lack of comfort, adjacent building layout structures that prevent adequate air and light, houses with small square meters of space, residents of the area have left their houses (Şen, 2012).

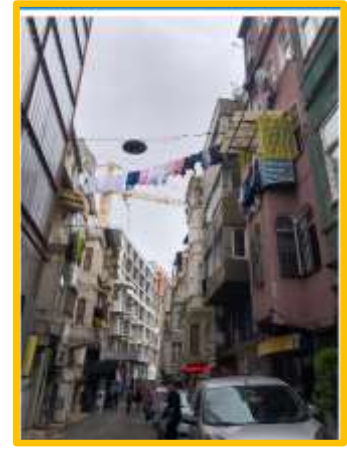
Photo 1:
Tarlabaşı Building-1*



Photo 2:
Tarlabaşı Building-2*



Photo 3:
Tarlabaşı Building-3*



*Photos belong to the authors.

As one of the districts having the smallest surface area in Istanbul, Tarlabaşı (http://istanbul.yerelnet.org.tr/il_ilce_koordinat.php?iladi=%DDSTANBUL) is one of the areas where urban poverty is experienced most densely and profoundly (Şen, 2012). There is a unique ‘mythology’ related to the region which is directed through negative expressions, even if it is ambiguous, and therefore this causes the region to be considered having a problematic social and physical environment (Önal & Akdemir, 2015). Tarlabaşı is also used as a set-in various TV series (such as; Kadın, Çukur, Paramparça) and movies (such as; Ağır Roman, O. Çocukları, İstanbul Hatırası).

Photo 4:
Tarlabaşı Street-1



Photo 5:
Tarlabaşı Street-2



Photo 6:
Tarlabaşı Street-3





Resource: Google Maps, 2019.

*Photos belong to the authors.

Slum tourism, which began to spread with considerable vitality in various parts of the southern hemisphere after the 1990's (Steinbrink, 2012; Frenzel & Koens, 2012), appears as a type of niche tourism (Frenzel, 2012, 2014; Amo, Jayawardena & Gaultier, 2019). Visits to areas that struggle with poverty and violence within the cities are defined as slum (ghetto) tourism (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012; Rolfes, 2010). In this way, inaccessible zones become an attractive destination (Frenzel, 2014), while poverty becomes a commodity (Freire-Medeiros, 2008). However, it should be known that slum tourism will not apply every area that there is poverty within the region (Frenzel, 2012).

Slum tourism first causes a sense of disgust in mind and judgments about practices that are considered immoral (Amo et al., 2019). Because it is an experience that disturbs the sense of comfort and belonging in a different way from the environment in which one lives (Jaffe, Dürr, Jones, Angelini, Osbourne & Vodopivec, 2020). Apart from reasons such as authenticity and different experience (Freire-Medeiros, 2008; Meschank, 2011), reality (Dyson, 2012) and an educative side (Meschank, 2011), the tourists also visit these regions to feel the emotional power and the pressure presented by the environment. However, living in this region and visiting it, are different concepts. As living in the suburbs causes a number of emotional reactions, short-term tourism causes these reactions to be more temporary (Jaffe et al., 2020).

Slum tourism, which co-existed with poverty (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012) that is used as a tourist attraction, is in a sense considered as 'poverty porn' (Dyson, 2012; Amo et al., 2019). Even the people visit these regions on the condition that differences between races, classes and nations are temporary, watching these lives causes an emotionally destructive

effect on the person together with empathy. However, visitors are often reminded that they do not belong in these worlds, in order to prevent them from experiencing these feelings (Jaffe et al., 2020).

On the other hand, the attitudes of the people living in the region are also important. Similar to the local people's support of tourism as long as they provide gains (Perdue et al., 1990; Sirakaya et al., 2002; Johnson et al., 1994), the local people living in the slums consider the development of tourism in the region in both positive and negative way (Frenzel et al., 2015). For example, Freire-Medeiros (2008) states that following the favela in Brazil attracted tourists because of the movies, people from the region started to consider that they may gain income from slum tourism. Although they do not have equal conditions with tourists coming to the region, they have been very understanding with them.

METHODOLOGY

In the study, qualitative research methods are used to gain an in-depth look at the attitude of local people towards slum visitors. The study is carried out with 29 volunteer participants who are long-time residents of Tarlabası, Istanbul. Snowball method from non-probability sampling methods is used in determining the number of participants. The study started with the selection of a subject that meets the examination criteria and then this person is asked to recommend someone who meets the study criteria (Erdogan, 2003). The criterion in the study is the volunteer local people who have lived in Tarlabası for many years and who can provide detailed information about Tarlabası. Interviews are started using the snowball sampling method, and when it is determined that the number of resources and references started to be repeated frequently and new categories did not occur, the interview process is terminated. During this time, 29 analyzable interview forms are obtained. The interviews took place in Tarlabası on May 2019 and lasted an average of 15-20 minutes.

Interview questions have been adapted into the current study based on studies describing slum tourism (Freire-Medeiros, 2008; Rolfes, 2010; Frenzel & Koens, 2012; Meschank, 2011; Dyson, 2012; Steinbrink, 2012; Dürr & Jaffe, 2012; Frenzel, 2012; Amo et al., 2019; Jaffe et al., 2020). The five semi-structured questions asked to the participants are as follows:

- How can you define Tarlabası? (Daily life, ethnicity, lifestyle, income level, etc.)
- How do you consider Tarlabası's infrastructure and superstructure possibilities?
- Is the local-foreign tourist striving to see this place? What do they see? Towards what they are attracted to? What they can see?
- Is this an area where foreigners can enter? Can a stranger from the outside come here alone without someone from this area accompanying them? Can we say Tarlabası is a safe place?
- Does it bother you to see the tourist around here? Or would it? If yes, why is that bothering you? Or would that bother you?

In the interview form prepared at the beginning, there are also questions regarding the age, occupation and residency durations of the participants. However, approximately 60% of respondents were not willing to respond to demographic questions on privacy grounds. Therefore, demographic findings are excluded from the analysis.

Interviews are conducted face-to-face by seven different researchers. The researchers who conducted the interview are given prior training on qualitative research methods and interview processes. The researchers first briefed the participants about the study and requested permission for the interview. Interviews are recorded using a voice recorder following a permission request. Interviews recorded with the audio recorder are transcribed for analysis and analyzed using the NVivo qualitative data analysis program. The data obtained are subjected to content analysis. Separate themes and categories are created simultaneously by two independent researchers. The resulting themes and categories are compared and a consensus is reached.

RESULTS and FINDINGS

As a result of the content analysis, 3 themes and 11 categories are identified. The themes are identified as social structure, infrastructure/superstructure, and the perception towards the tourism. The categories determined in social structure theme are crime rates (both high and low), ethnicity, poverty, solidarity; the categories determined in infrastructure/superstructure theme are superstructure and infrastructure deficiencies; the

categories determined in perception towards tourism theme are tourist behavior, positive attitude, economic gain, tourist-local people interaction (Table 1).

Table 1. Themes and Categories

Theme	Categories	Resource	Reference
Social Structure	Crime Rate	38	72
	Ethnic Structure	17	34
	Poverty	9	13
	Solidarity	6	7
Infrastructure/ Superstructure	Superstructure Inadequacy	12	14
	Infrastructure Inadequacy	9	10
Perception towards the Tourism	Photographing the Attractions	26	40
	Positive Attitude	20	21
	Economic Gain	19	28
	Tourist-Local People Interaction	6	7

In the determined social structure theme, the most frequently repeated (72) category by the participants (38) is established as the ***crime rate***. The majority of the participants point to the high crime rate (22) in Tarlabası. The offences mentioned include theft, pickpocketing, snatching, drug dealing and prostitution. The participants (#5, #24, #25, #27, #28) used the following expressions when asked about the security of the region ‘...folks are afraid to enter here...so they can come before sundown...I see this neighborhood but you don’t know what’s going to happen on a street just below it is like this every year...A dangerous place...There is life safety but there is no safety of good, it is not safe in general it can be very different from day to night there is no problem in safety of life matter but there is no safety of good at night time...’. However, 16 participants have stated that there has been a decrease in the crime rate, especially in the last 10 years. Regarding declining crime rates, statements such as ‘...But now they’re trying to provide an environment where they can control things by focusing on the safety as time goes by (Participant #11)’; ‘...the crime rate is also lower than when compared with 10 years ago... (Participant #12)’; ‘...can’t say, it not like old times, when I started 11 years ago and now there’s a lot of distance, there’s a difference... (Participant #17)’; ‘...It’s not very nice... Of course, there used to be more drug addicts, but now it’s not that much... (Participant #18)’ can be presented as examples.

Another category that is significant in this theme is that the local population has a wide ***ethnic structure***. The 17 participants who participated in the study stated that Tarlabası region received a lot of migration from different places. One participant (#9)

describes the positive effects of the ethnic variety as follows: *'there was more density of migrants in this region...or because people are all nomads, it's often rare to see totally local people. There's a vast amount of commingling, you know, since my childhood, for 20 years, there have always been different cultures...'*

Another positive interaction expressed by the participants is that the people from the region are in **solidarity** (6). Within the scope of this category, it is stated by the participants that the people from the region are friendly and that the neighborhood relations are good. Some of the participants (9) talk about the **poverty** in the region. When the local resident's poverty is taken into consideration, the comments from some participants are significant. For example, some of the descriptions from the participants are as follows: Participant #11 *'...In terms of work, it's a region with a shortage of livelihoods. Go to any district of Istanbul when you say you live in Tarlabaşı people are a little different ...there is a little shyness.'* and Participant #14 *'...This is a transit point. Usually, people come here, live here for five years - ten years, and after they've improved their situation, they move to better neighborhoods. Nobody stays here for too long'...*

Participants talk about **superstructure** (12) and **infrastructure** inadequacies (9) within the region. Superstructure inadequacies include the destruction of buildings, the fact that most of those are in a way in which people are unable to live, the narrowness of the streets, (even the cars are not able to enter from some of those), and the problem of cleaning. As a lack of infrastructure, the participants point flooding of homes due to lack or insufficiency of sewage, water outlets/water tunnels.

Within the framework of the last theme, the perceptions of the participants towards tourism are determined. It was determined that the category (40) which is frequently repeated by the majority of participants (26) in the theme, is **photographing the attractions**. It is stated that the region is particularly famous because the Turkish series filmed over there and that this the fact that attracts the tourists. It is stated that the most frequent behavior of visiting tourists is to take pictures. According to the observations of the participants, most of the old Greek houses, ruined buildings, houses, stretched laundry lines on the streets, children and shopkeepers (especially street vendors) are photographed.

The majority of the participants (20) state that they do not feel uncomfortable because of the tourists and that they are even pleased that the tourists visit where they

live. Therefore, it can be said that they present a ***positive attitude*** towards tourism. Participants express their pleasure to welcome tourists to this region: ‘...*We are very happy to see the tourist at the moment* (Participant #12); ...*it doesn't bother any person in this area, on the contrary, it makes everybody very happy* (Participant #15); ...*we are quite happy* (Participant #21).’

The reason for these positive attitudes is expressed as the fact that they get ***economic gain*** from the tourists (19) and that they have social interactions with the tourists (6). The following are the prominent statements of participants who see tourism as an industry in which they can make financial profits and therefore have a positive perception of tourism: ‘*I run a hotel... I always want to see tourists...* (Participant #10); ...*currently, 60-70% of the shopkeepers' income is from the tourists...* (Participant #12); ...*The visit of the tourists around here means trade...* (Participant #15); ...*So all the shopkeepers are already earning money from visiting tourists. 60% of our income is earned from them...* (Participant #21)’

Some of the participants (6) state that their positive perception of tourism originates from their social interactions with tourists. For example, Participant #7 states ‘...*They come to our hometown, they talk to us, we talk to them. They like it, we have aunties up there that offer tea to them, so they like it...*’ and Participant#11 states: ‘...*we are happy to talk to people from different cultures and frankly also to see them.*’

Within the scope of the study, participants are asked to freely describe Tarlabası. The common words used in the interview texts obtained from these narratives are examined and a word cloud is created (Figure 1). The words were not in English but in Turkish. Thus, the word cloud is created according to Turkish. When creating a cloud of words, phrases containing less than two words, conjunctions, and words that are not directly related to the subject are excluded from the analysis. In addition, words repeated for two or fewer times are not included. The words from the word cloud written with a larger and darker font are words that are repeated more frequently by the participants.



Figure 1. Perception Against Tarlabası: Word Cloud

When the use frequency of the words from the word cloud is examined, it is determined that the five words that are most used are respectively: us (f=19), culture (f=19), place (f=16), beautiful (f=14), good (f=13) (Table 2). Besides the positive words (good, nice) used by the participants and attributed to Tarlabası, the researchers also determined negative words (such as old-its use by the participants is mostly negative, it is in the meaning of old, complicated, depressed, illegitimate).

Table 2. Perception Against Tarlabası: Word Frequency Dispersion

Word	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Similar Words
us	19	9,84	we, ours
culture	19	9,84	its culture
place	16	8,29	
beautiful	14	7,25	
good	13	6,74	
life	11	5,70	
east	10	5,18	from east
old	8	4,15	
before	7	3,63	
bad	7	3,63	
neighborhood	7	3,63	
normal	7	3,63	
İstanbul	7	3,63	İstanbul, to İstanbul, in İstanbul, İstanbul's
income	6	3,11	Income
migration	6	3,11	
story	5	2,59	its story
region	4	2,07	
complicated	4	2,07	
urban	4	2,07	
distress	4	2,07	
municipality	3	1,55	
Beyoğlu	3	1,55	In Beyoğlu, from Beyoğlu
illegitimate	3	1,55	

past	3	1,55	in the past, from the past
central	3	1,55	
TOTAL	193	100	

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the tourism product potential of shanty areas defined as slums from the perspective of the people residing in the region. How the region is defined and how tourism demand is accepted by the residents is examined. According to the obtained results, local people defined Tarlabası as a region where crime rates are high, superstructures are inadequate, an area where visitors come to take pictures and where a positive attitude is exhibited towards visitors.

In the current study, residents of the slum region, who are socially considered to be less fortunate, are asked to freely identify the region. Accordingly, the highest frequency is on the word *we*. Although the spatial alienation of the inhabitants of Tarlabası is high (Yücel, 2016), the identity-individuality-collectivism perspective in the slums is listed respectively as family-country-oneself by the residents of the region (Ağırdır, 2008). In this sense, it can be considered ordinary to have a high sense of togetherness. In this study, the use of this word is supported by the word *solidarity* which is preferred by the people from the region while describing the social structure of Tarlabası. On the other hand, the word *culture* is often repeated in the definitions. Thus, the fact that the region actually has its own social culture may explain the frequency in the use of this word. It can be situated that the unique structure of the slum regions is not only due to their physical similarities, but also due to the slum culture, even within ethnic diversity. As a matter of fact, the use of the word ‘*culture*’ is often in sentences such as: ‘...There are people from all kinds of cultural background here, people from Adana, Antalya, Trabzon...people can continue to practice their culture here, they face no problems...’ supports this consideration.

However, it is significant that one of the least frequently used words is *central*. Because, as Tarlabası is very close to Taksim Square, which is also known as the heart of the metropolis, has central qualities. The *past* is the least repeated word. It is surprising that the region has a long history from the 16th century to today (<http://www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com/tarlabasi/detay/Tarihce/48/181/0>) but that this is not frequently repeated by the residents. Yet, Tarlabası is not a newly

established/developing district. As a matter of fact, the use of the word 'past' is significant in the statements in which the subject is the historical development of the region. Finally, the word *illegitimate* is another least repeated word. The word is mostly used to describe the illegality in the region. For example, a participant (#26) used the expression '*...there are many illegitimate people in here...*'

In the study, definitions related to Tarlabası's social structure are observed more dominantly. In this social structure, crime rates and the different ethnicity within the region are also stated. Tarlabası is a high crime rate area (Yılmaz, 2006; Gürbüz, 2015). Gürbüz (2015) states that the high rate of the crime is affected by the region's physical and social specifications that make committing the crimes possible. The presence of abandoned and derelict buildings in the region, lack of lighting and insufficiency of security explain the high rate in crime. On the other hand, Cömertler and Kar (2007) determine that the crime rate increases together with the increase in migration rate per person and the increase in the difficulty of living conditions of the people migrating to the city because of their structure that is not compatible and cannot get integrated with the city culture. However, it is still not known whether these crimes are committed by the residents of the area or by outsiders. As a matter of fact, the fact that İstiklal Street, located near Tarlabası, is an entertainment-oriented area, increases the visit rate of many people into the area. Nevertheless, they describe that the rates of the crimes committed by the residents have decreased over time, which is possible because of the fact that more enforcement forces are effective in the region nowadays.

The current study shows that the ethnic structure is highly affected and diversified through migration. As a matter of fact, the effect of migrations on the ethnic structure (Dinçer & Enlil, 2002) is considered as an expected result. The late 1980s (Adaman & Keyder, 2006; Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2009), especially the excessive migration towards Istanbul, explains the change in the structure of the area. Together with the migration wave created by the voluntary migration from the South East of Turkey before the 1990s and involuntary/enforced migration after the 1990s (Çakır, 2011), the ethnic structure has lost and continues to lose its homogeneity (Yılmaz, 2006).

Poverty is another concept with which the people from the region define the social structure. The people from the region describe those who reside in Tarlabası temporarily and leave the region after improving their situation with the term poverty rotation that is

defined by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001). This can actually be considered as a feature that prevents the people from the region to embrace the region. The people from the region indicate that Tarlabası is, in fact, a temporary accommodation area for migrants, which is a similar statement with Şen (2012)'s. On the other hand, the people from the region also state that migrants prefer this region due to the deficiency of their economic conditions. On this matter, Participant #27 state that *'...The living conditions already guide you. If it's possible you should live in Ataköy, Yeşilköy...live in much more beautiful neighborhoods. But what happens is that living conditions push you towards here. Is it the lack of possibilities or conditions, circumstances push you in some direction? It depends on materiality. If you ask me whether the problem is living in a better area, or this type of area, I will, of course, respond that I'd like to live in a better area. This region never harmed us. Well, I've been living here for 30-35 years. My children were born here and grew up here. We never got harmed here. Well, of course, there are ugly parts but tell me one place that doesn't have these and I'll tell you to go and live there all together... the people with lower income are living here. When people's income level is increased, they move to somewhere else ...'* statement (i.e. Keleş, 2015; Triveno, 2016) from Participant #22 also supports Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's (2001) poverty rotation concept.

Another result of the study is the fact that there are superstructure deficiencies in the region. Especially on the superstructure, the narrowness of the streets and the ancientness of the buildings are provided as examples. As a matter of fact, Tarlabası region has narrow streets due to its old settlement. The fact that it is located in the city center of the city and is an old settlement explains that the narrowness of the streets when compared to today's urban planning. On the other hand, most of the buildings in Tarlabası are old and ruined, which coincides with Şen (2012)'s description on the inner and outer structures of the shanty houses built in the slum areas. Although empty and abandoned buildings give the region which is subjected to urban transformation works, a unique appearance, the overall image of the region can be described as 'dramatic' as stated by Yıldız (2005). On the other hand, the lack of clear media information about the current state of urban transformation ongoing in the region⁴ prevents people to know what the future of the region would be.

⁴ Taksim 360 project developed by the Municipality of Beyoğlu, on the nine building blocks in Tarlabası district, within an area of approximately 20,000 m², includes the renovation of 278 buildings, that 210 of them being examples of registered civil engineering and also of the streets in between the buildings and of the structure (<http://www.beyoglubuyukdonusum.com/tarlabasi/detay/Proje-Hakkinda/9/8/0>).

The study also has findings regarding tourism. The people from the region indicate that visitors come to visit and take photographs in the streets, following the TV series and movies that are taken in the region. In this sense, it can be said that the region has an offering potential for film tourism, and film tourism is considered one of the significant attraction points for a destination (Gjorgievski & Trpkova, 2012). When Tarlabası's urban structure from the 19th century (Dinçer & Enlil, 2002) and its quality of being home to Greeks and non-Muslims until the 1960s (Yılmaz, 2006) are considered, the ancient Greek houses became an element of attraction. On the other hand, Tarlabası can be considered as an open-air museum when it is evaluated as a place full of old buildings in a metropolis undergoing an urban transformation. However, Dinçer and Enlil (2012) state that these structures cannot be preserved and that the arriving tenants' economic efficiency is not enough to protect these. Although they experience spatial alienation because they did not build the buildings themselves, it can be said that a neighborhood culture is preserved with the fact that they define themselves as a 'we'. In this sense, laundry lines, which are frequently photographed by visitors coming to the area, can also be considered as a symbolic example of this neighborhood culture⁵.

In the study, people from the region have shown a positive attitude towards visitors coming to the region. Therefore, it can be said that the people from the region support tourism. As a matter of fact, the people from stated that the region's support towards tourists is in fact because of the economic gains that they earn from them and also the social interaction. This data is coinciding with literature (i.e. Nunkoo & Gürsoy, 2012; Sirakaya et.al., 2002; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). As a matter of fact, the attitude of the local people towards the tourists is supported in case the region benefits from the tourists within social change relation (Sirakaya et.al., 2002). However, the transformation of poverty, which includes inequality, power and subjectivity (Dürr & Jaffe, 2012) into a commodity and a tourist attraction for a certain price, may also cause moral tension in the future. In this sense, the phases of the Doxey Irritation Index (1975) in tourism should also be taken into consideration.

⁵ The municipalities have regulations related to orders and bans in relation to hanging out the laundry. For example, according to Article 19 of the Regulation on the Application of Municipal Orders and Prohibitions of Municipality of İstanbul/Kağıthane 'It is prohibited to hang laundry and so on to the front balconies and windows. of the buildings that face the streets and roads, putting paraphernalia with ugly color and appearance on the parts of the buildings which can be seen from the street, hanging and drying food products such as sausage, bacon, mackerel etc., putting flower pots, jugs and all types of items on the balcony, terrace etc. spaces situated of the facade of the buildings without providing proper fixings and without taking necessary precautions' (<http://www.suleymanpasa.bel.tr/d/y/BelediyeEmirVeYasaklariYonetmeligi.pdf>).

The current study has some limitations. The information obtained from the participants for the study is limited to the participants' knowledge in relation to the region. Therefore, it is expected that there will be inadequacies in the participants' information when the current situation of the region needs to be compared with its past. Secondly, even though Tarlabası has a lot of physically negative features, people are not expected to express a bad opinion about the place where they live. Therefore, although participants indicate that there are negativities, the intensity and severity of these are unknown. In this sense, the possibility of biased descriptions in relation to the region should be taken into consideration. Thirdly, although the region is considered as a slum area, it is unknown whether people visit the place due to slum tourism motivations. A visitor may visit the place with film tourism related push-pull factors but may continue to visit the area with poverty related factors as well. Though the primary motivations of the visitors are not known. But it is clear that the area attracts visitors which can be developed by the municipality as a tourist attraction. Finally, the related study is carried out in İstanbul-Tarlabası. When it is considered that each suburban region has its unique characteristics, it is contemplated that the research that would be realized in different slum regions would generate different findings and results.

In future studies, the opinions of the local governments on this issue should be evaluated. In this sense, it is proposed that municipalities and neighborhood mukhtars situated within the borders of the slums should provide their evaluations. On the other hand, in order to measure the attitudes of the people in this region towards tourism, it is proposed to evaluate past studies and measure the attitudes of local people in slum tourism as a type of tourism that includes ethical problems.

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