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Creativity, culture tourism and place-making: Istanbul and London film industries

Bahar Durmaz, Stephen Platt and Tan Yigitcanlar

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Abstract

Purpose – *The paper aims to examine the role of creative industries in general and the film industry in particular for place-making, spatial development, tourism, and the formation of creative cities.*

Design/methodology/approach – *The article reveals the preliminary findings of two case studies from Beyoglu, Istanbul, and Soho, London.*

Findings – *The research found a relation between place and creativity and the positive contribution to creativity of being in a city center. Among the creative industries, the film industry plays an important role in the economic and spatial development of cities by fostering endogenous creativeness, attracting exogenous talent, and contributing to the formation of places that creative cities require.*

Originality/value – *The paper raises interesting questions about the importance of place to creativity, also questioning whether creative industries can be a driver for regeneration.*

Keywords *Culture, Tourism, Performing arts, Cinema, Turkey, United Kingdom*

Paper type *Research paper*

Introduction

Along with the new knowledge-based economy, creative industries are of increasing importance to urban planners, policy makers, and developers (Landry, 2000). Theories of creativity started to influence spatial planning and the impacts of these theories are evident in many cities' development strategies (Yigitcanlar *et al.*, 2008a). In particular, many scholars draw attention to creative industries and cities as significant tools of economic and spatial growth (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Yigitcanlar *et al.*, 2008b). The contribution of creativity to cities' economic and social success has become a hot topic in urban planning theory and practice as a way of urban restructuring through cultural regeneration (Yigitcanlar *et al.*, 2008c).

The decline in city centers since the 1980s has impelled policy makers and city authorities to find ways of rescuing city centers by locating creative industries in central locations (Evans, 2005, 2009). Cultural quarters have become the focus of regeneration, gentrification and centers for creative industries (Landry, 2004). The key question is how spatial planning might help creative industries to flourish in these central districts. The literature suggests that further investigation on the locational and property requirements of these industries is important in order to respond to their specific needs, and to decide whether restructuring existing cultural quarters or developing new districts is the better alternative (Yigitcanlar *et al.*, 2008d; Gornostaeva, 2009). The literature indicates a need for further examination of the prospects and constraints of locating creative industries in inner cities or on peripheries. The key issues that need investigation include first the dilemma between the positive effects of clustering on creativity and the ongoing decentralization process from city centers to the periphery, and second, the requirements of creativity and the new economy and the

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potential of cities to respond to these changes (Keeble and Nachum, 2002; Gornostaeva, 2008; WCC, 2007).

Creativity and culture are also important in tourism development and planning as well as being significant contributors to economic and spatial development. Good practice in creative city development is seen as a successful catalyst for tourism development (Yigitcanlar, 2009). Creative production processes are known to attract enterprises and individuals from the cultural sector. They also have a significant impact on other economic sectors, particularly tourism, generating important induced effects on city image, attractiveness and consumption patterns (Harcup, 2000).

Various studies argue that originality and diversity of cultural provision protects local identity, attracts creative people and promotes sustainable destination competitiveness (Florida, 2002; Richards and Wilson, 2005). Cities worldwide are employing culture and creativity for branding (Richards, 2001). This branding process is driven by public authorities' desire to develop productive resources for their cities. The production of culture has, therefore, become central to many development strategies worldwide (McCann, 2002). Culture has become a crucial resource in the new economy, as reflected in the use of cultural heritage in the development strategies of the European Union, and creativity is increasingly used by cities and regions as means of preserving cultural identity and developing socio-economic vibrancy (Ray, 1998).

This paper aims to scrutinize the role of creative industries in general, and the film industry in particular, in place-making, spatial development, tourism planning, and the formation of creative cities, their clustering and locational decisions. The paper comprises six sections. Following this introduction, the second and third sections provide a thorough review of the literature on creative industries, clusters and cultural tourism and also investigate the relationship between the film industry and creative tourism. The fourth section introduces successful global best practices that link creativity, tourism and the film industry in the creative city formation. The fifth section presents the findings of two case studies of Beyoglu, Istanbul, and Soho, London, focusing on the attributes of place for film-making and the locational preferences of the film companies. The final section concludes by discussing the implications of the preliminary findings of the research reported in this paper on creative industries and tourism.

Creative industries and clusters

The new economy

The terms of new economy, knowledge-based economy or creativity-based economy point out to the changing economic, technical and social structures of the twenty-first century. Scott (2006, p. 1) suggests that the new economy is "shaped due to shifts in technology, structures of production, labor markets and dynamics in locational agglomeration". Through this shift in the economic structure, social, cultural and spatial forms have also been changed and have influenced the urban development processes. Sassen (2001) indicates that the new economy pushes cities to seek new spatial organization through urban restructuring. Therefore, adapting current spatial, economic and cultural systems of cities to ease the integration with the new economy is important. In restructuring cities, art and creativity play an important role as the key growth resources of the development process (Sharp *et al.*, 2005). Montgomery (2007) suggests that successful cities of the new economy will be the ones that invest heavily in their capacity for creativity and that understand the importance of locality and cultural heritage.

The new economy raises the issue of "creativity" and its broader translation of "creative cities". The creativity discourse and the frameworks to develop creative cities are currently in vogue, although, the importance of creativity and its relation to cities is not a new idea. Athens in the fifth century, Florence in the fourteenth, Vienna in the late eighteenth, Paris in the late nineteenth and Berlin in the twentieth century were the centers of creativity, art and culture (Hall, 2000).

Creative industries

Creative industries are important building blocks of creative city formation (Durmaz *et al.*, 2008). They offer the potential to meet wider inclusion and diversity of development goals. Recent literature indicates that creative industry counts as a significant sector of the new economy (Baum *et al.*, 2008) and its contribution to growth and prosperity has attracted attention from city authorities, politicians, professionals and scholars. Landry (2007) believes that creative industries create positive images for cities, help in social cohesion, attract talent and industry and businesses, and also contribute to the livability and quality of life and place. Creative industries link production, consumption, and manufacturing industries in cities (Pratt, 2008), and promote sustainable urban development and sustainable tourism (Richards and Wilson, 2007). However, Oakley (2004) suggests that the role of creative industries in economic development is exaggerated and can result in economic inequality, gentrification, and destabilization of the local economy. According to Hall (2000, p. 642), although, creative industries foster the creativity potential of cities, “having creative industries is not all the same thing as being creative”.

Creative clusters

Creative clusters are often at the forefront of urban restructuring and marketing strategies, through the creation of creative districts based on the idea of clustering (Porter, 1995; Bagwell, 2008). Creative clusters have several definitions in economic geography, but the most influential definition of comes from Porter (1998, p. 78): “a geographic concentration of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, associated institutions and firms in related industries”. Scholars and city authorities advanced the Cluster Theory as a useful approach to fostering creativity and creative industries. In the USA clustering has been promoted as a way of encouraging the restructuring of deprived inner city areas (Porter, 1995). This US-inspired model of business-led regeneration has led to many cultural strategy initiatives focusing on feeding existing creative clusters in inner city areas (Bagwell, 2008). Research on the topic of clustering suggests that clustering has number of advantages both for firms and regions, such as making a positive contribution to creativity, higher productivity, new firm formation, growth, profitability, job growth, innovation and increased competitiveness (Keeble and Nachum, 2002; Bagwell, 2008). On the other side, various research also criticize clustering as a “chaotic concept” due to the lack of clarity over its definition (Gordon and McCann, 2000; Martin and Sunley, 2003; Turok, 2003).

The literature acknowledges the power of concentration of specialized industries in particular localities named as cultural districts. Santagata (2002) suggests that these cultural districts have become an example of sustainable and endogenous growth. The Los Angeles motion picture complex is a prime example of this cultural district type clustering. Santagata (2002) summarizes the key conditions for success in the Hollywood media cluster as a collection of small independent media firms, cooperation of a variety of professionals, highly qualified workers, localities of entertainment, and transaction rich networks of firms. Soho, London is another example of a successful cultural district having various sectors of clustered creative industries. Film-TV production companies and related service industries are also linked with other creative industries clustered in Soho. The companies located in cultural districts reap the benefits of being in close proximity to each other and to a well-developed infrastructure.

The dilemma of periphery and inner city locations

One of the key cultural policy issues within the restructuring process is the dilemma between investing in inner city areas or urban peripheries (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1994; Montgomery, 2007). Newman and Smith (2000) highlight the importance concentrating cultural production and creative industries in inner cities as clustering and co-location offer advantages. Hutton (2004) puts forward the importance of supporting inner-city investments to harness rapid growth in the new economy. Yigitcanlar *et al.* (2008d) emphasizes the importance of centrality for creativity in a successful inner city regeneration project of 22@Barcelona. On the other, other authors argue the benefits of more spacious new generation knowledge precincts with mixed use patterns of residential and recreational uses

as in the case of One-North Singapore, Helsinki Virtual Village and Zaragoza Milla Digital that are not located in the inner city areas. Evans (2005) argues the advantages of purpose built creative precincts with their new infrastructure as providing highly upgraded building quality, modern power supply grids, telecoms network, centralized climate control, pneumatic refuse collection systems, energy efficiency and noise pollution control.

Although creativity theory stresses the importance of centrality, in practice, creative industry companies tend to move more towards the periphery or to sub-centers either because of the problematic nature of the city centers or attractiveness of outer locations (Scott, 2000a; Gornostaeva, 2008). Nachum and Keeble (2003) underline this paradox between theory and practice as clustering in city centers versus tendencies for decentralization from city centers to peripheries.

Creativity and cultural tourism

Creative places and culture

The close link between creativity and place as a stimulant or catalyst for individual aesthetic creativity is discussed by many scholars (Landry, 2007; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Newman and Smith, 2000; O'Connor, 1999). Drake (2003) provides empirical evidence for the link between place and creativity. To promote creativity, Hospers (2003) stresses the need for concentration, diversity and instability. According to Törnqvist (1983) creative places take a long time to evolve and successful cultural quarters are those that have strong historical and cultural links. Scott (1997) argues that those organically developed cultural districts like China Town, Little Italy, the Arabic Quarter or the gay villages are the most creative districts of cities. Hall (2000) suggests that a cosmopolitan structure also fosters creativity as, "foreign people do not feel themselves as belonging to the established order of power and prestige, so behaving and living as they want helps their creative feel." (p. 646). For Santagata (2002) art draws inspiration from cultural links with their original local community that translates creativity into culture and contributes to a competitive advantage.

Creativity and cultural heritage tourism

One of the key concepts in tourism management is finding attractors for visitors to come to a city. In defining destination competitiveness Richards and Wilson (2005) emphasize the importance of cities diversifying their cultural offer and animating the tourist by encouraging creative activities. According to Amin and Thrift (2002) increasing competition in the market means that goods and services are no longer enough, and producers must differentiate their products by transforming them into "experiences" which engage the consumer. Scott (2000b) stresses the importance of supporting creative production and creative industry to promote cultural tourism.

Cultural heritage not only determines the image of the city, but is also essential for establishing the context that stimulates creativity. Cultural heritage reflects the soul of the city, and contains the essential elements to build a sustainable future. Cultural heritage is a magnet for the tourists, and new tourism strategies have to offer both tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage that includes monuments, architecture, galleries and museums, as well as events, music, exhibitions, theatre, film and knowledge, experience and customs of a community (Fusco Girard *et al.*, 2003). As well as tangible assets like buildings, infrastructure and upgrading physical quality, intangible aspects of local culture are also important (Smith, 2007). According to Throsby (2001) tangible and intangible heritage exists as stock of capital that can be seen, in economic terms, as a capital goods that can be consumed directly or can be combined in a creative way with other inputs to produce more goods and services.

Montgomery (2007) defines cultural tourism, in terms of cultural industries, as the seeds of creation and sense of place. Smith (2007) suggests that countries should link tourism strategies to local cultural heritage and community values and should avoid copy-cat schemes based on other cities' experiences and duplication. Miles and Paddison (2005) stress the positive contribution of cultural heritage tourism on creativity, through increased

prosperity, cosmopolitanism, growth in business services, increased name recognition, propagation of social and human capital, improved life skills and transformed organizational capacity. Maitland (2007) suggests that tourists seek organic growth rather than specifically planned places as these tend to have spontaneously evolved and are generally more attractive. Places where local culture is alive are found more interesting. Shaw (2007) and Richards and Wilson (2007) point out that the more creative and less formulaic approaches to tourism development avoid the reductive trap of homogenization and serial monotony. Montgomery (2007) suggests that to achieve successful and sustainable outcomes, cultural strategies should be driven from localities.

The ISAAC Project (Integrated e-services for Advanced Access to Heritage in Cultural Tourist Destinations)

One of the key issues facing many European cities is how, in the face of change, can people protect and enhance their quality of life and well-being. Insights from recent research suggest that promoting cultural heritage is an important mechanism for sustaining a community's self-identity and for generating growth and creative enterprise. The ISAAC project focuses on cultural heritage tourism and studies visitors' perceptions of cultural heritage in three European cities (ISAAC, 2009). The ISAAC study on three cities – Amsterdam, Genoa and Leipzig – highlights the hidden treasure stories of cities and the importance of developing creative industries (Marijnissen, 2008). The results of the ISAAC project show that residents and visitors in all cities value tangible cultural heritage (e.g. architecture and buildings, museums and galleries) over intangible cultural heritage (e.g. local traditions and customs). Nevertheless, the key finding of the study is that at least half of the respondents in all three cities value cultural events, festivals, exhibitions almost as highly as physical aspects of heritage, and they rate local traditions and lifestyle as important. In fact all aspects of cultural heritage, including the most intangible ones such as local customs and beliefs, are valued as important by at least a third of the respondents. This finding, that both tangible and intangible cultural heritage are important, is found significant for cultural tourism management, urban development and creative industry (Table I).

Creativity, tourism and the film industry

This paper reports research that focuses on the film industry of Istanbul and London. This research aims at understanding the current structure of the film industry and the dynamics of the film industry in terms of creativity and the centralization and decentralization dilemmas.

Film industry is one of the major creative industries that has a high level of interaction with the place. Directors shoot films in places, and they record and represent the localities and cities in their films. The global film industry is able to shape the development of cities, and contribute to the growth of the tourism sector creating tangible and intangible resources for film-induced tourism, for instance Berlin, Cannes and Los Angeles (Beeton, 2005). Comprising various sub-sectors – photography, music and video industries, stagecraft, advertisement, motion picture, and video tape distribution – the global film industry contributes significantly to economic vitality (Di Persio *et al.*, 2003; Scott, 2005). Films also have a positive impact on tourism, increase place recognition and have a powerful effect on viewers in terms of dictating their next vacation destinations (Baker *et al.*, 1998). Auckland, the entertainment city of New Zealand, is another good example for the film-induced tourism. After the trilogy of the *Lord of the Rings* shot in New Zealand, the number of tourists that visited this country and Auckland significantly increased. Auckland City now focuses on film-induced tourism, and on attracting more film-makers and related creative industries (Durmaz *et al.*, 2008).

Although the film industry alone cannot make a city creative, the film industry has invaluable contributions to the formation of a creative city. Film industry needs to have links with other creative sectors, if it is to be successful and to make an impact on the quality of a cultural district. Los Angeles (Hollywood), Mumbai (Bollywood), Auckland, Berlin, Rome (Cinecitta), Cannes, Melbourne, and Vancouver are among the cities that purposefully focus on the film industry and make this sector a significant catalyst for their creative urban economies (Durmaz *et al.*, 2008).

Table I Key findings of the ISAAC project

| <i>Cultural heritage</i> | <i>Residents %</i> | <i>Visitors %</i> | <i>Service providers %</i> |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Amsterdam</i> | | | |
| Architecture and buildings | 73 | 77 | 91 |
| Monuments and landmarks | 61 | 60 | 76 |
| Museums and galleries | 70 | 74 | 85 |
| Urban landscapes | 72 | 65 | 64 |
| Cultural events, festivals, exhibitions | 68 | 55 | 65 |
| Local traditions and lifestyle | 43 | 59 | 52 |
| Local customs and beliefs | 38 | 48 | 36 |
| Local knowledge and skills | 35 | 42 | 36 |
| Other things of local significance | 33 | 46 | 38 |
| <i>Genoa</i> | | | |
| Architecture and buildings | 86 | 82 | 80 |
| Monuments and landmarks | 73 | 70 | 58 |
| Museums and galleries | 73 | 70 | 88 |
| Urban landscapes | 71 | 63 | 72 |
| Cultural events, festivals, exhibitions | 59 | 63 | 79 |
| Local traditions and lifestyle | 48 | 55 | 76 |
| Local customs and beliefs | 31 | 47 | 50 |
| Local knowledge and skills | 35 | 45 | 37 |
| Other things of local significance | 32 | 41 | 55 |
| <i>Leipzig</i> | | | |
| Architecture and buildings | 88 | 85 | 82 |
| Monuments and landmarks | 67 | 63 | 74 |
| Museums and galleries | 64 | 66 | 69 |
| Urban landscapes | 87 | 78 | 71 |
| Cultural events, festivals, exhibitions | 73 | 61 | 70 |
| Local traditions and lifestyle | 43 | 49 | 54 |
| Local customs and beliefs | 52 | 42 | 55 |
| Local knowledge and skills | 62 | 40 | 59 |
| Other things of local significance | 64 | 43 | 61 |
| Source: Platt, 2007 | | | |

In some of the creative cities the film industry is located close to the city center and in others on the periphery. For example, Mussolini opened Cinecittà (Film City) in 1937 specifically as a gated film district to use films to fuel Fascist Propaganda (CineCitta, 2009). The studios which are 10 kilometers away from Rome's city center, are now the largest film-making facility in Europe. Cinecittà has all the studio environment, services, and facilities related to film production as well as social facilities for creative people living and working there. Hollywood is located on the northwest of downtown Los Angeles. Hollywood's central location also helped the film companies grow through connectivity to other sectors. All started with a small film company that started doing business in Hollywood in 1911. Since then many other companies clustered there and Hollywood became the district where the film industry initially concentrated in pre-World War II days. Today the industry has spilled over well beyond this original core, stretching out to other districts (Scott, 2005). Vancouver took advantage of this decentralization and lured some of the runaway productions from Hollywood with tax-credit programs (Durmaz *et al.*, 2008). Vancouver is also a very successful city that focused on the film industry and is a high caliber creative city (Durmaz *et al.*, 2008; Mercer, 2009).

Observations from Istanbul and London

This paper reports research in two cultural districts – Soho, London, and Beyoglu, Istanbul.

Despite the theoretical importance of clustering for creativity, companies, both Soho and Beyoglu have been decentralizing towards the urban peripheries or other adjacent districts. However, the current situation is different in Soho.

Soho is a popular cultural quarter that is within the west end area of London in Westminster (Figures 1 and 2). Soho is an example of successful cultural reconstruction. Although some of the film companies moved out in the past and Soho has suffered some decentralization, film companies are now moving back. Interviewees highlighted that companies that are already in Soho do not want to move away despite the problems like high rents, parking and inadequate office space. According to the findings of this study, film companies appreciate the advantage of being in Soho as it is a creative cultural urban village in the middle of the city. The projects of Westminster City Council seem to have had a positive effect on this shift.

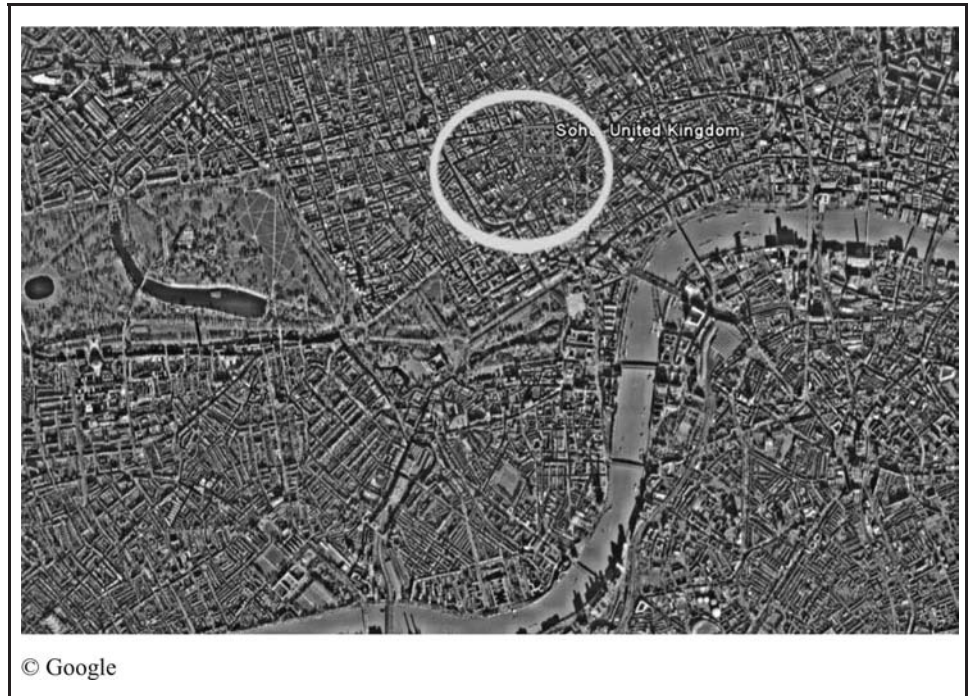
Westminster City Council developed strategies and encouraged public participation to attract companies restructuring and refurbishing Soho. There are governments and local community-based initiatives in Soho which helped rescue Soho, foster the creative industries in the area and attract the film companies back (WCC, 2007). In the 1960s Soho was a rundown area due to cultural and social changes which also affected the quality of the built environment (Sheppard, 1966). The City Council designated Soho as a conservation area in 1969. Since then conservation has been a strong force in the area and there have been a whole series of initiatives like Soho Society (1972), Sohonet (1999), Soho Conservation Audit (2005), Soho Action Plan (2006), I Love Soho Campaign (2006), Retrofitting Soho (2008) and Westminster Creative Industries Study (2007). This success story in Soho provides a framework for reconstruction based on art, culture and creativity that other cities can consider.

Like many cities around the world Istanbul has, especially since the 1980s, been subject to the process of decentralization (Karaman and Levent, 2000; Kurtarır and Cengiz, 2005). As Gecer *et al.* (2008) indicate concentrated city center activities declined after 1980s. City center functions spread towards sub-centers, and the traditional city center of Beyoglu fragmented and Istanbul transformed into a polycentric structure. The film industry witnessed the same process. Beyoglu district is famous for its relation to film industry dating back to the 1960s. At that time, most of the film companies clustered around a street named

Figure 1 Location of Westminster in London



Figure 2 Location of Soho in London



Yesilcam in Beyoglu and eventually the name of the Turkish Film Industry became known as “Yesilcam”. However, as this case study highlights, the film industry tends to move to more prestigious sub-centers like Besiktas, Sisli, Mecidiyekoy and the long standing culture of film-making in Beyoglu is under the threat of decentralization.

The researchers conducted interviews with people working in the film production in order to understand the spatial requirements of the industry and the relationship between place and creativity. The methodology combines various qualitative techniques with semi-structured interviews, observations, questionnaires and content analysis. Companies in Soho were selected from the UK-Local-Search database. In total 50 companies were approached out of the total of 156 film companies located in Soho. Of these 50 companies, 19 replied (UK, Local Search, 2009). 11 companies were discarded for various reasons (for example, six had moved from Soho). The initial pilot study that is reported here includes interviews with two companies. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with an executive producer and a location manager and online questionnaires are conducted with freelance employees (Figure 3).

Beyoglu, is an organically developed cultural district with similar spatial attributes but different dynamics to Soho. Beyoglu area is the major entertainment and shopping district of Istanbul located on the European side. The companies in Beyoglu were selected from a Turkish Cinema Database prepared by the Association of Turkish Film Directors and Internet Movie Database. In total 147 film production companies are located in Istanbul, and nearly half (47 percent) are in the historic central area of Beyoglu. The rest are in more peripheral districts, including 27 percent in Besiktas and 14 percent in Sisli (Sayman and Kar, 2006). Of the companies in Beyoglu, 21 were contacted and two of them are selected for interview in this pilot study (Figure 4).

Prospects and constraints

Companies choose to locate in Soho principally because Soho is the historic center of film production and because the area promotes opportunities for socializing and face-to-face

Figure 3 Location of the major film companies in Soho



meetings. Interviewees see the advantages of Soho in terms of proximity, diversity and a 24/7 city where “everything co-exists, everybody is here, and everything is happening

Figure 4 Location of the major film companies in Beyoglu



here". On the other hand, they also see some disadvantages of Soho as a location, including congestion, high rents, parking and transportation and accommodation issues including ventilation, heating, inflexibility and inadequate space (Figure 5).

Interviewees in Beyoglu mention a very similar set of reasons, including Beyoglu's historic, authentic and cosmopolitan structure. As in Soho, people mention that "everything is here, everybody is here, that's why we prefer to stay here". The highly tolerant atmosphere helps film and creative workers feel free and secure. There are good accommodation opportunities in and around Beyoglu and a vibrant nightlife. People highlight the advantages of proximity to commercial and cultural centers and other creative industries and relatively low rents in some areas. They describe the district as colorful, compact and providing access to a rich social life. They have the opportunity to go for a drink after work or to pop into a nearby cafe. Actors live and work here. The disadvantages mentioned include narrow streets that create difficulties with transportation, parking and film shooting. Accommodation is inadequate for storage of film-making equipment like cameras and lighting equipment. Security problems and high rents in the renovated parts of the district are mentioned among the disadvantages (Figure 6).

Locational preferences

Being in the city center is important for Soho-based companies. Soho is simply where "everything is going on in the city, and lots of people pass through the area, there is too much to see, hear and do". In Beyoglu, film companies also preferred to stay in the inner city so that they can stay in touch with actors, artists and other creative people living and working around Beyoglu. On the contrary interviewees mentioned that some companies had moved from Beyoglu to more prestigious places like Sisli and Mecidiyekoy and emphasized that these places cater better for their needs. One of the interviewees suggested dual spatial requirements in the film industry. "Exhibition, consumption and administration should be in the city center. Studios and workshops should be located on the edges of the city". Another interviewee said that, "logically the film industry should be in so-called purposefully built creative districts. However, personally I do not like gated areas with security cards and that is why I prefer being in Beyoglu, which has a historic and cultural urban living".

Figure 5 Soho in the 1980s and 2009

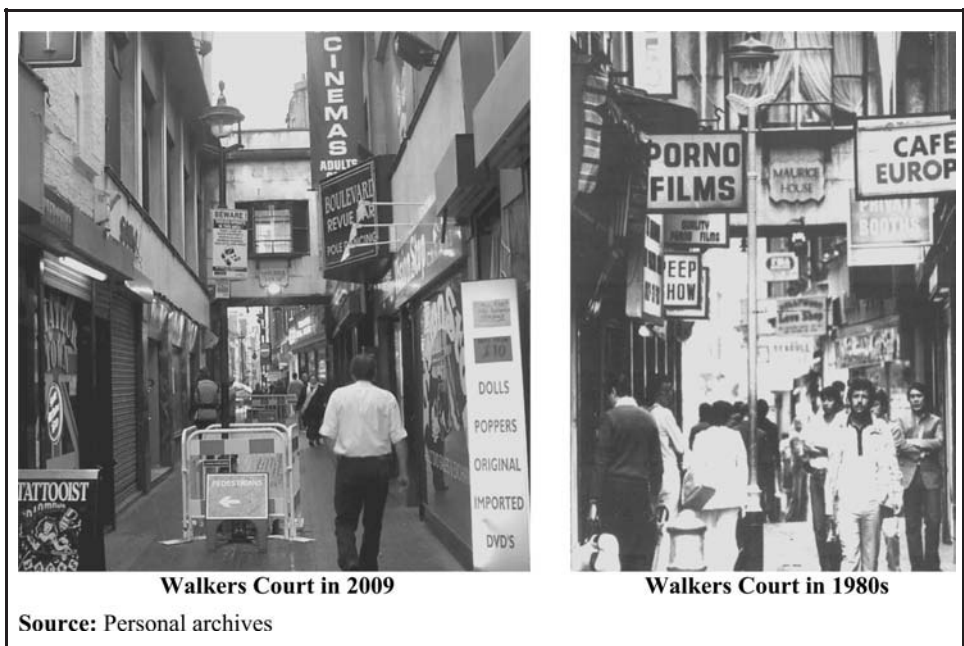


Figure 6 Beyoglu in the 1920s and 2003



Creativity and place

Both Istanbul and London respondents say that the city's cosmopolitan structure and diversity made them feel more creative and inspired. They like to be in touch with other creative people that motivate them. Interviewees say that "they like being in the city center where they have the opportunity to go to cafes, bars, cinemas". In Istanbul people also appreciate the chaotic nature of city living. Chaotic environments cause unexpected circumstances, which impact creativity. They see the city as a chaotic environment that inspires them and makes them feel that their art is in reaction to this complexity.

Attributes of place for film-making

Interviewees in both London and Istanbul find the effort difficult to define the specific attributes of place needed for the industry. They agree that ideally the city should provide areas with diverse qualities and different types of natural and built areas. These places should be in close proximity to transportation facilities, especially airports, as the film industry has strong links with foreign companies and with foreign creative workers. Companies located in Beyoglu indicate that "the place should match with the project, scenario or vision. Sometimes we need high quality well designed and well maintained places sometimes we need derelict areas".

Impact of the technology

Soho is very advanced in its use of technology to aid communication and interaction. Film companies use Sohonet and Wire drive for online data sharing. Interviewees say that technology affects post-production companies more than production companies. However, respondents stress that they still need face-to-face communication when the time comes to winning business. In Istanbul, technology is less advanced and does not have a big effect on companies' location preferences. Some aspects of technology affect the film-making process such as sound film technology that allows films to be shot in the city. Nevertheless film companies in Beyoglu do not use any online film-making infrastructure like Sohonet. These facilities do not exist yet in Istanbul. The interviewees had not heard of Sohonet. They

use internet, video conference, and email, but as in Soho, they have not given up face-to-face interactions. Although they use technology, they definitely feel the need for face-to-face contact.

Urban transformation

Another issue which needs to be underlined is the effect of the film industry on spatial transformation in Beyoglu. The well-known Turkish Director Sinan Cetin established a private film school, the Plato Cinema School, by transforming an old residential building complex into an education institute. This private school has become a college of a Turkish University through an agreement between the Turkish Higher Education Institute and Sinan Cetin's company (Plato Film, 2009). This initiative is rapidly transforming the area. Sinan Çetin has bought and renovated nearly 30 other old buildings near the school in Cihangir, Beyoglu. Some of them are used as film production offices, studios and sets, and others for costume and cine equipment storage. This development seems to lead to further development in the area such as student accommodation, new offices, and film studios.

Conclusion

Soho and Beyoglu both witnessed the decentralization process. In Soho, the local government and community acknowledge the importance of creative industries and develop strategies to rescue and revitalize the district. In Istanbul, local government and community initiatives have not yet acknowledged the importance of creative industries and the need to keep them in clusters. More attempts and policy initiatives are necessary to keep companies in proximity and clustered in Beyoglu. It is important to understand the reasons of the shift towards decentralization.

As in Soho, attracting creative industry companies back can be a good strategy to restructure Beyoglu. Attracting companies back will likely foster the creativity-based economy of Istanbul and harness the potentials of the place. Attracting film industry back might be an initial step that might lure other creative industries. Beyoglu has long standing assets in film culture that might kick-start activity and business formation. Potential buildings and strategic locations for artists, education and business facilities, workspaces for start-ups and established film companies should be promoted via local area development plans of Beyoglu.

The film industry might lead ephemeral activities like festivals, fairs, conferences which have as much positive contribution as permanent cultural buildings and landmarks (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1994). Participatory and community-based cultural strategies that focus on exposing local values are needed for the sustainable development of the district providing economic benefit, socio-cultural well being and enhanced creativity (Montgomery, 2007). A successful creative district will also attract new comers and visitors that will contribute to tourism and the wider economy. Although tourists may not come to Istanbul because of its creative industries, this local initiative will possibly create and add value to the climate of creativity in the city.

The interviews with film company personnel have shown that there is a relation between place and creativity and that being in a city center positively contributes to creativity. The case studies also provide insights about creativity and planning. All of the interviewees in Istanbul and London prefer being in an organically developed historical district, rather than a planned creative district. This statement matches with the findings of other researchers, including Pratt (2008), Gornostaeva (2009) and Hospers (2003).

This paper aimed to explore the relation between creative industries, urban restructuring and tourism. The paper focused on the film industry in Soho and Beyoglu. However, other creative sectors and their interrelation in these districts, locational and property requirements will need to be explored if the urban restructuring process is to be successful. The paper raises many questions that further research needs to address. In particular, two main areas of enquiry seem to emerge.

First, what is the relation between creativity and tourism? Imagine a tourist visiting Istanbul for the first time, walking around Beyoglu, having a coffee and then lunch, taking in the sights. How would a creative tourist behave? Would the creative tourists be more interactive than the norm – less passive? Would they want to learn or to produce something? Would they want to experience the city as a whole, wandering at will, sampling places and people, sights and tastes. Or would they specialize, following a single line of exploration. Would the creative tourist read a guide or follow their nose? In Istanbul visitors feel inspired – to explore, to think new thoughts. Cultural experience emerges ephemerally through conversation, movement, thinking, and people watching. Are people creative tourists in a creative city? Or would it be more accurate to describe visitors as being inspired?

Second, is it possible to regenerate an urban quarter, such as Beyoglu, without making the area less attractive for creative people? In Soho a coincidence of interests – residents wanting to clean up the area, developers seeking to make money and the Borough Council cracking down on anarchic development and anti-social behavior – combined to halt decline and deliver regeneration. What makes Soho and Beyoglu attractive to the film industry are the benefits of clustering and the serendipity of constructive chaos. But if a place is good for creativity and creative industry, is the same place also good for residents and for tourists? An exciting and stimulating place to visit is not necessarily a good place to live or bring up a family. And what has this statement to do with creative industry? Visitors like watching street life, but most creative activity, including film-making, occurs behind closed doors and does not encourage spectators. Most artists are not high-income earners and former bohemian quarters that are gentrified can be sanitized in such a way that they lose their creative appeal and become sterile shells.

The research indicates place-making of living areas as a big idea. The objective is to achieve a synergy between place, economy and culture. However, few cities score well on all three dimensions and retain an authentic cultural environment. The literature defines creative cities as being cosmopolitan, with an inspiring public realm, clusters of creative activity and a comparative advantage over other cities in some creative sector. Creative cities do not attempt to mix culture and tourism, they are not places for tourists, and they would not necessarily be called “cool” and would certainly not look to an imported class of creative people to provide the cultural energy. The links between creativity, regeneration and cultural tourism are not as clear cut as the literature suggests.

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