

CHANGING WORKSPACES AND URBAN EXPERIENCES OF CREATIVE
LABOR: THE CASE OF ISTANBUL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY



BY
GIZEM GUNER

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
CITY PLANNING IN CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

SEPTEMBER 2021

Approval of the thesis:

**CHANGING WORKSPACES AND URBAN EXPERIENCES OF
CREATIVE LABOR: THE CASE OF ISTANBUL**

submitted by **GİZEM GÜNER** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in City Planning in City and Regional Planning, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü
Head of the Department, **City and Regional Planning, METU**

Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü
Advisor, **City and Regional Planning, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Bülent Batuman
Landscape Architecture and Urban Design, Bilkent University

Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü
City and Regional Planning, METU

Instructor Dr. Ahmet Burak Büyükcivelek
City and Regional Planning, METU

Date: 10.09.2021



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Gizem Güner :

Signature :

ABSTRACT

CHANGING WORKSPACES AND URBAN EXPERIENCES OF CREATIVE LABOR: THE CASE OF ISTANBUL

Güner, Gizem

Master of Science, City Planning in City and Regional Planning

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü

September 2021, 182 pages

The economic and spatial vacancy after de-industrialization triggered the cities to capitalize on creative industries, which challenged the conventional dynamics of work and life in the urban sphere. Co-working spaces, homes and public spaces having emerged as new forms of workspaces – along with the urban environments being restructured as diverse ecosystems of high education, talent, vibrant cultural infrastructure and other services – are considered as the new landscape of the post-industrial city. The changing workspaces and urban experiences of creative labor are investigated in this study in Istanbul, which is the economic capital of Turkey, containing the majority of its creative workforce. Interviews are conducted in co-working spaces in Levent-Maslak, Sishane and Kadikoy neighborhoods where creative labor and their work / life environments locate densely. While the literature provides information about the creative labor' work /life preferences and the places that attract the creative class, the wider socio-spatial associations of the new spatial dynamics of work in the urban context is an under-researched area. Regarding how remote work will affect urban geography, the work and life experiences of creative labor can be valuable for economic development in urban planning practices.

Keywords: Creative Labor, Creative City, Co-working Spaces, Economic Geography, Istanbul.

ÖZ

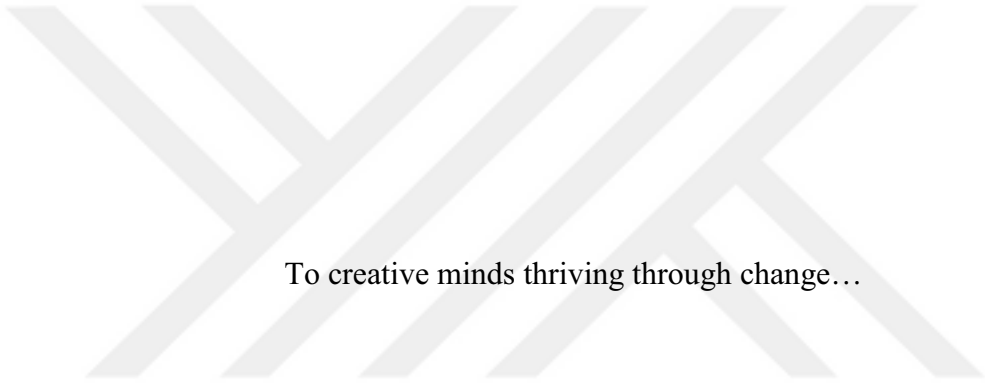
YARATICI İŞGÜCÜNÜN DEĞİŞEN ÇALIŞMA ALANLARI VE KENTSEL DENEYİMLERİ: İSTANBUL ÖRNEĞİ

Güner, Gizem
Yüksek Lisans, Şehir Planlama, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü

Eylül 2021, 182 sayfa

Sanayisizleşme sonrası görülen ekonomik ve mekansal boşluk, kentleri yaratıcı endüstrilere yatırım yapmaya iterken, bu endüstriler kentsel alanlarda iş ve yaşamın geleneksel karşılıklarını dönüştürmeye başlamıştır. Bu bağlamda ortak çalışma alanlarının, evin ve kamusal alanların yeni çalışma mekanları olarak yaygın biçimde kullanılması; aynı zamanda kentsel çevrenin yüksek eğitim, yetenek, canlı kültürel altyapı ve diğer hizmetlerden oluşan ekosistemler olarak yeniden yapılandırılması post-endüstriyel kentin yeni tanımını oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma, yaratıcı işgücünün büyük çoğunluğunu barındıran İstanbul'da bu işgücünün değişen çalışma alanlarını ve kentsel deneyimlerini incelemektedir. Yaratıcı sektör çalışanları ve iş/yaşam çevrelerinin yoğunlukla konumlandığı Levent-Maslak, Şişhane ve Kadıköy bölgelerinde bulunan ortak çalışma alanlarında anket çalışmaları yürütülmüştür. Literatürdeki geçmiş çalışmalar, yaratıcı işgücünün iş/yaşam tercihleri ve yaratıcı sınıfı çeken kentsel mekan özellikleri hakkında fikir verirken, işin yeni mekansal dinamiklerinin daha geniş sosyo-mekansal ilişkiler ve kent bağlamında incelenmesi az araştırılmış bir alandır. Uzaktan çalışma biçimlerinin kentsel coğrafyayı nasıl etkileyeceği düşünüldüğünde, yaratıcı işgücünün iş ve yaşam tercihleri ekonomik kalkınma ve kent planlaması uygulamalarında büyük katkı sağlayacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yaratıcı İşgücü, Yaratıcı Kent, Ortak Çalışma Alanları, Ekonomik Coğrafya, İstanbul.



To creative minds thriving through change...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü for her guidance, advice, criticism, encouragements and insight throughout the research. Her enthusiasm has accelerated mine, in every step of the journey; and she gave me confidence and support even at times of losing motivation. Her patience, intelligence and her authentic perception will inspire me through a lifetime. I gratefully appreciate her endless contributions and would like to express that it was a pleasure to have the chance to work with her.

I would also like to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Burak Büyükcivelek for his remarkable work during the studio processes that inspired me to conduct this research in the first place. His dynamism, collaborative thinking approach and his unique way of clarifying concepts guided me through this journey.

Besides, I would like to express that I am beyond grateful for the support of my dearest friends and beloved couple, Ece and Atalay, who motivated me when I needed it the most. This whole journey would not be the same without them.

The support of my colleagues; Gulnur, Renato and Eda deserves great appreciation as they encouraged me insightfully and empathetically.

The technical assistance of my dearest friend Sena Demir is also gratefully acknowledged. Her intelligence and sense of humor were the two things that kept me proceeding through days and nights.

Lastly, my deepest and the most valuable appreciation belongs to my family; my father Günay and my mother Çiğdem for their lifetime support, faith and love. They taught me how to think outside the box, and provided me the biggest opportunities in life that enabled me to explore, create and learn.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZ	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Context and Problem Definition	1
1.2 Aim of the Study and Thesis Question.....	3
1.3 Methodology of the Thesis.....	3
1.4 Structure of the Thesis.....	4
2 CREATIVE LABOR AND THE CITY: WORK-RELATED / ECONOMIC PRACTICES AND ACCESS TO URBAN SERVICES	7
2.1 Concepts of Creative Economy and Urban Space	8
2.1.1 Creative Industries	8
2.1.2 Creative Labor	18
2.1.3 Creative City	23
2.2 The Geography of Creative Economic Activity and the New Spatial Dynamics of Work.....	29
2.2.1 Lifecycle of Creative Economic Activity and its Spatial Dimension	30
2.2.2 Creative Clusters and Proximity	37
2.2.3 Co – working.....	40

2.2.4	Remote – Working from Home	45
2.2.5	Public Spaces as Workspaces	50
2.3	Creative Labor and Access to Urban Services.....	51
2.3.1	Live – Work – Play Communities	51
2.3.2	Education and Research Facilities	53
2.3.3	Art and Cultural Infrastructure	55
3	THE CASE STUDY: CHANGING WORKSPACES AND URBAN EXPERIENCES OF CREATIVE LABOR IN ISTANBUL	59
3.1	Creative Economy in Istanbul.....	59
3.1.1	Creative Industries in Istanbul.....	60
3.1.2	Creative Labor in Istanbul	62
3.1.3	Istanbul as a Creative City.....	65
3.2	Changing Places of Work in Istanbul	67
3.2.1	The Case of Levent – Maslak.....	71
3.2.2	The Case of Beyoglu	75
3.2.3	The Case of Kadikoy	78
3.3	The Changing Workspaces and Urban Experiences of Creative Labor Questionnaire in Istanbul.....	81
3.3.1	General Information About the Questionnaire Structure	81
3.3.2	The Results of the Questionnaire	83
3.3.2.1	The First Part of the Questionnaire: Work-Related / Economic Practices (A)	86
3.3.2.2	The Second Part of the Questionnaire: Urban Services (B).....	92
3.3.2.3	The Third Part of the Questionnaire: Hard and Soft Factors in Istanbul (C).....	111

3.4	Evaluation of the Questionnaire Results	113
3.4.1	Evaluation of the Work-Related / Economic Practices of Creative Labor	113
3.4.1.1	Lifecycle of Creative Economic Activity and its Spatial Dimension	118
3.4.1.2	Clustering and Proximity	121
3.4.1.3	Co – Working	125
3.4.1.4	Home – Based Remote Working	131
3.4.1.5	Public Spaces as Workspaces	138
3.4.2	Evaluation of the Urban Services	143
3.4.2.1	Art and Cultural Infrastructure	144
3.4.2.2	Education and Research Facilities	146
3.4.3	Evaluation of Hard and Soft Factors in Istanbul.....	150
4	CONCLUSION.....	155
4.1	Evaluation of the Case Study	155
4.2	Implications for Urban Planning	161
4.3	Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies	163
	REFERENCES	165

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 2.1 Categorization of “hard and soft factors” related to the urban environment (Murphy and Redmond, 2009)	53
Table 3.1 Average frequency of working in different workspaces	89
Table 3.2 Average frequency of working in different workspaces among gender groups	89
Table 3.3 Average frequency of working in different workspaces among age groups	90
Table 3.4 Average frequency of working in different profession groups	91
Table 3.5 Average values of hard factors in Istanbul evaluated by the survey participants	112
Table 3.6 Average values of soft factors in Istanbul evaluated by the survey participants	113
Table 3.7 Reasons for Use Frequency of Co-Working Spaces, Case of Levent – Maslak	128
Table 3.8 Reasons for Use Frequency of Co-Working Spaces, Case of Beyoglu	129
Table 3.9 Reasons for Use Frequency of Co-Working Spaces, Case of Kadikoy	130
Table 3.10 Reasons for Use Frequency of Working from Home, Case of Levent – Maslak	134
Table 3.11 Reasons for Use Frequency of Working from Home, Case of Beyoglu	135
Table 3.12 Reasons for Use Frequency of Working from Home, Case of Kadikoy	136
Table 3.13 Reasons for Use Frequency of Public Spaces as Workspaces, Case of Levent – Maslak	140
Table 3.14 Reasons for Use Frequency of Public Spaces as Workspaces, Case of Beyoglu	141

Table 3.15 Reasons for Use Frequency of Public Spaces as Workspaces, Case of Kadikoy	142
--	-----



LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 2.1. The commonalities between various definitions of creative industries by different global institutions (Buitrago & Márquez, 2013).....	13
Figure 2.2. The Creative Industry Sectors (Howkins, 2007; cited in Deloitte, 2019)	14
Figure 2.3. The UNCTAD classification of creative industries (UNCTAD, 2004)	15
Figure 2.4. The classification of creative industries (Buitrago and Duque, 2013)..	17
Figure 2.5. Creative value chain defined by the 2009 UNESCO statistics (Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009)	32
Figure 2.6. The actors within the creative industries value chain (Miles, 2009).....	33
Figure 2.7. The creative supply chain (The Creative Supply Chains Study by Mayor of London, Greater London Authority, 2019)	36
Figure 2.8. The reasons, advantages and disadvantages for running the business from home (Reuschke and Mason, 2015).....	48
Figure 2.9. Indicators of cultural activity in the city (Montgomery, 2003).....	56
Figure 3.1. Employment and Turnover Data of Creative Industries in Istanbul and Turkey (TSI Regional Statistics, 2011; as cited in Demir, 2018)	61
Figure 3.2. Number of Creative Industries Labor by Districts in Istanbul (SSI Social Security Institution Statistics, 2016; as cited in Demir, 2018)	64
Figure 3.3. The Creative Hub Network of Istanbul (Graphcommons.com, 2017)..	67
Figure 3.4. Number of Creative Industries Workplaces by Districts in Istanbul (SSI Social Security Institution Statistics, 2016; as cited in Demir, 2018)	68
Figure 3.5. The Cultural Triange of Istanbul (Enlil, Evren and Dincer, 2011)	69
Figure 3.6. The Accumulation of the Co-Working Spaces in Istanbul	70
Figure 3.7. Examples of co-working spaces: Impact Hub.....	73
Figure 3.8. Examples of co-working spaces: Kolektif House Maslak	73
Figure 3.9. Examples of the coffee houses: Startup Cafe (left), Starbucks (right)..	74

Figure 3.10. Examples of mixed use commerce, networking, art and performance centers: 42 Maslak (above), Zorlu Center (below)	74
Figure 3.11. Examples of co-working spaces: Workinton Galata	76
Figure 3.12. Examples of the coffee houses: Journey Cihangir.....	77
Figure 3.13. Examples of mixed use work, research, art and cultural centers: SALT Galata	77
Figure 3.14. Examples of co-working spaces: IDEA Kadikoy.....	79
Figure 3.15. Examples of the coffee houses: Montag Kadikoy	80
Figure 3.16. Examples of education, art and cultural centers: Yeldegirmeni Art Center.....	80
Figure 3.17. Gender Distribution (on the left) and Age Distribution (on the right) of the Participants in the Survey	84
Figure 3.18. Profession Distribution of the Survey Participants.....	85
Figure 3.19. Work Type Distribution of the Survey Participants	86
Figure 3.20. Workplace Type Distribution of the Survey Participants.....	87
Figure 3.21. Income Level Distribution of the Survey Participants	88
Figure 3.22. Places of Art and Cultural Activity Mentioned by the Survey Participants.....	93
Figure 3.23. Art and Cultural Activities Mentioned by the Survey Participants	95
Figure 3.24. The Frequency of Art and Cultural Activities and the Places Assessed based on the Number of Mentions by the Survey Participants	97
Figure 3.25. The Effect of Proximity of Art and Cultural Activity Centers to the Survey Participants' Home on their Frequency of Use	99
Figure 3.26. The Effect of Proximity of Art and Cultural Activity Centers to the Survey Participants' Workplace on their Frequency of Use.....	100
Figure 3.27. The Level of Effectuality of Art and Cultural Activities for the Creative Sector the Survey Participants Work in.....	101
Figure 3.28. The Level of Adequacy of the Spatial Qualifications of Art and Cultural Activity Centers According to the Survey Participants	102

Figure 3.29. Places of Education and Research Facilities Mentioned by the Survey Participants	103
Figure 3.30. Education and Research Facilities Mentioned by the Survey Participants	104
Figure 3.31. The Frequency of Education and Research Facilities and the Places Assessed based on the Number of Mentions by the Survey Participants	106
Figure 3.32. The Effect of Proximity of Education and Research Facilities to the Survey Participants' Home on their Frequency of Use	107
Figure 3.33. The Effect of Proximity of Education and Research Facilities to the Survey Participants' Workplace on their Frequency of Use	108
Figure 3.34. The Level of Effectuality of Education and Research Facilities for the Creative Sector the Survey Participants Work in	109
Figure 3.35. The Level of Adequacy of the Spatial Qualifications of Education and Research Facilities According to the Survey Participants	110
Figure 3.36. The Evaluation of the Importance of Activities Besides the Uses of Work and Home According to the Survey Participants	111
Figure 3.37. The Distribution of Work Types Among Different Age Groups of the Survey Participants	114
Figure 3.38. The Distribution of Age Groups Among Different Income Levels of the Survey Participants	115
Figure 3.39. The Evaluation of the Workplace and the Environment Surrounding the Workspace in cases of Beyoglu, Levent – Maslak and Kadikoy	117
Figure 3.40. Mapping the Creative Economic Activities Constituting the Creative Value Chain of Different Creative Sectors	120
Figure 3.41. The Spatial Characteristic (Type) of Workplace and Residence	122
Figure 3.42. The Advantages of a Clustered Workplace According to Survey Participants	123
Figure 3.43. Word Cloud Map of the Advantages of a Dispersed Workplace According to Survey Participants	125

Figure 3.44. Frequency of Working in Co-Working Spaces and the Gender Distribution	126
Figure 3.45. Word Cloud Map of the Reasons for Using Co-Working Spaces According to Survey Participants	131
Figure 3.46. Frequency of Working from Home and the Gender Distribution	132
Figure 3.47. Frequency of Working from Home and the Gender Distribution	133
Figure 3.48. Word Cloud Map of the Reasons for Using Home as a Workspace According to Survey Participants	137
Figure 3.49. Frequency of Working in Public Spaces and the Gender Distribution	139
Figure 3.50. Word Cloud Map of the Reasons for Using Public Spaces as Workspaces According to Survey Participants	143
Figure 3.51. The Effect of Proximity of Art and Cultural Centers to Workplace for the Survey Participants Who Rate the Effectuality of Proximity of them to Home as High.....	146
Figure 3.52. The Effect of Proximity of Education and Research Facilities to Workplace for the Survey Participants Who Rate the Effectuality of them to Home as High	149
Figure 3.53. The Duration (Years) of Living in Istanbul for the Survey Participants	151
Figure 3.54. The Reasons of Choosing Istanbul as a Place to Live for the Survey Participants.....	152
Figure 3.55. Evaluation of the Urban Development of Istanbul (top) and the Willingness of the Survey Participants to Take Part in Decision – Making Processes in Istanbul (bottom)	154

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and Problem Definition

The rapid development of transportation and communication technologies has enabled not only the exchange of goods and services or the liberalization of capital movements around the world, but also favored access to knowledge. In today's economic order, when knowledge has become one of the primary inputs in the global economy and data accessibility and mobility has expanded beyond limits; human capital's creativity has become the leading competitive aspect that will turn knowledge into value. In this framework, creativity has emerged as one of the most significant growth and development factors that distinguishes countries and cities that are economic engines in the current era. As a consequence, the role of sectors centered on the notions of "knowledge," "talent," and "creativity" is expanding at the local, national, and global levels (Florida, 2002b). In such a context; since high added-value has grown dominant in production, and the required labour markets for this high added-value is defined by skill and creativity, the importance of creative industries and the creative labor for economic and social growth of cities has become more significant.

Municipalities and governments adopt urban strategies concentrating on these industrial formations as the creative industries turn human capital, culture, and creativity into economic resources while also increasing international awareness and improving the city's image. By utilizing urban space in a variety of ways, industries that accelerate the regeneration of pre-industry based urban economies contribute to the creation of livable city environments.

With the geographic location decisions that surround these industries, and with the human capital the creative labor provides the urban locations they live and work in, creative industries shape the practices and spatial characteristics in urban areas (Caves 2000). With the extension of working practices beyond fixed location due to digitalization, the spatial dynamics of work change for the creative labor and different spatial articulations in the city sphere gains economic value with the generation of new economic activity. Coffee shops in the city becomes the new office space, collective work in co-working spaces allows the sharing of space and ideas, and home diverges from being only the private sphere; as flexible work pattern of creative labor start to extend the limits of the working space. The city space with its various amenities also become crucial for the creative industries and creative labor, since the city is no longer just an agglomeration where people look for jobs, but a space of consumption of goods and, mostly, of services. “Stimulating environments” encouraging creativity, a diverse ecosystem of “high education and talent”, “walkable and transit-oriented cities”, “areas with a vibrant cultural infrastructure”, and “communities with varied multi-use street-level activities” (Florida 2002b, 2004) becomes the factors that creative labor consider when locating in the cities.

In such a context, as the prior element of the creative industries, creative labor and their experiences, practices, evaluations in the city sphere including their changing work practices and experiences of urban services becomes highly important to generate policies in order to guide and expand creative urban development. It is also necessary to indicate that in the literature, little is known about the urban context of the new articulations of work (co-working / home / public spaces), the workers’ objectives and preferences, and the variety of urban facilities that these workers are interacting with. Although there are researches about the creative labor’ work/life preferences and the places that attract the creative class, the “wider socio-spatial impacts” (Brinks and Schmidt, 2015) of flexible workspaces have on the neighborhood and the potential effects of flexible work on urban development and innovation policies are still an unexplored area.

1.2 Aim of the Study and Thesis Question

This research evaluates the changing workspaces and urban experiences of creative labor; in a context where the co-working spaces, homes and public spaces having emerged as new forms of workspaces – along with the urban environments being restructured as diverse ecosystems of high education, talent, vibrant cultural infrastructure and other urban services – are considered as the new landscape of the post-industrial city. The flexible work practices of creative labor is discussed along with the topics of proximity (Glaeser, Kallal, Scheinkman, and Schleifer, 1991; Scott, 2004; Lazzeretti, Boix and Capone, 2008; Porter, 1998; Selada, Cunha and Tomaz, 2012) and creative value chain (Montgomery, 1994; Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009) while the interaction of creative labor with urban services is evaluated in the framework of live-work-play communities (Insch and Florek, 2008), hard and soft factors (Murphy and Redmond, 2009) and the creative city theory of Florida (2002; 2005; 2014). The study aims to identify the experiences of creative labor in the urban space, regarding their work practices (co-working / working from home / working in public spaces) and experiences of urban services (art and cultural infrastructure, education and research facilities, hard and soft factors). As attracting and retaining creative labor in today's cities becomes crucial, this research will contribute identifying the practices, experiences and preferences of creative labor regarding their flexible workspaces and desire for diverse and liveable urban environments; and will help building effective and long-term strategies for creative economic development in the cities.

1.3 Methodology of the Thesis

Since the focus of the thesis includes new spatial dynamics of work, and the research subject is the creative labor; co-working areas in three areas in Istanbul (Levent – Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy) are visited in order to conduct a survey with the creative workers. These areas are determined because of the fact that they hold the

greatest number of flexible workspaces and creative labor in Istanbul. The questionnaire is conducted with 30 people in Kolektif House Maslak, Kolektif House Levent, Kolektif House Sishane, TAK Kadikoy and IDEA Kadikoy, on the dates of 19th - 20th - 22nd of February, 2019. The participants are selected with non-probability sampling method of purposive sampling in which individuals are selected with respect to the criteria of working in any creative work area. The questionnaire includes multiple choice, 5-point Likert scale and open-end questions. When analyzing the survey results, the data analysis software of “Tableau” is used in addition to the conventional tools of analysis.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The research is structured in a way that builds the concepts of creative labor, economic geography and urban space in every chapter, and creating links between them. **Chapter 1** gives an introduction of the problem definition and identifies the research questions of the study. The aim of the study and the possible contribution to urban planning area are explained in this chapter. **Chapter 2** comprises the description of the concepts of creative economy and urban space; including creative industries, creative labor and creative city. The geography of creative economic activity and the new spatial dynamics of work are also identified in this chapter, with reference to creative value chain with its spatial dimension, concepts of clustering and proximity, and different forms of flexible work including co-working, working from home and public spaces as workspaces. The chapter also outlines the interaction between creative labor and urban services, defining the theory of live-work-play communities and explaining the importance assigned to education and research facilities and art and cultural infrastructure of the cities. In **Chapter 3**, a case study is presented which is conducted in order to reveal the work practices and urban experiences of creative labor in the city sphere. Lastly, **Chapter 4** includes the concluding remarks on flexible work, creative labor and urban facilities; evaluation

of the case study; and further implications for urban planning regarding urban economic development.



CHAPTER 2

CREATIVE LABOR AND THE CITY: WORK-RELATED / ECONOMIC PRACTICES AND ACCESS TO URBAN SERVICES

In this chapter, as a theoretical framework, the discourse of work – related / economic practices and the engagement of the creative labor with urban services are evaluated. In the first part, the theoretical outline presents and systematises different views on the concepts of creative economy and urban space (Creative Industries – Creative Labor – Creative City). For the second part, the geography of creative economic activity and the new spatial dynamics of work are identified by presenting a layout of the creative economic activity lifecycle, along with the concepts of co-working, home-based remote working and working from public spaces. The relationship between the creative labor and the urban services is identified in the third part, discussing the creative city associated general discourses. The concept of live – work – play communities is introduced, and among the soft factors crucial for a city attracting to creative labor, two main services are identified in detail: research and education facilities, and art and cultural infrastructure. Regarding the associated conceptual theories and policy approaches, the literature review has shown that the wide topic of creative labor in the context of the creative city is dependent on a variety of ideas and related concepts.

The theoretical debate is presented without reference to a specific geographical setting. Different terms mentioned throughout the text in regard to "territory"/"locality" or other spatial classifications should be expected to be interpreted in the sense of "place" as a limited territorial unit. The main assumption here is that the context of the city sphere is central to all relevant discourses. As an

environment where creative labor and creative economic activity tend to cluster, it is primarily interpreted as an urban milieu.

2.1 Concepts of Creative Economy and Urban Space

Cities have been drivers of development, poverty reduction and innovation for decades; as they are where the majority of economic activity, government, trade, and transportation are concentrated. In other words, they accumulate wealth. This accumulation of wealth can be dependent on many different resources throughout different time periods, and a crisis in one period leads to the emergence of the other. To present a brief historical background, it will be suitable to refer back to 1970s, when such an economic shift is witnessed as profitability decline and overproduction are surfaced in the form of "stagflation and synchronised global recession", which induced de-industrialization in most of the capitalist countries (Smith, 2012). The Global North's de-industrialisation was accompanied with the industrialization of several developing countries, which provided "low-wage workforce", "labor intensive production" and a huge market for industrial products (Koutsari, Antonopoulou and Chondros, 2019). This economic and spatial vacancy after de-industrialization triggered these cities to invest in cultural and creative economies, structured by "immaterial production" (Souliotis, 2013). Eventually, culture and creativity has begun to be considered as "vehicles for post-industrial economic restructuring and growth" (Bank and O'Connor, 2017).

2.1.1 Creative Industries

The "outsourced" industrial production of those developed cities enabled them to elaborate and invest on other industries, which revolve around entertainment, cultural and creative activities, economic and financial services, and the development of high technology. Known as "creative industries", these different economical areas

have an attribute in common: they are all involved in generating intellectual property (Pratt and Hutton, 2013).

The terminology of “creative industries” is used within a bunch of other terms in the literature, such as “cultural industries”, “creative and cultural industries”, “creative and digital industries” or even “Orange Economy” in Latin America. The term “cultural/culture industries” covers a more specified group of economic activity within the framework of “creative industries”, which will be explained further in the following sections. In the scope of this research, these two terms will be used precisely because they are not synonymous nor interchangeable. There is also a significant use of the term CCIs (cultural and creative industries) in the recent researches, reports or digital conference speeches, which also underlines the separation between two terms. Moving on to the next usage of the phrase “creative and digital industries”, it is possible to indicate that it is used increasingly in the UK for emphasizing “digital content and online services” within the creative industries. The most recent one, the “Orange Economy” (Economía Naranja) on the other hand, is a term suggested by Felipe Buitrago and Iván Duque (2013) in their publication “The Orange Economy, an Infinite Opportunity”. They perceive the orange colour pigment, which is used in ancient Egypt to paint the pharaohs’ temples, as a color for creativity, cultural value and identity; and that is why the colour is assessed with creative economy. Among all terminology, “cultural” and “creative” industries are the ones that are the most referred to.

The term ‘cultural industries’ embodies a narrower group of industries and can be mentioned as a “subset of the creative industries”. UNESCO (2006) describes cultural industries as “industries that combine the creation, production and commercialization of contents which are intangible and cultural in nature; whose contents are typically protected by copyright and can take the form of a good or a service.” Cultural industries are also defined as being “central in promoting and maintaining cultural diversity and in ensuring democratic access to culture” (UNESCO, 2006). This combination of the cultural and economic value formation is what makes cultural industries distinct. On the other hand, the term creative

industries are defined to comprise a broader group of activities which include all economic activities involving the creation and distribution of “creativity, ideas, knowledge, and information”.

The literature survey about the concept indicates that the term “cultural industries” began to be used earlier than the term “creative industries”. In 1930s, the critical and interdisciplinary approach introduced by the Frankfurt School, changed the scale of cultural and communications studies, dealing with political economic, social and ideological aspects of them. In their famous work, Max Horkheimer and T.W. Adorno (1972; 1991) used the term "culture industry" to identify “the process of the industrialization of mass-produced culture”, including industrially produced entertainment for commercial use – like movie, music, publishing, museums and art galleries. According to their view, the notion of cultural industries was isolated from the creative arts and used as a meaning of mass culture and communication, which are essential socializing forces and political reality mediators, and therefore should be perceived as key organizations in modern societies with a wide scope of “economic, political, cultural, and social implications”. After Horkheimer and Adorno (1972; 1991) associated culture with an economical framework, several definitions about cultural industries have been made in the following years and the term continued to be on the agenda of many scholars. O’Connor (2000) identifies the cultural industries with their activities producing “symbolic goods”, whereas Throsby (2001) perceives the cultural industries with the activities involving “some sorts of creativity, symbolic meaning and intellectual property”. In fact, the scope and the use of the term has changed during the 20th and 21st century and its meaning began to refer to other terms, such as “creative and cultural industries”, “creative and digital industries”, “creative industry” or the “Orange Economy” in recent years.

The notion of “creative industries” was introduced in Australia in 1994 as the report Creative Nation has been launched (Australia, 1994). In the following years, it gained greater interest by the policy-makers in the United Kingdom, due to economic development policies of the British government. The Creative Industries Task Force was established by the government in 1997 under the Department of Culture, Media,

and Sport (Evans and Shaw, 2004). It is important that the emphasis on “creative economy” since this policy act widened the range of cultural industries beyond the arts and created a shift towards evaluating potentially commercial activities which were regarded as non-economic before. The creative industries include activities that seek “individual skill”, talent, and intellectual property, such as “advertising, architecture, art and antique markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software, television, and radio” (DCMS, 1998; DCMS, 2008).

In 2001, John Howkins used the concept “creative economy” to describe “economic systems where value is based on novel imaginative qualities rather than the traditional resources of land, labour and capital” (Howkins, 2007). His work is important; because unlike creative industries, that are limited to certain sectors, this word is utilized to define creativity across the entire economy. In his book, “The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas”, Howkins (2007) also identifies the “creative product” as “an economic service or experience resulting from creativity and with the characteristics of being personal, novel and meaningful” (Howkins, 2007). In that way, he specifies individual creativity as the main and the most significant source of this new economic field (Howkins, 2007). In the following years, another scholar who dominates the literature on creative economy would have a big emphasis on human creativity as well: Richard Florida (2002). He considers creativity of individuals is one of the crucial economic resources and introduces the “3 T’s (talent, technology, tolerance)” as vital concepts for “the development of the creative economy” (Florida, 2002). His theory and the broader scope of conceptualisations will be further discussed in the following sections.

Over the years, different definitions within the creative industries concept have been suggested by various institutions, regarding the economic activities that should be included:

“United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO):

The cultural and creative industries are those that combine the creation, production and commercialization of creative contents that are intangible and of a cultural nature. These contents are usually protected by Copyright and can take the form of a good or a service. Besides all artistic and cultural production, they include architecture and advertising.”

“United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):

The creative industries are at the core of the creative economy, and are defined as cycles of production of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as their main input. They are classified by their role as heritage, art, media and functional creations.”

“World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO):

The Copyright-based industries are those that are dedicated, interdependent, or that are directly or indirectly related with the creation, production, representation, exhibition, communication, distribution or retail of Copyright protected material.”

“Department of Culture, Media and Sports of the United Kingdom (DCMS):

The creative industries are those activities based on creativity, individual talent and skill, and that have the potential to create jobs and wealth through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.”

“Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC):

The content industries are: publishing, film, TV, radio, phonographic, mobile contents, independent audiovisual production, web contents, electronic games, and content produced for digital convergence (cross-media).”

All those definitions share some commonalities, as represented by Felipe Buitrago Restrepo and Iván Duque, in their report “The Orange Economy, an Infinite

Opportunity” (2013). The authors indicate that in all definitions made by different institutions, creative industries are portrayed to have three common attributes (Figure 2.1) that are:

- a. centring “creativity, arts and culture as productive endeavours”
- b. having “products with intellectual property rights, especially copyright”
- c. involving activities “transforming ideas into products, therefore having a direct role in the value chain”

The nature of the creative industries is changing constantly throughout the years, mostly because of digitalisation; and that is why it generates endless opportunities in the economic field. At the same time, the fact that creative industries are so open to

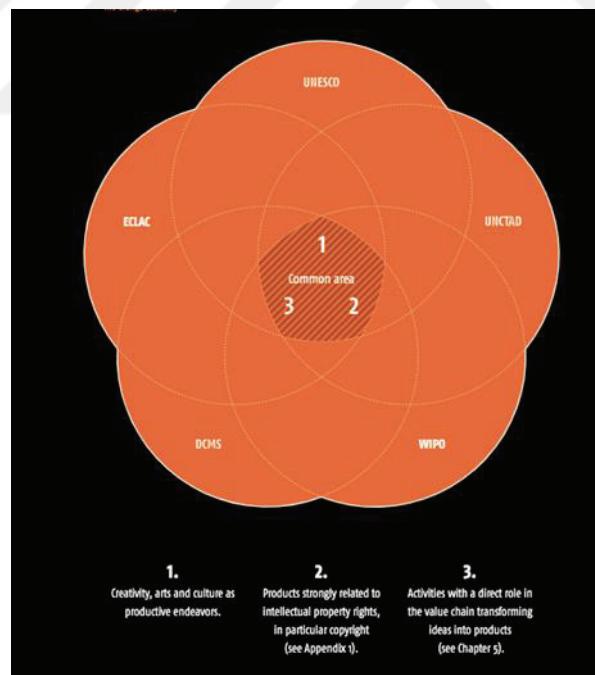


Figure 2.1. The commonalities between various definitions of creative industries by different global institutions (Buitrago & Márquez, 2013)

change makes it hard to define their boundaries. However, classifying these industries within creative sectors is important and necessary in terms of facilitating an identification of cross-sectoral connections, ensuring consistency in quantitative and qualitative analyses, and eventually developing policies for the social and economic growth of cities.

The creative industries classification made by Howkins (2007) in his initial edition of the book *The Creative Economy* published in 2001, represents fifteen creative industries sectors and areas. These are; “advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, research and development, software, toys and games (including video games), TV and radio and computer games”. His work also consists of the categorisation of each creative industry regarding their “input to national economy, added value, and difference from traditional industries and their businesses” (Figure 2.2).

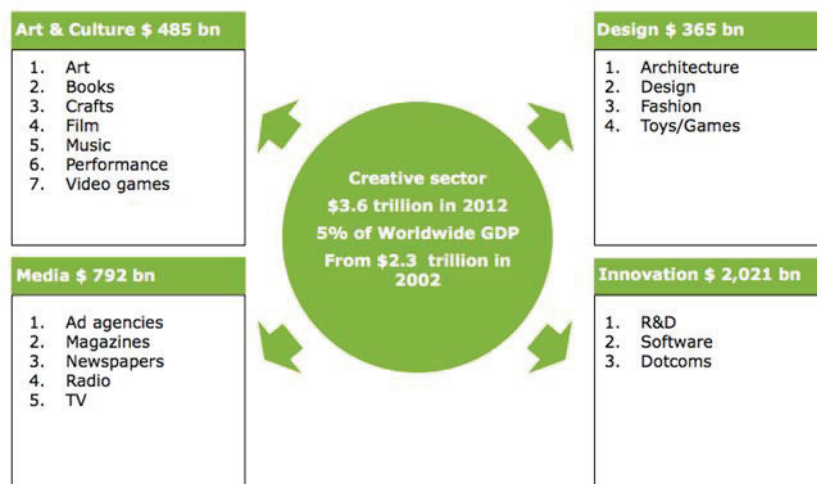


Figure 2.2. The Creative Industry Sectors (Howkins, 2007; cited in Deloitte, 2019)

According to UNCTAD (2004)’s classification, the creative industries are composed of four groups: “heritage, arts, media and functional creations” (Figure 2.3). Firstly, heritage is associated as the origin of all art forms and it is subgrouped into two:

“*traditional cultural expressions*: festivals and celebrations, arts and crafts; and – *cultural sites*: museums, libraries, archaeological sites, exhibitions, etc”. Arts is the group including creative industries based merely on art and culture, subgrouped into two: “*visual arts*: painting, sculpture, photography and antiques; and – *performing arts*: live music, theatre, dance, opera, circus, puppetry, etc”. Thirdly, media is identified by “creating creative content to communicate with large audiences” and it is branched into two: “*publishing and printed media*: books, press and other publications; and – *audiovisuals*: film, television, radio and other broadcasting”. The last category, functional creations involve “goods and services with functional purposes” dividing into three subgroups: “*design*: interior, graphic, fashion, jewellery, toys; – *new media*: software, video games, and digitalized creative content; and – *creative services*: architectural, advertising, cultural and recreational, creative research and development (R&D), digital and other related creative services” (Figure 2.3).

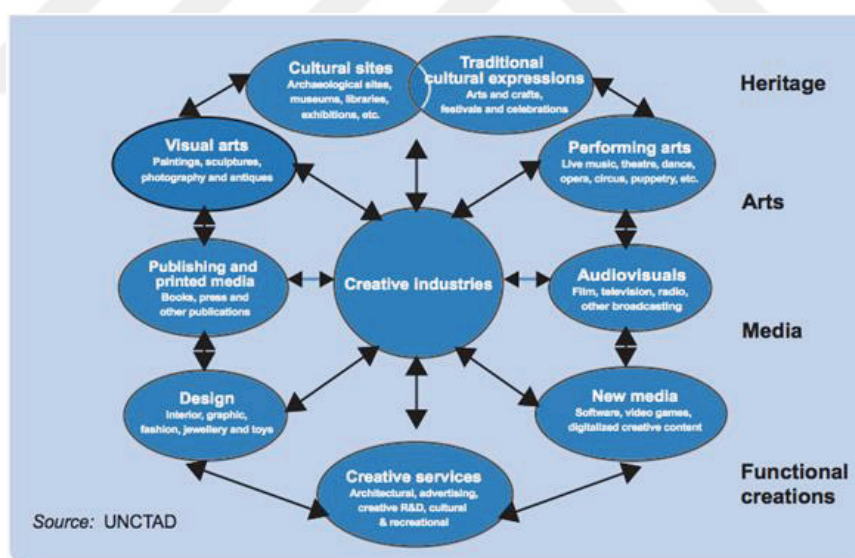


Figure 2.3. The UNCTAD classification of creative industries (UNCTAD, 2004)

A comprehensive classification can also be found in Buitrago and Duque (2013)'s work, *The Orange Economy*. They branched 3 main categories: “*arts and heritage, conventional cultural industries and functional creations, new media and software*” with 12 sub-categories (Figure 2.4). Arts and heritage category is composed of all traditional artistic activities which are associated to the conservation and transmission of cultural heritage; such as “*visual arts (painting, sculpture, installations, video art, performance art, photography, fashion haute couture), performing arts and public shows (theatre, dance, concerts, orchestras, circuses, organised improvisations, fashion shows), tourism and material and immaterial cultural heritage (crafts, antiques, gastronomy, museums, galleries, libraries, architecture, eco-tourism, festivals), and cultural and artistic education*”. Conventional cultural industries are composed of activities producing goods and services with symbolic artistic and creative content; and they are sub-grouped as “*publishing (books, newspapers, magazines, graphic printing, edition), audiovisual (film, TV, video) and phonographic (radio, recorded music)*”. Functional creations, new media and software is the third category of creative industries according to Buitrago and Duque (2013)'s work, and this group of industries are “defined by their symbolic value to the consumers” instead of their use value, although they are not directly associated with culture. “*Design (interior, graphic art and illustration, jewellery, toys and other products), content software (video games, interactive audiovisual contents, digital content media support), news agencies and other*

information agencies, advertising and fashion pret-a-porter” are listed as the sub-sectors of this category of creative industries (Buitrago and Duque, 2013).



Figure 2.4. The classification of creative industries (Buitrago and Duque, 2013)

The creative and cultural industries are regarded as “an essential component in any respectable economic policy maker’s development strategy” (Throsby, 2008). The scope, potential and uptake of these industries are continuing to expand with today’s rapidly changing technological and social changes. Therefore, the lines between industries and sectors are becoming blurred and invisible.

2.1.2 Creative Labor

The growing emphasis on creative and cultural industries also creates a focus on “creative workers” employed within them. In a recent report launched by “UNESCO, the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers (CISAC) and EY (formerly Ernst & Young)”: “Cultural Times – the First Global Map of Cultural and Creative Industries” (UNESCO, 2015), it is stated that cultural and creative industries generate 2,250 billion USD a year, compose 3% of world GDP, and provides employment to 29.5 million people, which is 1% of the world’s active population. According to the report (UNESCO, 2015), more people work in the cultural and creative sectors than in the car industries of Europe, Japan, and the United States combined (29.5 million jobs vs. 25 million). These numbers show that the roles assigned to the workforce participating in creative industries have an increasing importance on regional, national and international levels.

There are different characterisations defining contemporary production mechanisms of the creative workforce within the creative industries. The most well-known theoretical framework is proposed by Richard Florida (2002), who came up with the definition of the “Creative Class” - involving professional, scientific and artistic workers “who create new ideas, new technology or new creative content”; and generate “economic, social and cultural dynamism”, especially in urban areas. Being “artists or engineers, musicians or computer scientists, writers or entrepreneurs”, the common and distinguishing characteristic of these creative workers is that the work they are engaged in aims to “create meaningful new forms” (Florida 2002: 38). Florida (2002) classifies the creative class into two subgroups, which are the “super-creative core” and the “creative professionals”. The “super-creative core” involves the group of “scientists, academicians, engineers, poets and novelists, writers, editors, artists, cultural figures, entertainers, actors, designers, architects” and more; whereas the creative professionals consist a group working in a variety of knowledge-based industries, such as “high tech, financial services, legal and health care professions and business management” (Florida, 2002). Members of both

groups identified by Florida (2002) share a creative culture that encourages uniqueness and creativity, diversity, meritocracy and openness.

In his second book, Florida (2005) highlights that “we are entering the creative age”, with the rise of creativity becoming the primary factor of our economy. He suggests his “3 Ts theory” as a necessity towards such economic growth: technology, talent and tolerance. He argues that talent drives economic growth; and the third T, tolerance, is crucial to attract human capital to the cities. In his view, the existence of the creative workers, who add high economic value through creativity, depends on particular urban conditions. In that sense, he emphasises places of social interaction and networking, places “where talent, technology, and tolerance are located in close proximity” in order to attract and keep the creative workforce (Florida, 2002; 2005).

As well as Florida’s work is recognised as a contribution towards promoting a public debate about the creative economy, the theory is followed by various criticism. It is argued that the categories of occupations defining the creative class is left too broad (UNCTAD, 2008), or – he neglected the issue of “proletarianisation” within creative workers that associates creative class with the precariat (Hesmondhalgh, 2012). Florida’s optimistic approach towards creative class in his creative city thesis does not completely match with “the precarious nature of creative work” processes, especially for the creative professionals outside the creative core, searching for ways to access (Baum, 2020). In terms of “employment relationships (temporary freelance contracts), labor market access (i.e. opaque network-based recruitment), governance structure (i.e. non-hierarchical, project-based), and working cultures”, creative industries labor markets can be classified as informal (Merkel, 2019). The creative labour market has an informal governance structure with “informal network-based recruiting practices”, the work is often guaranteed through “verbal contracts and negotiable payments without minimum standards”, working hours are flexible and long in short-term projects, “social security or benefits entitlement” is often inaccessible (such as the lack of sickness payment or maternity payment, or collective labour representation)(Merkel, 2019).

Although participating in these sectors has been promoted and classified under the terms of “openness, egalitarianism, and meritocracy” (Gill, 2014: 509), there exists an unfair distribution of workforce participation opportunities. Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009:416) summarise the complex situation as “many organizations also contain other low-paid, low-status and menial jobs that are closely linked to (or seen in the service of) the artistically directed labour identified at the hub of cultural and/or creative industry production”; and that group of workers usually include precarious creatives. In fact, it is not a new term in the context of arts and related sectors, but the issues of insecure, impermanent employment structure, short-term and precarious engagement conditions within the creative sector paved the way to a wider emphasise in precarious work (Ross, 2009).

Further criticism has emerged against the common esteem that employment in these creative sectors involve the co-existence of pleasure, autonomy and high income. This philosophy is often boosted through social media, often with “Do What You Love” maxim. Tokumitsu (2015) argues that, this ideology “obscures inequalities of class, ability and education, while surreptitiously assuring individuals that their labour serves the self and not the marketplace” (Tokumitsu, 2014). This critic can be interpreted as a broader discussion, as this working for yourself philosophy is a consequence of a neoliberal ideology shifting risks and responsibilities to individuals (Neff, 2013; Sennett, 2006). Creative workers frequently identify their “working conditions as informal”, marginalized, and consequently hard and “vulnerable” as a result of these personalized risks and job duties (Merkel, 2019).

A significant feature of the creative labour structure is freelance working. Freelance workers, or freelancers, are defined as “skilled professional workers who are neither employers nor employees, supplying labour on a temporary basis under a contract for services for a fee to a range of business clients” (Mould et al., 2014: 2438). According to the “Employment Census of the Creative Media Industries” in London: Creative Skillset (2012), in some occupational groups such as editing or content development, the ratio of freelancers is higher than 50%. The ratio might be even higher in fact, regarding that freelance work often remains invisible – mostly because

of unofficial employment statistics in government policies to boost creative industries or because of its actual work structure as it is mostly conducted from home (Taylor, 2015). In the last few years, workspace mobility has become more apparent (i.e. in cafes, libraries, co-working areas) with the widened use of information and communication technologies. That technological revolution eventually cleared the path for detachment from traditional workplaces, and it has profoundly changed “where, when, and how people work” (Felstead, 2012; Martins, 2015; Liegl, 2014).

Creative workers often choose freelancing because of their willing to have autonomy and self-actualisation, as they reach to a point in their career where they “internalise the risks associated with freelance work” (Neff, 2013). In contrary, many of the creative labour do freelance work not by preference, but as a consequence of deregulation and organisational restructuring, as well as the technological improvements in “information and communication technologies” in creative industries (Liegl, 2014; Mould et al., 2014 as cited in Merkel, 2019). Freelance working is a prominent feature of creative labour identity, and the concept will be further discussed as a new structure of work, including its spatial reflections, in the following chapters.

Creative work is portrayed to be in a place where the boundaries between “formal” and “informal”, and “work” and “non-work” are blurred (Hutton, 2016: 156). The activities belonging to creative work usually overlap, complement, or depend on each other (Merkel, 2019). This statement refers to several aspects such as flexible working hours, after-work networking activities or unpaid work within creative sectors. It is hard to define when the working practice of the creative labor (especially of a freelancer) starts and when it ends, because of the lack of a specific period of work in a day, the necessity of after-work activities where in-sector bonds and interactions are formed, and the informal structure of work practices. There is a prevalent claim that creative workers need to be involved in “a great variety of non-paid labour practices such as volunteering, in-kind labour, favors, internships or working for free in ‘no budget’ productions” (Bain and McLean, 2013; Fast, O’rnebring and Karlsson, 2016; Wreyford, 2015). This unpaid work is done to break

into the sector, or “to get a foot in the door at the start of a career”, but it can also be done to keep one's employment during one's career.

The unpaid work undertaken by the creative labour deepens the boundry to access the sector even more, regarding the expenditures that these workers have to provide. Housing rents (Fields and Uffer, 2016) make the situation even harder, mostly in the beginning of a career, “to maintain a flat and an office, production space or showroom” (Merkel, 2019). Thus, the increasing usage of “shared and collaboration-oriented workspaces”, which is a topic that will be further discussed in the following chapters, can be interpreted as a reaction to the effects of this economic situation.

As well as the insecurity of low payment, “short term contracts” and long hours of work, Gill (2002) underlines widespread gender inequality, an issue reflected by also Allen, Quinn, Hollingworth and Rose (2013) regarding creative workers and work environments. On the other hand, Pratt (2011) and others draw attention on the preponderance of internships which are mostly unpaid (Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Allen et al, 2013). Moreover, the absence of trade unions (McRobbie, 2011); “age and ethnic discrimination” (Allen et al, 2013) are other issues that are mentioned by the scholars over time.

When these uncertainty-dominated characteristics of the creative work and workforce are taken into consideration, the importance of “active networking” for creative workers in the industry becomes visible, helping them to initiate, develop and maintain a career (Blair, 2009). There is a great emphasize in the literature on this networking vitality for the survival of the creative workers in the industry. Smith and McKinlay (2009) define the base of these networks as trust and friendship among the creative labour. Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012) underline the importance of this social interaction as they argue “Social capital is a key feature of the creative labour market”. “After-work events” is underlined as crucial especially in the digital media sector, while some authors also highlight the problematic aspect of these gatherings (Neff, 2005). The criticism is that this necessity of after-work sociality may not be possible for some social groups of workers such as moms with childcare

duty or economically inadequate members of the worker groups; revealing some invisible boundaries to social networking such as gender and class. In a way, this compulsory after-work activities discriminate against workers who have childcare duties, particularly women, or workers who do not have the economic opportunity to participate in these types of activities (Neff, 2005). Eikhof and Warhurst (2013) add ethnic background factor to these hard-to-access social groups of creative workers and define these networks as “old boys networks“. They argue that although the situation is obscured because of the informal structure of social capital in the creative sectors, Women and other employees from ethnic minorities and “working class backgrounds” find these in-sector networks hard to access (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013).

“Reaffirming that all workers should have access to lifelong learning and that all learners should acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, the promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and the appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.” (UN, 2019)

2.1.3 Creative City

“Attractive places are normally diverse and rich in cultural terms, also because culture is increasingly seen as a ‘device’ (Hall 2000) able to create a new appealing image of a place, and as the new glue in postmodern geography, since creative people opt for culture- and amenity-rich environments to reside and work” (Oort, 2008, p.237).”

What is crucial about urban space is that it is both the physical setting and “the social, cultural and economic driver” of innovation and creative production in the new economic order. Because they concentrate most of the nation's economic activity, governance, commerce and transportation, cities are key drivers of development and poverty reduction. In other words, they accumulate wealth (Koutsari, Antonopoulou and Chondros, 2019).

For many researchers, culture and creativity are perceived as tools for urban regeneration, while cultural and creative industries are theorized as a driver of economic development (Landry, 2012). For Harvey (2002), the conglomeration of creative labor and the creative ecosystems they develop has a “multiplier effect” and value in the city space. According to Florida and Tinagli (2004), this effect is important for the development of cities regarding the high global economic competitiveness, which increasingly relies on the “competition for people”. The “people” here refers to creative individuals; and in their work, it is strongly underlined that the success of the cities in this current competition is dependent on the ability of places “to attract, retain and develop” those creative workers (Florida and Tinagli, 2004). Accordingly, locational decisions of these creative labor is crucial in terms of urban economic development.

First mentioned in the mid-1990s by Bianchini and Landry (1995), “creative city” concept has gained great attention over the past two decades. Richard Florida (2002)’s “creative class” theory, which was introduced in the previous chapter, is the primary theory which asserts that “creativity” is the key component of economic growth and innovation. The “creative class” theory has been in the focus of policy makers throughout the years, and has been appreciated because of its ‘user-friendly’ approach which foresees that “cities investing in high-tech industries, a tolerant environment and creative talent (the so called ‘3Ts’)” will grow eventually (Florida, 2002).

“Places that succeed in attracting and retaining creative class prosper, the main qualities of places having such potential being at the core of the

perspective. They are mainly associated with the so-called 'three Ts', referring to technology, talent and tolerance, economic development thriving primarily in localities where their combination is particularly advantageous. The 'technology' factor relates to the 'innovation' and 'R&D' notions; 'talent'– to creative occupations and educational attainment measures, while 'tolerance' is mainly associated with the degree of places' openness to different kinds of people/ideas" (Florida, 2002).

In the new economy, access to specific skills and knowledge became more important than the costs of conventional production, so “instead of focusing on attracting firms and industry as in traditional economic development”, urban policymakers promoted cities that focused on “attracting the highly educated and mobile creative class, which includes a variety of occupations ranging from software programmers to visual artists” (Grodach, 2013). Harvey (2002) defines this direction of development of cities with the interpretation that; rather than according to the products they produce, cities are compelled to compete on the basis of their distinct identities on a global scale – that he refers to as their “marks of distinction”. The “uniqueness and authenticity of local culture, heritage, and tradition” in those cities are more and more associated with “attempts to reassert a symbolic monopoly based on non-replicable conditions” (Harvey, 2002). Consequently, creative industries are continually drawn together by location-specific qualities, in order to be address those “marks of distinction” (Harvey, 2002). Revitalizing historic neighborhoods, “investing in vibrant arts scenes and outdoor activities”, an attractive ‘quality of place’ is aimed to be constructed in cities. With a main focus on producing and promoting urban cultural diversity, cities are envisioned to be appealing to the consumption choices of the creative class. Specific urban environments are started to be more appealing to creative labor than others, because of their special characteristics and “perceived sense of authenticity” (Zukin, 2010). As a “*privileged locus of culture and image*”, the creative city becomes a field where creative workers form social bonds and derive symbolic meaning to include into their self-brand and the brands that they

build (Koutsari et al., 2019). Clark (2004) advocates this assertion arguing that cultural amenities in the city attract high – skilled and educated individuals, in the context of which he defines the ‘new political culture’.

In this context, Charles Landry (2000) also emphasizes the necessity of creative planning and governance approaches in addressing the economic and social issues caused by urban restructuring. In a recent document; “The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor” published by the European Commission in 2017, creative cities are portrayed to have the capacity to direct (local) urban development that:

- “Aligns the cities’ economies with their historical and cultural identities (*authentic development*);
- Empowers culturally diverse people to be the key agents of innovation, entrepreneurship and job creation (*people-centred development*); and,
- Promotes social interaction and inclusion by fostering the collaborative culture typical of the cultural and creative sectors and by developing accessible cultural infrastructure and public spaces that help connect diverse people, including migrants (*inclusive development*)”.

(Montalto, Valentina and Moura, Carlos and Langedijk, Sven and Saisana, Michaela, 2017). In this way, creative cities are expected to promote a specific model of urban growth and well-being that is sustainable for both present and future generations.

Current discussions on the contemporary city metropolis focus on shifts of de-industrialization, globalization, and the increasing importance of immaterial labor in sectors like finance, technology, and media design, with the understanding of urban space being articulated within such an urban economic development (Castells, 1989; Florida, 2002; Hardt and Negri, 2001; Sassen, 1991). There are some differences of opinion though, as the “LA school” of urban studies highlights patterns of de-concentration replacing the morphology of dense neighborhoods in which conventional bohemiae are located (Dear, 2001; Soja, 1989); whereas other studies suggest that revival of old downtown areas and center-city neighborhoods goes

parallel with the sprawling growth (Sassen, 1991; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1995). This revival in the neighborhood level, which is unevenly distributed throughout older cities, does not follow the impulse of industrial production anymore; according to Richard Lloyd (2004). Instead, cultural and technological production dominates the city and its neighborhoods as the new patterns of production in the beginning of the 21st century.

This transition is defined as the “postmodern urban condition” as Michael Dear (2000) calls it. Contrary to the modernist thought on the neighborhood “as a marginal space in the city with regards to the urban economy and as oppositional to the norms of capitalist accumulation”, the new ‘neo-bohemian’ neighborhoods enhance the interests of capital as they are sites of capital accumulation. Therefore, it became crucial for urban scholars to investigate the advantages that center-city neighborhoods suggest for creative production, and to understand how this effects urban redevelopment in certain areas (Lloyd, 2004).

Considering the circumstances in his day, Lloyd (2004) suggest two dimensions which are “the implication of new bohemian space in strategies of residential gentrification” and “the relationship between the new bohemia and the agglomeration of new media enterprises”. A more recent view, on the other hand, is that creative workers, usually less demanding than corporations and government organizations when it comes to architectural qualities and housing, are the adequate workforce in cities’ visions to revitalize old industrial areas because they presumably “constitute space with their communicative practices” (Sihvonen and Cnossen, 2015). According to Koutsari et al. (2019), gentrification in fact “erodes authenticity, transforming neglected places into happily consumed homogeneous ones”.

There are some research that analyzed the needs and desires of the creative labor and they mostly came to a conclusion that creative workers prefer intense, active and diverse urban environments (Yigitcanlar, Baum and Horton, 2007). This thought is consistent with Richard Florida’s (2005;2014) work in which he asserts that creativity and knowledge production are urban phenomena and a vibrant urban life

characterized by tolerance, diversity and social interaction is as crucial as a good knowledge infrastructure. As Sassen (2009) similarly perceives it, urban knowledge capital allows an “*unforeseen and unplanned mix of expertise and talent*” to produce a higher order of information in the city. The creative workers/citizens in the urban area contribute to what Sassen (2009) sees as a “*specialised and networked urban economic creativity*”.

More scholars investigated how the clusters of creative industries in central city territories are associated to “the character of place regarding processes that effect location and co-location” (Pratt 2002; Currid 2007), “the role of place in creativity of individual creativity” (Drake 2003), and “the spatial characteristics of urban areas” investigating where these clusters locate (Hutton 2006; Rantisi and Leslie 2010 as cited in Martins, 2015). Although creative work is increasingly being globalized and digitized, networking among creative employees is dependent on a specific location and the physical presence of all parties involved, implying that creative workers will continue to require a distinct urban location to work. These specialized urban locations provide density and centrality, both of which are significant factors for social interaction and proximity to customer and other creatives, and they constitute a suitable place for contracting and subcontracting chains. In 1991, Glaeser, Kallal, Scheinkman, and Schleifer (1991) had characterized the importance of this spatial proximity suggesting that, “intellectual breakthroughs must cross hallways and streets more easily than oceans and continents.” Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that “place still matters” for the operation of creative industries. Martin (2015)’s work in particular, offers empirical contribution to this research area as he highlights two main points. Firstly, his analysis indicates that “digital work extends from the office” or home to multiple settings in the city (which he calls ancillary spaces), that can be defined as an “extended workplace”. According to Martin (2015), the nature and constraints of digital work limit and mediate this extension; yet, this network of urban spaces is crucial in meeting the needs of these employees. Secondly, he highlights features of the physical

environment such as “semi-public and public space qualities, access and control, location, and attributes of the neighborhood” (Martin, 2015).

2.2 The Geography of Creative Economic Activity and the New Spatial Dynamics of Work

Academics and policymakers are becoming more interested in the creative industries, which has amplified interest in the geographic location decisions that surround these industries, as well as the possible relationship between them and the characteristics of the urban settings in which they are located (Caves 2000).

Digital technologies extend and intensify working practices beyond fixed location, producing changes to the form and substance of urban working space. In the era of knowledge economy, there is more emphasis on intangible economic assets rather than assets with physical form. Since new ideas, software and services do not need a fixed location to be produced, the working space extends its limits as the knowledge creation becomes less spatially bounded (Felstead and Henseke, 2017). The gradual separation of work from traditional workplaces is impacting office workers in particular, who have traditionally been allocated individual fragments of space (Felstead, 2012). Instead, with the help of “information and communication technology”, work can now be conducted in a many distinct places – including home, different locations within the office or public spaces. The term ‘flexible working’ grew out of this discussion; and it is defined as “a type of working arrangement which gives a degree of flexibility on how long, where, when and at what times employees work” (CIPD, 2016). In the scope of this particular study, flexible working will be discussed in three forms; which are co-working, working from home, and using public spaces as workspaces.

Instead of the common “fixed” spaces of capitalist production like the offices in business districts, or factories in industrial sites; there is an emergence of threshold spaces and in-between areas; between work and life, public and private. As social

practices constantly have to maintain or reshape these spaces into new spatial articulations, they are always in the process of transformation. In such a picture, the inter-relations between the economic activity of the creative labor and the new spatial dynamics of life and work spaces in the urban context deserves great attention.

2.2.1 Lifecycle of Creative Economic Activity and its Spatial Dimension

“The location of production is more geographically concentrated in some industries than in others”, Audretsch and Feldman (1996) state in their work: “Innovative Clusters and the Industry Life Cycle”, and creative industries are among them. According to the Creative Supply Chains Study published by the Greater London Authority in 2019, the creative industries are in relationship with a diverse range of products, services, and skills-based businesses; for different stages of the value creation process. The economic value created in the creative industries is tied to additional activity in other sections of the economy, both within intra and inter-city levels. Therefore, it would be possible to conclude that supporting the creation of “economic value in the creative industries” helps jobs and outputs in other sections of the economy at the same time. Thus, there is a necessity to uncover the value creation processes and their spatial reflections; in order to “provide space for the creative industries” which are strong enhancers of the urban development policies (Greater London Authority, 2019).

Creative supply chains are complex and hard to identify or model, since they encompass a vast spectrum of economic activity in and outside of the creative industries, covering many different economic sectors. For creative activity to take place, non-creative industries must contribute. For instance, non-creative sector accounts for 92 percent of supply chain spending on a single fashion show set (Greater London Authority, 2019). Outside of the specified creative sectors, there are a substantial number of specialized businesses in the creative industries supply chain, but these businesses almost entirely operate for creative businesses and support their economic activity chains. These specialized businesses mentioned here

include manufacturers, specialist wholesalers, security services, etc. The strong concentration of these creative supply chain businesses in urban areas is critical as they provide access to clients and staff, while also meeting regular and urgent service requirements so that work can be conducted ‘on-site’. Being close to clients implies being able to visit client locations and satisfy regular and urgent maintenance demands for businesses directly supplying the creative industries.

In order to identify the stages of creative economic activity and their possible spatial assessments, an analysis of a creative industries supply chain would be necessary. A creative industries supply chain simply comprise a creation-production–distribution–exhibition-consumption value chain (Montgomery, 1994); however, technology and specialized infrastructure, as well as the presence of the creative arts and creative and skilled labor, will all contribute to this. Moreover, depending on the characteristics of each creative industry and the spatial context itself, the creative industries will also encourage related consumption in other sectors such as tourism, catering, retail or leisure.

The 2009 UNESCO framework for cultural statistics (Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009) propose a creative industries value chain which “consists of five key components: creation, production, dissemination, exhibition and consumption” - based on the case analysis of creative businesses. This economic lifecycle of creative activities includes:

- “ **1. Creation:** the originating and authoring of ideas and content and the making of one-off production (e.g. crafts, fine arts)
- 2. Production:** making of the reproducible creative/cultural forms, as well as the specialist tools, infrastructure and processes used in their realisation (e.g. the production of musical instruments, the printing of newspapers)
- 3. Dissemination:** distribution of generally mass – produced creative/cultural products to consumers and exhibitors (e.g. the wholesale, retail and rental of

recorded music and computer games, film distribution). With digital distribution, some goods and services go directly from the creator to the consumer

4. Exhibition/Reception/Transmission: refers to the place of consumption and to the provision of live and/or unmediated cultural experiences to audiences through granting or selling restricted access to consume/ participate in often time-based cultural activities (e.g. festival organisation and production, opera houses, theatres, museums). Transmission relates to the transfer of knowledge and skills that may not involve any commercial transaction and which often occurs in informal settings. It includes the transmitting of intangible cultural heritage from generation to generation

5. Consumption/Participation: the activities of audiences and participants in consuming cultural products and taking part in cultural activities and experiences (e.g. book reading, downloading digital content, participating in festivals, visiting galleries).”

Figure 2.5 exhibits the creative value chain defined by The 2009 UNESCO statistics (Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009).



Figure 2.5. Creative value chain defined by the 2009 UNESCO statistics (Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009)

The creative economic activities in a value chain can be supplied “within a single actor/firm or divided among different actors/firms, as well as within a single geographical location or spread over wider areas”. The term ‘value chain’ is used because preliminary items get value by combining them with additional resources (tools, knowledge and skills, other raw materials). The value of a product increases

as it moves through several phases of the value chain. Moreover, as seen in Figure 2.6, there are many supporting structures and institutions of the creative economic activity of value creation. Education and research facilities boosting skills and creativity, digital information infrastructure, innovation systems, the economic circumstances and the institutional regime can be listed as a few of them. As a backbone structure, the foundations of talent and creative community, culture and art, advanced technology and management endorse the activities of the creative labor and the firms acting in the creative industries (Miles, 2009).

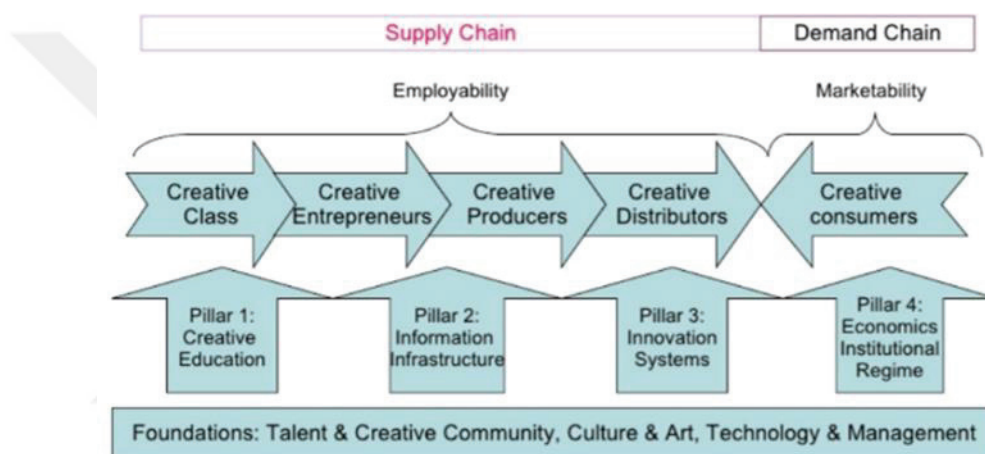


Figure 2.6. The actors within the creative industries value chain (Miles, 2009)

There are many attempts in the literature to explain how creative production is developed within urban and regional contexts and how it is associated with certain areas and scenes (Mould and Comunian, 2015). On the other hand, the relationship between specific urban areas and their cultural production systems is tried to be identified by many urban economic geographers (Pratt, 2002). Many 'creative clusters' researchers' common approach is to study the relationship between local creative industries and urban space and qualities. In their work, they often emphasize

the importance of locality, trust and place-based networks and local institutions (Banks et al.,2000; Ettlinger, 2003).

In creative industries, spatial characteristics are included into the production of creative goods and services, and this assumption can be supported by many examples such as fashion in Paris, music in Nashville or theatre in London. Even in the intra – city level, creative economic activities are leaning towards grouping and “districtualization” (Köster and Sanchis, 2020). At that point, creative clusters can be formed as dense relations are established in a certain territory. Due to the coexistence and combination of the forces of competition and collaboration, this densification generates economic and technological externalities in that particular spatial and socio-economic context.

The creative economic activities have a strong link to the territory which is exposed through the agglomeration of creative production and consumption in those areas benefiting from positive externalities. Endogenous and exogenous elements interact in territorial concentrations of such creative economic activities to generate the advantage of each location's distinctive production conditions. In this way, these activities become part of larger structures of flexible specialization; therefore, increasing their level of competitiveness in a global context (Costa, 2008).

The urban space in this context of creative economic activity not only serves as a geographic reference point for creative resources (material or immaterial), but it becomes a creative resource on its own. A creative district with a specific component of creative economic activity is a district where innovation plays an important role in the production of symbolic goods and services. These are also the places where production and distribution are undertaken by a network of small and medium-sized businesses, and these businesses mostly share common relations and similar operational and management models (Costa, 2008).

The spaces where creative economic activity is located and agglomerated constitute the creative economic infrastructure of that particular district, including the buildings, structures and places where creativity is “produced, distributed, exhibited

and consumed”. The sites of creative production are the places where artists, performers, creators, manufacturers, or digital processes produce creative output (“creative workspaces, performing arts rehearsal spaces, music recording studios, film and television studios and industrial and light industrial units used by creative and cultural businesses”). The “places where creative consumption locates, on the other hand, are the places where culture is experienced, participated in, featured, exhibited or sold (museums, galleries, theatres, cinemas, libraries and historic cultural sites)” (Figure 2.7). The Creative Supply Chains Study by Mayor of London (Greater London Authority, 2019) also highlights that these places of creative economic lifecycle “do not operate in isolation”. Their everyday activities rely on the supply of commodities, services, and skills given by the larger economy (for example, wood product manufacture, specialized building activities, textile wholesaling, and supply logistics and distribution...) This creates dependency, meaning that changes in the creative industries have an impact on the ‘broader creative’ sectors, and along the supply chain to other industries as well. Changes in government funds, private or public sector investment in areas such as education, for

example, can have an impact on the entire lifecycle (Greater London Authority, 2019).

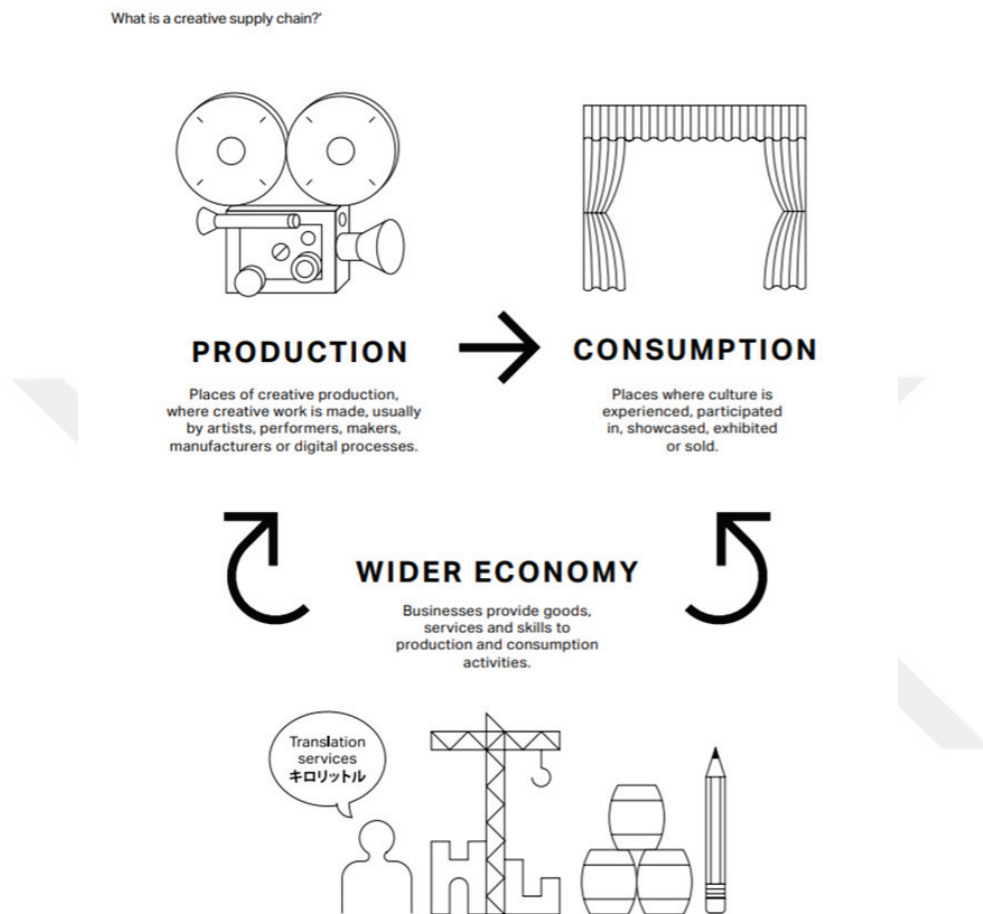


Figure 2.7. The creative supply chain (The Creative Supply Chains Study by Mayor of London, Greater London Authority, 2019)

In order to link creative economic activity across particular territories in urban space, everyday realities of the creative work also need to be examined. According to Brennan-Hurley (2010), these everyday realities of creative work show that multiple locations are used (for production, distribution, rehearsal, exhibition, for networking or for performance). In his case study which he examines a wider research project

“Creative Tropical City: Mapping Darwin’s Creative Industries”, he realizes during interviews that “place of work as a singular, distinct location was an outdated concept for all of their research participants”, who are creative workers. It is stated in the study that these creative workers’ everyday work lives moved around “multiple work sites, depending on their creative involvement” (Brennan-Hurley, 2010),.

Describing the spatial dynamics in local economic systems in creative industries is an under-researched topic, although such researches have high potential evidencing these economic systems’ ability to activate new productive chains (filières). By recognizing spatial agglomerations and relationships between the sites of production, distribution, marketing or networking and the urban space which those economic activities take place, revitalization of these urban areas and regions through policies of urban regeneration can be possible. It would be simpler to present a background in order to investigate value generation processes in the interaction between creative organizations/people and the geography. Eventually, the existence of creative, cultural, and artistic activity in the region would be a key issue and one of the underpinnings for the growth of these areas as creative districts and clusters.

2.2.2 Creative Clusters and Proximity

Large urban communities in today’s new economic order are typically places of cutting-edge economic activity in the shape of large clusters of industrial and commercial activity. There is a strong assumption in the literature that the creative industry firms tend to agglomerate in specific locations, generating “creative clusters”. The benefits of clustering have been widely discussed, dating back to the work of Marshall (1919,1922) on “industrial districts”, followed by scholars like Becattini (1990, 2002) and Porter (1990, 1998). In a more recent study, Storper and Scott (2009)’s well-known assumption “people follow jobs” highlights the prevailing importance of locational decisions of firms in creative sectors. The tendency towards co-location or ‘clustering’ of economic activities in specific urban environments (neighbourhoods/ “quarters”) is a widely examined phenomenon

within creative industries research (Scott, 1997; Grabher, 2001; Lloyd, 2004, 2006; Mommaas, 2009; Currid, 2007). The “distinctive forms of organisation and working practices”, such as co-working, mean that creative industries have a tendency to “thrive in milieus, networks, clusters, embedded knowledge and informal infrastructures of the city.” (Banks et al., 2000: 454).

The “cluster“ concept is introduced by Porter (1998), who defines them as “geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field”. He also suggests that this concentration is able to “encompass an array of linked industries and other entities important to competition” (Porter 1998). His argument is remarkable as he underlines that creative clusters promote both competition and cooperation; with proximity of the cluster’s elements (both the creative labor and the firms) in one location fostering coordination and encouraging exchanges. These business opportunities are mentioned as positive location externalities (Ramos and Fonseca, 2010).

Various researchers have underlined the importance of “agglomeration and spatial proximity for the production processes” in creative industries. In the simplest understanding, cluster theory paved the way for the authors to suggest that creative industries cluster geographically (Scott, 2004; Lazzeretti, Boix and Capone, 2008; OECD 2005; Selada, Cunha and Tomaz, 2012; etc.). Many aspects are underlined in the literature on creative economic activity that explain in which ways the cluster theory has underpinned the concept of creative clusters and creative industries:

- *The economic efficiency and positive externalities that are enhanced through creative industries’ tendency towards locational agglomeration; and the competitive advantages, where clustering “serves a peculiar response to strong competitive pressures by other firms“ in creative sectors (Scott, 2004)*
- *“Factors of ‘variety’, ‘diversity’ and ‘novelty’ that bring the necessity in clustering of firms and people in creative industries“ (Lazzeretti et al.2008)*

- Factors such as “constantly shifting production and uncertainty” (OECD 2005, p.106) as characteristics of creativity – related goods that define the need for spatial concentration

Besides clustering and agglomeration debates, the literature on economic geography has also raised the topic of spatial proximity in the context of creative industries and creative labor. Many scholars examined various spatial proximity patterns that; “underpin the joint production, circulation and sharing of knowledge” (Gertler, 2008; Bathelt, Malmberg and Maskell, 2004; Boschma, 2005 as cited in Brown, 2017). The proximity theory is based on the idea that “spatial concentration of actors and (market and non-market) activities” stimulates and “facilitates (formal and informal) interaction and exchange” (Gertler, 2008). Proximity in that context, is evaluated to be “driven by the need for cultural producers to swap ideas and contacts, socialise together and trade industry gossip” (Oakley and O’Connor, 2015 as cited in Brown, 2017). Besides the common space, “co-location” and closeness offer symbolic resources to creative labor, such as the opportunity to be networked into certain creative communities, and functions as a mutual support and benefit system, particularly for those in the early phases of their professions (Lloyd, 2004). The capability to reach out to workers and clients, as well as the ability to cooperate and exchange information are all important aspects of clustering, agglomeration, and spatial proximity in the creative industries. Proximity means that economic actors in the creative industries benefit from “limited physical distance and accessibility within the unit”, which makes interaction and sharing of information easier, which is vital for the functioning of the creative unit. The presence of those creative clusters means that “creative supply chain networks are very concentrated within” the city. However, it should be underlined that the literature tends to theorize knowledge creation and/or exchange at the company, cluster, neighborhood, or “city/region level” rather than at the “individual worker level” (Brinks and Schmidt, 2015).

2.2.3 Co – working

There has been a significant transformation in where, when, and how people work as a result of the “proliferation of information and communication technologies that allow workplace mobility and the detachment from conventional places of work” (Felstead, 2012). One of the most visible outcome of that shift in the spatial dynamics of work can be regarded as co-working. Co-working spaces and the concept of co-working in various types and urban contexts began to “challenge” conventional understanding of the workspace and the site of creative activity, as well as influencing how creative workers interact, collaborate, and react to one another, as well as to space and place (Brown, 2017). Today, co-working spaces have become the main workplace for millions of creative workers in global cities such as London, San Francisco or Berlin (Deskmag, 2018; Moriset, 2013). Defined as “a collective, community-based approach to the organisation of cultural and creative work” by Merkel (2015), co-working is regarded as an alternative to working from home or working from public or semi-public “Third Spaces” (Oldenburg, 1989; Florida, 2002) such as cafés or libraries; which are the two other forms of flexible work and will be discussed in the following sections.

The existing literature reveals that researchers have not challenged the urban nature of co-working so far (Brown, 2017). In fact, there exists a natural connection between co-working and the urban environment, as co-working spaces represent a key interface and a “middle-ground for knowledge production and dissemination around creative projects” (Merkel, 2015). When the empirical work on co-working practices are examined, it is evident that these work are reports of “co-working experiences in global creative cities, mainly in the West – including San Francisco (Moriset, 2014, Barcelona (Capdevila, 2013), New York (Merkel, 2015)), Berlin (Lange, 2011), Milan (Colleoni and Arvidsson, 2014; Mariotti et al., 2017; Parrino, 2015), London (Bandinelli, 2019b), Athens (Papageorgiou, 2016) and in South-East Asia (Leung, 2019; Lindtner and Li, 2012)”. Although these spaces are mostly located in the central areas of metropolitan, so called “creative” cities, (Moriset,

2013; Merkel, 2015), co-working has spread to “small-cities and semi-urban locations” as well (Fuzi, Clifton and Loudon, 2015).

Referring to the proximity debate that is mentioned previously, Helbrecht (2011) interprets the urban nature of co-working as he underlines that the physical proximity between creative labor in urban territories is an important “resource for generating new knowledge as well as for the acquirement and application of existing knowledge”. This interpretation is very much alike Jane Jacobs (1961)’ work, where she describes the city as a diverse environment structured by unplanned, but creative encounters. Interestingly, Brinks and Schmidt (2015) link these urbanization effects (diversity, encounters, “sidewalk effects”) of cities with the idea of co-working spaces or creative clusters/labs in a broader scale. The co-working spaces are portrayed to be the new kinds of organizational forms: being “physical structures hosting temporary stations for entrepreneurs, hobbyists, project teams, and communities to work on and realize their ideas”. The scholars argue that in a way; co-working spaces or any other innovation and creativity labs adopt classical urbanization effects of cities and try to bring them down to the micro-level of actual places.

Co-working spaces have initially emerged “as a response to the increasing fragmentation” and individualization of work practices in the creative industries (Gandini and Cossu, 2019). In its first phase when it started in 2005, the co-working movement had appeared as a grassroots movement that encouraged freelancers to collaborate and engage communally. The workspace sharing model offers the freelancers an opportunity to socialize and “work from a place that is different from the domestic environment”; therefore, fulfilling the “practical and emotional needs of them” (Spinuzzi, 2012). In this way, co-working spaces establish new socio-material infrastructures for freelance work, allowing for the coordination and facilitation of a different type of work organization (Merkel, 2019). They offer a “Third Space” between a conventional office space and a public cafe (Botsman and Rogers, 2011); merging the “informal (social) and the formal (productive, functional)”. Imposing these aspects into the work medium, co-working spaces are

associated to a number of positive interactions like the opportunities for socializing, “peer-support/mentoring, professional networking, idea/ knowledge sharing and collaboration” (Clifton, Crick and Fuzi, 2016). As Merkel (2015) highlights, this collaborative aspect is the distinctive feature that identifies co-working apart from other forms of shared, flexible work settings; such as working from home or from semi – public / public spaces.

According to Parrino (2015), a co-working space is characterized by:

- 1. The co-localization of various co-workers within the same work environment;*
- 2. The presence of workers heterogeneous by occupation and/or sector in which they operate and/or organizational status and affiliation;*
- 3. The presence (or not) of activities and tools designed to stimulate the emergence of relationships and collaboration among coworkers. (Parrino, 2015:11)*

The primary purpose behind this “new socio-material infrastructures for freelance work” is basically to integrate and facilitate an alternative work organization (Merkel, 2019). This alternative organization does not only cater to the professional needs of the creative workers, but also seek to adapt to the context it is located in and to exist in harmony with it. Gandini and Cossu (2021) refer to such spaces as “resilient co-working spaces”, that maintain a close “relationship between the space and the geographical context” in which it exists. Therefore, it would be possible to conclude that, co-working spaces within the field of urban studies should be interpreted within the context of the spatial surrounding it inhabits. In the scope of this particular study, co-working will be discussed as a new social practice of self-organization that denotes new ways of organizing everyday work practices for the creative labor.

The creative industries labor markets contain characteristics that might be classified as informal in terms of “employment relationships (i.e. temporary contracts)”, access

to labor market (i.e. “network-based recruitment”), type of governance (i.e. “non-hierarchical, project-based”) and working culture, as mentioned in the previous chapters. In such an industry, creative labor define their working conditions as “informal, marginalized and, thus, particularly challenging and vulnerable” (Merkel, 2019). The informality of the industry structure merges with the problem of rent, as rental housing is a necessity for the creative workers especially in the earlier career stages in order to have a flat, an office, a production space or a showroom (Fields and Uffer, 2016). In this context, the emergence of shared and collaborated workspaces can be perceived as a solution and a reaction to the implications of the economic crisis and austerity urbanism.

Co-working spaces have also been mentioned with their “place-making and neighborhood renewal functions” in the literature (Capdevila, 2013; Moriset, 2013; Merkel, 2015 as cited in Brown, 2017). Co-working spaces' potential transformative impact is underlined, including diversifying building and office stock, assuring varied street-level activity, and utilizing public transportation networks (Chuah, 2016). Moreover, the potential connecting role of co-working spaces with urban communities is discussed in the literature (Waters-Lynch et al., 2015). Merkel (2015) identify these functions with their “strong identification with and commitment to their local surroundings”, meaning that co-working spaces help connecting and integrating local and professional communities with their ability to function as cafes and public spaces. Merkel (2015) and Capdevila (2013) both have interpreted co-working spaces as “interfaces between the various creative and social milieu of the city and a means by which local creative workers and other urban communities or interest groups can establish mutually beneficial interactions”. While they act as semi-public spaces supporting connection and integration in a locally embedded structure, many co-working spaces also provide connections to co-worker communities in various locations, allowing “wider networks and knowledge exchanges” between them (Brinks and Schmidt, 2015). In that sense, the rise of co-working spaces can be seen as an endeavour by a growing urban precariat to “reclaim urban spaces.” (Merkel, 2015:124). However, among the few studies exploring the

effects of co-working spaces on locality, Chuah (2016) noticed a “lack of civic engagement” of co-workers and poor integration of co-working spaces with the outer neighbourhood in the NYC, US. According to his research, co-workers did not know much about the local environment, and they had little communication with local companies or organizations surrounding the co-working space (Chuah, 2016).

This point of view indicates that the notion of co-working spaces should not merely be theorized from a micro-perspective, but need to be examined from a wider urban viewpoint. Although much research has been done on the design of co-working spaces and their positive influence on individual workers and company sectors, there has been less focus on the larger “impact and effect of co-working spaces beyond their physical structures and on their surrounding” neighborhoods (Chuah, 2016). Thus, extending the focus to a perspective of these collective working spaces as “local nodes” (Gertler and Levitte, 2005) or even “as local anchors of knowledge generation in global communities” seems to be a necessary approach when trying to approach the phenomenon of co-working. Co-working spaces in that sense, may help anchoring localized “small-scale and place-specific forms of creative production within urban neighbourhoods”; and in that way, they could provide a more sustainable platform for local development (Merkel, 2015; Oakley and O’Connor, 2015).

Brinks and Schmidt (2015) address this viewpoint by defining co-working spaces as new spatial-temporal configurations offering “new facilities for organizing work and knowledge-generating activities” in the creative economy of cities. According to them, these new configurations of collective workspace supply the factors needed for the process of generating innovation in the neighborhood and city level, with their unique structure of “community-orientation, open innovation, and interdisciplinarity”. However, they also underline the fact that in the literature, little is known about co-working spaces’ “societal context, their organizational structures, the workers’ objectives and preferences”, and the variety of activities taking place in those spaces. A small number of studies have investigated the “wider socio-spatial impacts” co-working spaces have on the neighborhood; so the potential effects of

co-working on urban development and innovation policies are still unexplored (Brinks and Schmidt, 2015).

2.2.4 Remote – Working from Home

Scholars have been introducing a number of works forecasting the future form of work. “Everywhere has the potential to become a place of work”, Alan Felstead (2012) states referring the rapid transformation in the structure of workplaces in the context of the UK. In 1999, many administrative and professional work duties are expected to be performed 40-50 percent of the time at home, according to estimates (Scase, 1999). As the notion of workplace exceeded the conventional office space with the advanced use of digital technology, home has stepped out of being merely a social sphere. Although home and work have long been conceptualized as separate spheres of reproduction and production, now we are witnessing a shift in which the home becomes the new workplace. There is an apparent recognition that home and work are not discrete points in urban space joined by the journey to work anymore. Instead, “they are inseparable spheres of everyday life” connected by many activities and processes (Hanson and Pratt 1988,1992). In the UK, the proportion of people working mainly at or from home grew from 9.2 % in 2001 to 10.3 % in 2011 (Gower, 2013 as cited in Felstead and Henseke, 2017). In the US, there is a similar direction of change, as from 19.6% in 2003 to 24.1 percent in 2015, the percentage of workers who conduct some or all of their job at home has climbed (BLS, 2016 as cited in Felstead and Henseke, 2017). In Sweden, likewise, “the proportion of people working part-time from home has risen from 5.9% in 1999 to 19.7% in 2012” (Vilhelmson and Thulin, 2016 as cited in Felstead and Henseke, 2017). In Europe, the same trend is observed. The data collected by Eurofound in 2015 shows that around three out of ten of workers across Europe indicated that they worked from home (Felstead and Henseke, 2017). Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, the numbers of home-based work have been increasing; and it is well-expected for these numbers to increase dramatically during and after the pandemic. According to Adam

Ozimek and Richard Florida (2021), even though projections differ, up to a quarter of the 160 million workers in the United States are predicted to work entirely from home in the long run, and many more are likely to work remotely for a significant portion of the time.

Approaching from a gendered perspective, it would be necessary to add that home and work have also been interpreted as gendered spheres, where the home represents the female realm where the workplace is associated with the male (Hanson, 1992; Hanson and Pratt, 1988). With the rise of remote-working, this association is challenged in a way, since both male and female workers started to conduct their daily work activities from their private sphere. Considering for women, the home has usually been the only place of their labor, both as “home makers” or as a working woman’s “second shift” (Hochschild 1997), the phenomenon of remote work opens a new discussion for gender and public/private space interaction. This new shift towards working from home is one of the most preferred forms of flexible work; and in a way, it challenges and re-defines many assessments belonging to female labour and public/private space. Adopting a value-based approach, Saskia Sassen (2013) re-expresses the phenomenon of gendered connotations of public and private space as the public sphere is marked mostly masculine, acquiring economic and social value; and the private sphere, marked mostly feminine, is given only symbolic value. In the light of this statement, home-working is located at a point where the private sphere acquires not only symbolic, but economic value.

The gender-oriented literature also covers self-employed female creative labor, who are mothers who conduct their jobs from home in order to maximize their flexibility, and this group of remote – workers has been regarded as a crucial area of research (Duberley and Carrigan 2012). These women's biggest incentives for working from home, whether freelancing or having their own enterprises, appear to be child care responsibilities and the “reconciliation” of family and professional lives. However, existing literature have not paid attention to potential urban spatial preferences of these women home-based workers.

The reasons why creative workers tend to work remotely from home vary greatly; and the motivations and triggers relate both to the sectors of the businesses and their nature, and to the individual and work–life conditions of the creative worker. These factors leading to working from home will also be influenced by geography. Mason, Carter and Tagg (2011) suggest 12 reasons for working from home for a large sample of 5675 home – based businesses in UK, while Vorley and Rodgers (2014) present eight reasons in their sample of 21 home-based workers in the creative industries in the Sheffield city. Besides from the recent Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown circumstances, one of the main reasons which will make home-based work more widespread is cost minimization (Mason et al. 2011; Daniel, Domenico and Sharma, 2014; Vorley and Rodgers 2014). Using the home as a workplace is cost-effective and especially starting a new creative business from home means reducing initial financial risks. Convenience, on the other hand, is listed as another reason for starting or working in a creative business from home, in the existing literature. In a creative industry study by Vorley and Rodgers (2014), “convenience was used in the context of commuting” in an urban setting. Because it is either close to existing clients or ideally located for access to clients, the home was used as a workspace. In the context of choosing a suitable home location, “avoiding an urban working environment” and traffic was also mentioned. Reuschke and Mason (2015), in their study they conducted in both urban and rural areas, identify the reasons why home is used as a new workspace, as well as the most significant advantages and disadvantages of remote – working from home (Figure 2.8). The reasons are listed as reducing costs, convenience, nature of business, work-life balance, high costs of commercial premises, avoid commute, low-risk start, accommodating family needs, childcare, starting the business as a hobby, and business including living premises (Reuschke et al., 2015). The advantages, on the other hand, are specified as flexible working hours, no costs for premises and low costs in general, no commuting, suitable workspace and immediate environment, being close to family partners and the ease of being at home. There are also disadvantages listed by the authors, which are limited working space and no meeting space, difficulty in employing staff and

inviting customers, image of immediate environment, isolation, long working hours, interruption of surrounding family members, and blurred boundaries between family life and work (Reuschke et al., 2015).

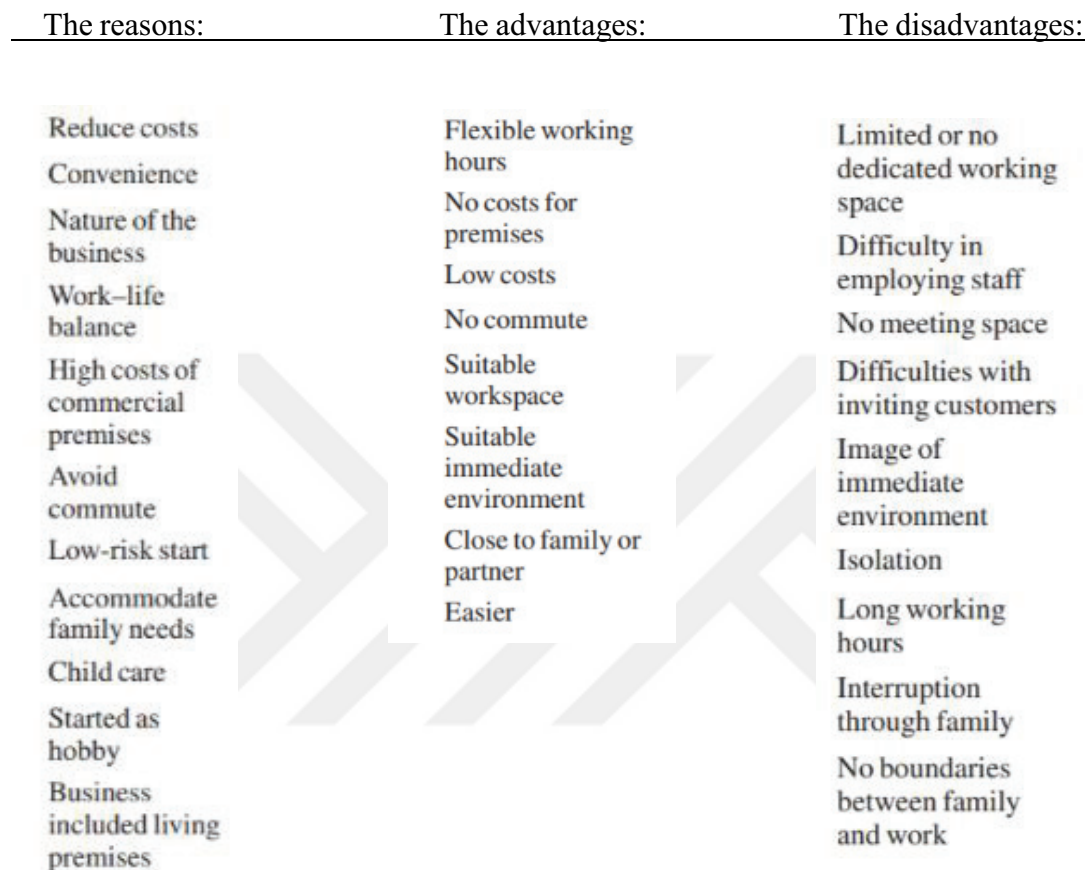


Figure 2.8. The reasons, advantages and disadvantages for running the business from home (Reuschke and Mason, 2015)

The historic link “between where people live and where they work” is being challenged by remote work from home. People used to work where they lived until the invention of subways, commuter trains, and automobiles, which increased the distance between house and job. In fact, this spatial organization of an urban labor market and its commuting shed is basically what constitutes “a metropolitan region which includes the suburbs and rural areas surrounding a central city area”. The rise

of remote work changes that equation, according to Ozimek and Florida (2021)—not in all sectors but especially in creative sectors. Smaller cities, suburbs, or rural locations with outdoor facilities may attract creative workers with families, while “ambitious young professionals fresh out of college or graduate school” may flock to urban hubs for entry-level positions and social life. Given that more than half of newly remote workers want a much cheaper housing and more than a quarter want to cut their living expenditures in half or more, remote employment could provide them with more options (Ozimek and Florida, 2021).

From an urban design and planning perspective, the focus shifts “from luring companies with special deals to luring talent with services and amenities” when people work from home. Local governments will be expected to invest more cost-effectively in things like “education and innovation centers, public services, parks and green spaces, safer streets, bike lanes, and walkable neighborhoods” to attract home-based workers; instead of “using tax abatements, zoning variances, and direct grants to persuade big companies to locate their factories, warehouses, branch offices, and call centers in their cities” (Ozimek and Florida, 2021). To enable remote work, the competition for talent is expected to shift over time to regions that offer “the best combination of quality of life, affordability, and creative/innovative ecosystems” (Ozimek and Florida, 2021). Because of the emergence of home-based remote working, local governments will change their economic development priorities away from providing large companies incentives and toward investing in and improving a community's quality of life. Communities' tax bases will rise as a result of attracting more distant employees, “allowing them to improve schools and other services”, which will benefit everyone. In such a shift, companies will come to these cities, too. Thus, it becomes clear that a better, more virtuous economic development cycle is possible.

Moreover, with the rise of the trend of working from home, the viability of long-established central business districts in metropolitan areas will also be challenged. It will no longer be necessary to rent office towers for creative workers for the most

part. According to Ozimek and Florida (2021), those “office districts are projected to see a decline nearly as 20% to 30% in post-pandemic demand for space”.

The literature reveals that in the researches done so far, the geography of home-based work is often neglected, and the sites where home – based workers locate are determined as most likely to be found in inner urban areas (Mason et al., 2016). In a study conducted in UK, Reuschke and Mason (2016) concluded that home-based remote workers “were predominantly located in suburban and rural areas”; so a “mismatch” is evident between the location of co-working spaces which are usually located in central neighbourhoods, and the location of home-based remote work. Still, these assumptions may change place and time specifically, as ‘new’ home-based business types in the creative industries can be expected to show preferences for urban areas, as the creative industries and labor benefit from externalities provided by cities.

2.2.5 Public Spaces as Workspaces

Growing flexibility in the places of work, particularly in the creative industries, and the ensuing possibilities for remote – working are also challenging the traditional ways of conceptualizing public spaces (Di Marino and Lapintie, 2015). In addition to the home – based work and co – working, creative workers are using a network of public spaces such as libraries, coffee shops, parks or museums for different types of working. In a way, the extensions and intensifications of changing places of flexible creative work produce changing definitions of urban public space, and add the perimeters of a workspace to them.

Ray Oldenburg (1989) defines such settings as “third places,” differentiating from “the first place of home or the second place of work or school”. The “third places” are the places such as sidewalk cafés, bookstores, or gardens. There are also “culture specific third places”— such as “the pubs of England, sidewalk cafés of Paris, or beer gardens of Germany—that have been historically associated with the culture

and urbanism of different cities” (Banerjee, 2001). Starbucks coffee shops, D&R bookstores, and various combinations of these have can be classified as key icons of the so-called third places.

The emergence of public spaces as temporary workplaces derives from economical benefits as well as the need for relaxation, social contact, entertainment, leisure, and work. Urban locations may be preferred by creative workers with a flexible work pattern, due to potential employment and networking opportunities available in urban central districts (Wheatley, 2020). A significant portion of creative workers seem to particularly cross the borders of the virtual community of their company or home, and instead, the city becomes their space of work. They are mobile during their work routine and their interactions often happen in informal spaces outside the office or home sphere.

2.3 Creative Labor and Access to Urban Services

The city is no longer just an agglomeration where people looks for jobs, but a space of consumption of goods and, mostly, of services. In that sense, creative labor is attracted to a variety of amenities and experiences in the urban environment surrounding them, which is “a driving factor in their lifestyle preferences”. They enjoy “stimulating environments that will encourage their own creativity”: consisting of a diverse ecosystem of “high education and talent”, “walkable and transit-oriented cities”, “areas with a vibrant cultural infrastructure”, and “communities in their neighborhoods with varied multi-use street-level activities” (Florida 2002b, 2004).

2.3.1 Live – Work – Play Communities

In the literature, the places that the creative labor desire to live and work are defined by some scholars as “live-work-play communities”, which are dense, diverse and “connected places that support mixed-use” and offer a variety of amenities,

“allowing community members to live, work and play locally” (Malizia, 2014; Insch and Florek, 2008). Diversity is key in defining those places, and that constitutes diversity of the people, the buildings, and the uses. “Mixed-use developments” that meet the requirements of “affordable and accessible housing, transport, healthcare, education and training, leisure and recreation facilities, other public amenities, and opportunities for social interaction” is an important part of the live – work – play concept (Insch and Florek, 2008). This thought is also consistent with Richard Florida’s (2005; 2014) work in which he asserts that creativity and knowledge production are urban phenomena and a vibrant urban life characterized by tolerance, diversity and social interaction is as crucial as a good knowledge infrastructure.

Murphy and Redmond (2009) classify the factors for accommodating creative labor in the city of Dublin as hard and soft factors, and their listing of factors gives great insight of how urban space could meet the creative labor’s requirements and preferences (Table 2.1). Their listing is mostly influenced by Florida (2002; 2004)’s and Landry (2000)’s work, recalling that Landry emphasizes the “institutional and economic context for attracting talent”, while Florida concentrates on the physical characteristics like public and semi – public spaces, bars, restaurants, and cafes: both, however underlining that “public and semi-public spaces” are crucial for an urban setting to attract creative labor. In the classification that Murphy and Redmond (2009) address, “soft factors” are related to city attractiveness and they are connected to intangible features of the surrounding environment, like cultural and recreational activities, the urban environment, and the degree of “tolerance and openness”. “Hard factors” are portrayed as fundamental conditions like the access to “public services, the transport infrastructure and the general cost of living” (Murphy and Redmond, 2009).

Table 2.1 Categorization of “hard and soft factors” related to the urban environment (Murphy and Redmond, 2009)

‘Hard’ Factors	‘Soft’ Factors
Public Services: Street safety; Policing services; Social security; Health services. Transport Infrastructure: Public transport; Transport within the city; Transport connectivity between the city and periphery; Availability of bicycle lanes Cost of Living: Housing and related services; Food and beverages; Leisure services; Transportation.	Cultural and Leisure Facilities: Public Spaces; Festivals and cultural facilities; Galleries and Museums; Pubs; Restaurants; Cinemas; Shopping facilities; Sports facilities. City Environment: Cleanliness of streets and parks; Footpath condition; Noise pollution; Air pollution; Congestion; Recycling services. Tolerance and Openness: Immigrants; Visible minorities; Different sexualities; Different socio-economic status.

There is a strong potential in the future of live – work – play environments fulfilling both “hard and soft factors”, especially in the current post-pandemic scenario. Even before the pandemic, entrepreneurs in many cities were “building up the stocks of unique restaurants, shops, cafes and co-working spaces” (Ozimek and Florida, 2021). After the time passed, “smaller cities, suburbs and rural areas could evolve” into more complete live – work – play communities, or so-called “15-minute neighborhoods”, by “using spaces left by storefronts and offices shut down in the pandemic”. These places have the potential to involve all the needs of life, work, play and education “within a walk or bike ride from home”. As creative workers spend more time working from home, living in a vivid neighborhood will matter more. In the same manner, as more communities develop their own remote work systems, long commutes between home, work and leisure could become an old phenomenon (Ozimek and Florida, 2021).

2.3.2 Education and Research Facilities

The economic activity of the creative labor involves creative production, as mentioned in the previous chapters; and this creative production is directly correlated

with the creativity of a city or place regarding its ability to produce new innovative / creative outputs. As a seedbed of a creative ecosystem, the presence of education and research institutions with close interaction to the creative labor plays a major role. These education and research facilities, which are mainly universities and the institutions that are engaged to them (libraries, tech hubs, labs, workshop centers, etc.), fulfill this role in two ways:

- “as providers of knowledge and innovation (mainly in the form of knowledge spillovers) and
- as providers of human capital (in the form of skilled creative workers)”

(Comunian and Faggian, 2014).

Supporting the first perspective, Asheim and Clark (2001) suggest that local competitive advantage is connected to the ability to generate new knowledge through both innovation and research and development. Even authors who first criticized the "creative city" argument, seeing it as a marketing technique for highlighting the social consequences of these policies in terms of gentrification and displacement, can foreshadow how it could evolve in parallel with this approach to knowledge creation and innovation economy. The research and education units, mainly being the universities, act like a ‘knowledge factory’ that boosts knowledge and technology, and then transfers it to the public and private sectors through technology-transfer centers, incubators, R&D institutions, university – industry partnerships, commercialization programs and spin-off firms. These interactions of the universities with firms and other institutions contribute to a vivid environment for economic competitiveness, since they collectively and collaboratively produce commercially viable products and/or processes of the market (Gertler and Vinodrai, 2004).

Secondly, the role of universities in producing highly skilled creative workers is a relatively under – researched area. Faggian and McCann (2006, 2009) argue that one of the most important roles of the university system is bringing potential high quality

human capital into a region, including the undergraduates, instructors and the whole network. The benefits of having a highly skilled labor pool is seen as crucial as the benefits generated by knowledge spillovers. Attracting and retaining higher human capital and creative labor can be seen as even a more effective and long-term strategy for local economic development for some scholars (Mathur, 1999).

Florida (2002b), in his creative class and creative city conceptualizations, suggests that an urban environment with this higher human capital level constitutes the kind of a creative and cultural setting that highly educated creative labor will seek when making a locational choice. The hypothesis is that the creative labor wants to and needs to stay connected and proximate to the research and education facilities, both because of their knowledge spillover effects and their potential of providing skilled creative labor to the creative industries.

2.3.3 Art and Cultural Infrastructure

In 1985, McNulty, Jacobson and Penne published “The Economics of Amenity” that pictured the relationship between creativity, culture and viability:

"Quality of life and local amenities, including the arts, have long been counted among the factors that contribute to an area's potential for economic development. In recent years, however, changes in the structure and composition of the economy have made them more significant relative to other investment influences. Often unrecognized and untapped, amenities are being given a central role in the development strategies of some cities that are stressing the characteristics that make them distinctively attractive as places to live, work, visit and invest with imagination determination and cooperation, most cities can link amenities and development in strategies that contribute to both economic strength and quality of life improvements."

Partners for Livable Places (1985)

Their work shows that the debate is not altogether new. However, since the key argument pointed out by Richard Florida in 2002, which is that “places with a flourishing artistic and cultural environment are the ones that generate economic outcomes and overall economic growth” (Florida, 2002, p.261), art and culture became the key drivers of urban agendas of creative city policies. Art and culture-based experiences and the presence of such infrastructure in the city are becoming highly important in the formation of attractive environments for the creative labor to live and work, and also for them to boost their creative economic activity. “Art and culture-based experiences contribute to create attractive cities and regions” for the creative labor (Lysgard, 2012). In Figure 2.9, a listing of the types and range of these art and cultural amenities is presented (Montgomery, 2003).

-
1. Cultural venues at a variety of scales, including small and medium.
 2. Festivals and events.
 3. Availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers.
 4. Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors.
 5. Managed workspaces for office and studio users.
 6. Location of arts development agencies and companies.
 7. Arts and media training and education.
 8. Art in the environment.
 9. Community arts development initiatives.
 10. Complementary day-time uses.
 11. Complementary evening uses.
 12. Stable arts funding.
-

Figure 2.9. Indicators of cultural activity in the city (Montgomery, 2003)

Lysgård (2012) categorizes the different reflections of art and cultural activities taking place in the city in two models. One of these models focuses on internal socio – cultural processes, of which the goal is to use culture to revive a “city's public social life”, as well as to foster a sense of cohesion, pride, and shared “identity among its citizens” (Lysgård, 2012). The concepts of art and culture in “this type is linked

to the broad anthropological understanding which places emphasis on the meaningful content in social structures and practices” (Lysgård, 2012).

The second category layed out by Lysgård (2012) reflects art and culture related activities in the city as more extrovert, creating “rapid and substantial growth (city boosterism)” as they transform the city to become a more attractive place to the creative labor. In this model, culture is interpreted “as a medium for attracting investors, entrepreneurs and highly trained” workforce of creative labor (Lysgård, 2012). The focus here is the “consumption of culture through the provision of different cultural and entertainment” activities, “social meeting places (e.g. cafes, clubs, open areas), and cultural festivals, and also spectacular architecture and artistic monuments” (Lysgård, 2012).

In the context of creative economy and creative cities, these two models merge as they never did before. In the conventional production economy, “art and culture have been seen as a public responsibility” because there was “not sufficient demand for them to exist independently without support” (Lysgård, 2012). The effects of art and culture on “economic value creation in society” have been mostly indirect. However, with the rise of creative and cultural economies, this picture has entirely changed. Today, “art and culture are closely linked to creative industries” and the effects of them on economic value creation becomes direct, as “a number of new products create their income” in the market (Cultiva, 2006 as cited in Lysgård, 2012).

The “cultural infrastructure of cities” with their wide network of galleries, museums, theatres, concert halls, festival areas etc. also constitute the “relational assets associated with economically successful networks: such as trust, reciprocity or exchange of tacit knowledge” (Amin 2003). The places where art and culture activities are conducted in the city “tend to be places of complex variety, with a large representation of creative business activity of all scales, which trades not only with ‘consumers’ but also with other businesses” (Montgomery, 2003). Thus, these activities are crucial for networking of the creative labor.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY: CHANGING WORKSPACES AND URBAN EXPERIENCES OF CREATIVE LABOR IN ISTANBUL

The recent shift in urban economies towards technology, knowledge and creativity – based activities led cities to undergo significant changes. Urban landscapes are in a constant change in order to adapt to the new styles of work, life and leisure that the creative labor force introduces to the cities. Holding the highest density of creative industries and creative labor in Turkey, Istanbul is chosen as a case study area. Levent - Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy are specified as the three main research areas in the city, where questionnaires are filled by creative workers.

The chapter is composed of four parts. In the first part, the background information about the creative economy in Istanbul is presented, including the concepts of creative industries, creative labor and creative city. The second part discusses the changing places of work in Istanbul regarding the three cases of Levent - Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy. Finally, the last part presents an overview of the methodology and structure of the questionnaire, and comprises the analysis of the results of the questionnaire.

3.1 Creative Economy in Istanbul

Istanbul is the most appealing city in Turkey for creative industries and labor because of its urban vibrancy, population variety, and cultural and historical heritage. The city has been hosted different economic and social structures because of its capital function and historical accumulation. The city's advanced technical infrastructure and innovation centers attract creative labor, which has a significant impact on the city's cultural/creative and innovative agglomeration (Ekdi and Çıracı, 2015). The city's

economic basis “has gradually moved from manufacturing to services” over the previous 30 years, creating considerable “potential for the creative economy” (Evren and Enlil, 2012).

The turnover of the creative sectors in Istanbul constitutes 74.5% of the turnover of the creative sectors in Turkey (YEKON, 2015). Analyzing İstanbul in terms of creative economy is important in that sense; because the newest and the most compelling economic activities have happened generally in İstanbul. There is no doubt to say that İstanbul becomes a kind of a sectoral benchmark of which all creative sectors have a crucial role from production to consumption. Therefore, the city stands at a central position in terms of creative sectors.

3.1.1 Creative Industries in Istanbul

In Istanbul, there is a significant potential for creative industries, that are expanding at a faster rate than other economic activity (UNCTAD, 2010). The Istanbul Development Agency has included works on the creative industries in the 2010–2014 and 2014–2020 Istanbul Regional Plans and aimed to help to these industries’ development through financial assistance programs (Regional Development Plan, 2015). Lazzeretti, Capone, and Secilmis (2014) conducted one of the most comprehensive studies about creative industries in Turkey as they identified Istanbul as one of the two major creative cities (along with the capital city Ankara) based on the findings of the number of creative clusters on a city-level. The software programming, advertising, and media industries were highlighted as the core creative sectors in these two major cities (Lazzeretti et al., 2014).

Istanbul, with a population of 15,4 million people and a growing demand in the cultural and creative industries, has enormous growth potential for the creative industry. As mentioned earlier, the city also has the potential for creative industries because of an significant number of international visitors, as well as its historical and cultural heritage and presence of Turkey's most advanced education and human

resources infrastructure. In fact, based on the NACE categorization and the most recent TSI (2011; as cited in Demir, 2018) data, Istanbul's prominence in the creative industries is becoming more apparent, both in terms of employment and added-value (Demir, 2018). The most remarkable data of the creative industries enterprises in Istanbul is the turnover of these enterprises and their share in the total turnover in Turkey (Figure 3.1). According to 2011 data, enterprises in Istanbul account for 74.5 percent of the total turnover of companies in the creative industries in Turkey (Demir, 2018).

NACE REV 2.	Employees			Turnover (TL billion)		
	Istanbul	Turkey	Ratio	Istanbul	Turkey	Ratio
18 Printing and multiplication of recorded media	28.004	58.551	47.83%	3.451	6.034	57.19%
58 Publishing activities	9.931	17.254	57.56%	2.715	3.619	75.02%
59 Production of motion picture, video and television programmes, activities of sound recording and music publication	7.145	9.883	72.30%	2.077	2.315	89.72%
60 Software engineering and	6.000	18.733	32.03%	2.700	3.081	87.63%
62 Computer programming, consultancy and related activities	26.568	55.128	48.19%	3.792	6.192	61.24%
63 Knowledge and service activities	4.086	7.697	53.09%	831	1.092	76.10%
72 Scientific research and development activities	510	1.180	43.22%	76	148	51.35%
73 Advertising and market investigation	44.074	66.600	66.18%	11.589	13.835	83.77%
74 Other vocational, scientific, technic activities	6.761	20.557	32.89%	375	810	46.30%
90 Creative arts, visul arts and entertainment activities	4.685	7.342	63.81%	684	850	80.47%
91 Libraries, archives, museums and the other cultural activities	461	691	66.71%	53	58	91.38%
Total	138.225	263.616	52.43%	28.343	38.034	74.52%

Figure 3.1. Employment and Turnover Data of Creative Industries in Istanbul and Turkey (TSI Regional Statistics, 2011; as cited in Demir, 2018)

In terms of sectoral turnover, Istanbul generates 89.2% of Turkey's cinema, video and television programming, voice recording, and broadcasting sub-sectors. These sectors are followed by programming and publishing at a high percentage of 87.6%, and advertising and market research sectors at a percentage of 83.6% (Figure 3.1).

When considering other examples around the world, it is evident that in recent years, similar-sized metropolises have placed a greater emphasis on the growth of creative industries. Since the early 2000s, cities such as London (England), Berlin (Germany), and Paris (France) have been implementing plans for the development

of creative industries. The most significant aspect in the cases of Berlin and London is that the creative industries have initially built their own cultural infrastructure in the metropolitan areas (i.e. Shoreditch region in 1990s), and after a period of time, government policies provided the necessary instruction and support for the development of these industries (Demir, 2018). In this regard, for the case of Istanbul, the execution of analyses for the development status and potential of the existing creative industries, as well as defining the city's attraction to the creative industries in terms of spatial, social, and other concerns, are the prior steps to take.

Istanbul has a great growth potential in the digital sphere within the creative industries when considering the young population structure and increasing mobile device usage. In this regard, actions taken to accommodate the creative industries into new markets based on “technology, innovation, and infrastructural development” will be significant contributions to these businesses (Demir, 2018).

In the course of growing foreign trade volume and globalization of the creative industries in Istanbul, which has been backed by local demand, creative enterprises have been able to scale their businesses to a global level. With a population of over 15 million people and a growing interest in arts and culture, Istanbul, being at “the heart of Turkish economy”, provides a significant domestic market and growth opportunities for entrepreneurs working in the creative sectors (Demir, 2018).

3.1.2 Creative Labor in Istanbul

According to 2011 data, Turkey's creative labor is concentrated in its two biggest cities, Istanbul and Ankara, which – together – account for 64 percent of the country's overall “creative workforce, the majority of which is based in Istanbul” (Lazzeretti et al., 2014). The 2015 data indicates that the number of creative workers in Istanbul participating in the creative sectors constitutes 52,4% of the number of creative workers in Turkey (YEKON,2015).

Istanbul's creative industries is expanding, and the city is Turkey's “incubator of creativity and innovation” (Parlak and Baycan, 2020), regardless of the fact that the creative workforce to total population ratio (0.9%) is lower than in Paris (4.7%) or London (3.8%) (Kerimoğlu and Güven-Güney, 2018). It can be argued that creative economy in İstanbul continues increasing also because of the high rate of young population (15-24) in İstanbul as 22% compared to the total young population in Turkey as 16,5% (YEKON, 2015). Therefore, the high proportion of young population in Istanbul can be an indication that creative sectors have the growth potential in the city. With the development of infrastructure in creative sectors and education-oriented investments to be made for the creativity of this young intellectual capital, the creative industries are able to achieve rapid development.

When the number of creative sector employees are evaluated according to the 2016 data of the Social Security Institution (SSI, 2016; as cited in Demir, 2018), it is evident that the area of Sisli accommodates the majority of the creative labor with the number of 92.378 (Figure 3.2). Considering that creative industries comprise 15,6 % of total employment, the district of Sisli holds 18,6 % of this creative workforce in Istanbul. After Sisli, Besiktas appears to be the second most crowded district when it comes to creative industries employees with a number of 43.414 workers, and Kadikoy as the third with 38.284 workers. The distribution percentage of creative industries employment gives the rate of 8,7 % for Besiktas, and 7,7 % for Kadikoy respectively (Figure 3.2).

It is important to indicate that the existence of creative human capital with “high creative skill, specialized in the relevant sectors”, is closely linked to the development of creative industries in Istanbul. As a city with 65 universities, Istanbul is the education hub of Turkey from this perspective, along with the capital city Ankara. There are departments and faculties directly involved in the creative industries at 41 of these universities (Demir, 2018).

The rise in the number of foundation universities, the expansion of public university quotas, and investments in university technical infrastructure have all led to an

increase in the availability of skilled creative labor for the creative industries in recent years. In the meanwhile, the private sector is boosting its training operations in creative areas as the demand for creative and cultural economic activities in the city grows. Private art centers are also contributing to the training of creative labor force for theater, music, and other creative areas (Demir, 2018).

Districts	Employment	Percentage distribution
Adalar	202	0.04%
Arnavutköy	3.930	0.79
Ataşehir	24.202	4.88%
Avcılar	4.592	0.93%
Bağcılar	14.968	3.02%
Bahçelievler	11.876	2.39%
Bakırköy	11.537	2.32%
Başakşehir	11.988	2.42%
Bayrampaşa	4.006	0.81%
Beşiktaş	43.414	8.75%
Beykoz	6.860	1.38%
Beylikdüzü	7.803	1.57%
Beyoğlu	18.904	3.81%
Büyükdere	4.612	0.93%
Çatalca	1.316	0.27%
Çekmeköy	3.126	0.63%
Esenler	8.944	1.80%
Esenyurt	13.165	2.65%
Eyüp	4.977	1.00%
Fatih	11.831	2.38%
Gaziosmanpaşa	4.478	0.90%
Güngören	4.545	0.92%
Kadıköy	38.384	7.73%
Kağıthane	15.073	3.04%
Kartal	8.864	1.79%
Küçükçekmece	9.020	1.82%
Maltepe	15.119	3.05%
Pendik	9.302	1.87%
Sancaktepe	4.217	0.85%
Sarıyer	9.553	1.92%
Silivri	2.979	0.60%
Sultanbeyli	1.508	0.30%
Sultangazi	1.048	0.21%
Şile	222	0.04%
Şişli	92.378	18.61%
Tuzla	8.393	1.69%
Ümraniye	24.213	4.88%
Üsküdar	20.299	4.09%
Zeytinburnu	14.412	2.90%

Figure 3.2. Number of Creative Industries Labor by Districts in Istanbul (SSI Social Security Institution Statistics, 2016; as cited in Demir, 2018)

If the distribution of university faculties related to creative industries in Istanbul is evaluated, it is apparent that the districts of Beyoglu, Besiktas, Kadikoy, Fatih, and Uskudar have a higher concentration of these educational institutions. Despite the fact that mobility in Istanbul's metropolitan region is high and there are many transport options, it is clear that universities that supply human capital to the creative industries tend to be located in or near the city's core districts. Similarly, the conservatories that are functioning at universities are located within the perimeter of the areas of Kadikoy, Besiktas, and Beyoglu, and these neighborhoods are also home to creative businesses (Demir, 2018).

3.1.3 Istanbul as a Creative City

Istanbul's historical and cultural inheritance, density of its population and dynamic business activity have all contributed to the city's global image as a commercial and cultural center over the years. The city is selected as the host city of the 15th UNESCO Creative Cities Network's Annual Conference in 2021 with an online voting by the 180 members of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN) of 72 countries. As the biggest city in Turkey based on its population as well as the functions carried out and subject to the fastest and substantial change in the current circumstances, Istanbul has the potential to be a creative city developing around the global trends.

When compared to other territories, Istanbul has a significance with its quality of locating at the intersection point of the country and region's transportation networks, with direct transportation capabilities to all regions, job opportunities, and higher infrastructure and social amenities. Istanbul, which has mostly maintained its economic significance since its founding, is also one of the most important tourism centers in the world, with historical assets that reflect the civilizations of several time periods (Kerimoglu and Gezici, 2011).

The historical development of Istanbul as a creative city dates back to the second half of the 17th century when the presence of embassies in Beyoglu (along the Grand Rue de Pera, which is now Istiklal Street) stimulated urban growth and boosted population in the neighborhood. Since the European population grew in the neighborhood, new cultural and economic activities evolved, as well as a new way of life in Beyoglu; and eventually, the district grew into the city's modern core (Akin, 1998). Until the 18th century, several communities formed cultural/creative industry clusters (like banking and insurance businesses in Karakoy; or arts and crafts in Eminonu). As the population of Europeans residing in Beyoglu district increased, and hence with a new cultural impact, a concentration of industries centered around engineering, architecture, photography, music, and theatre began to develop in Pera / Beyolu in the beginning of the 18th century (Ekdi and Çıracı, 2015). Following this European population, a wide group of creatives including artists, architects, engineers, photographers and musicians chose to live in the Beyoglu neighborhood.

The republican period in the 20th century caused a drop in the European population in Beyoglu during the 1950s; and the economic and demographic character of the district has changed. Although there has been a decline in the number of creative industries for a ten-year period; the creative and cultural industries started to relocate in the district after 1960s because of the revitalization of the neighborhood.

In Figure 3.3, an interactive map created by ATOLYE, which is a community-driven creative services organization, shows the networks between public and private institutions which contribute in the city's creative ecosystem. As presented in the map, Istanbul has an inter-connected structure in terms of workshop spaces, labs, virtual hubs, co-working spaces, makerspaces, creative communities, universities, incubation and research centers.

With all of its main attributes, Istanbul has the potential to build a diverse spectrum of cultural and creative businesses. However, the issues of transportation, safety, social environment, insufficient infrastructure or over-population inhabits further development of creative industries in the city. With an urban planning perspective,

Besiktas which has 3423 workplaces, Beyoglu which has 2085 workplaces and Zeytinburnu which has 2073 workplaces. This data of Social Security Institution (SSI, 2016) shows that; the creative industry businesses tend to agglomerate in the Beyoglu, Sisli, Besiktas, Kadikoy and Zeytinburnu districts, which make up the city's central area. These regions are the areas where the density and the rapidity of the economic activity are high, business sectors are concentrated, and the city is connected and integrated.

Name of district	Number of workplace	Ratio (%)
Şişli	6865	14.66%
Kadıköy	4669	9.97%
Beşiktaş	3423	7.31%
Beyoğlu	2085	4.45%
Zeytinburnu	2073	4.43%
Üsküdar	1910	4.08%
Ataşehir	1907	4.07%
Ümraniye	1849	3.95%
Fatih	1827	3.90%
Bakırköy	1601	3.42%
Kağıthane	1592	3.40%
Bahçelievler	1332	2.85%
Bağcılar	1282	2.74%
Başakşehir	1248	2.67%
Maltepe	1134	2.42%
Kartal	1058	2.26%
Pendik	939	2.01%
Esenyurt	932	1.99%
Esenler	780	1.67%
Sarıyer	779	1.66%
Küçükçekmece	778	1.66%
Beykoz	669	1.43%
Bayrampaşa	640	1.37%
Beylikdüzü	614	1.31%
Eyüp	608	1.30%
Avcılar	573	1.22%
Tuzla	529	1.13%
Güngören	524	1.12%
Gaziosmanpaşa	480	1.03%
Büyüçekmece	453	0.97%
Sancaktepe	370	0.79%
Çekmeköy	325	0.69%
Sultangazi	217	0.46%
Arnavutköy	207	0.44%
Silivri	201	0.43%
Sultanbeyli	179	0.38%
Çatalca	92	0.20%
Şile	46	0.10%
Adalar	24	0.05%

Figure 3.4. Number of Creative Industries Workplaces by Districts in Istanbul (SSI Social Security Institution Statistics, 2016; as cited in Demir, 2018)

According to coworker.com (“coworker.com,” n.d.), which is one of the most comprehensive search engines for finding co-working spaces around the world, presents “107 results for Madrid, 87 for Chicago, 82 for Toronto, 44 for Milan, and 59 for Istanbul, all in the same Alpha category”. However, when drawing conclusions from these numbers, one must be careful since “they are only search engine results and cannot be extrapolated to formal statistical data” (Parlak and Baycan, 2020). Although these results show that Istanbul remains below the capacity of other similar cities in the same category, the city has an expanding potential for co-working spaces.

Known as the cultural triangle (Figure 3.5), the Beyoglu, Besiktas, Sisli, The Historical Peninsula and Kadikoy possesses the density of the cultural and creative production and consumption in Istanbul (YEKON, 2015). Furthermore, the cultural triangle contains the majority of museums, theatres, theatres, and culture centers, as well as colossal monuments and examples of civilian architecture, all of which represent or enhance Istanbul's rich historical and cultural heritage (Enlil, Evren and Dincer, 2011).

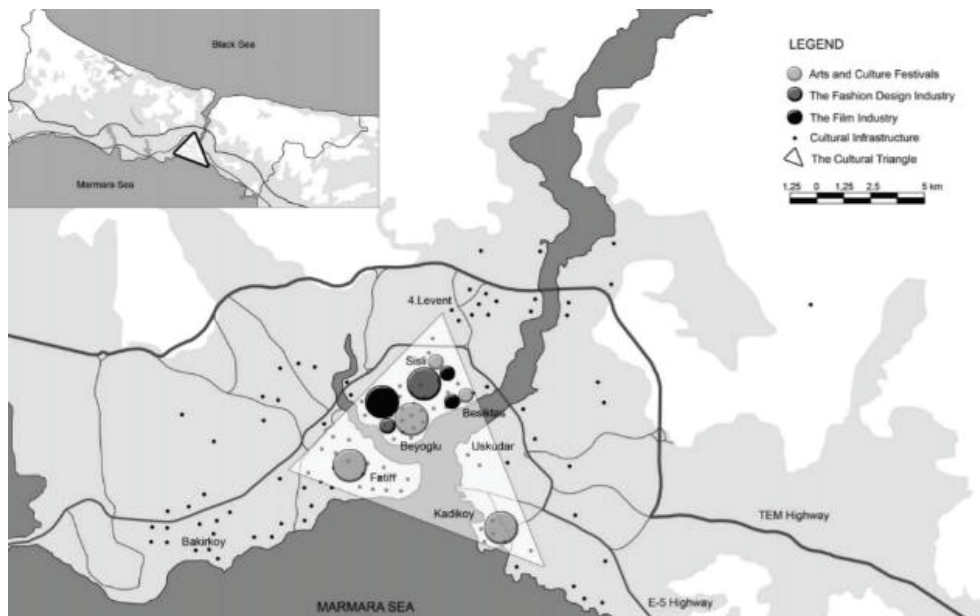


Figure 3.5. The Cultural Triange of Istanbul (Enlil, Evren and Dincer, 2011)

The co-working spaces, on the other hand, are concentrated in a linear articulation in the European side of Istanbul. As seen in Figure 3.6, they mostly locate in the Levent and Ataturk Oto Sanayi stops of the Yenikapı - Haciosman (M2) metro line. Halic, Sishane and Taksim stops of the M2 metro line are also constituting another linear axis where co-working spaces are located. In the Anatolian side, the co-working spaces are aligned near Kadikoy, Unalan and Yenisahra stops of the Kadikoy – Tavsantepe (M4) metro line. Thus, the main areas in Istanbul where co-working spaces are located densely can be grouped as three main districts which are

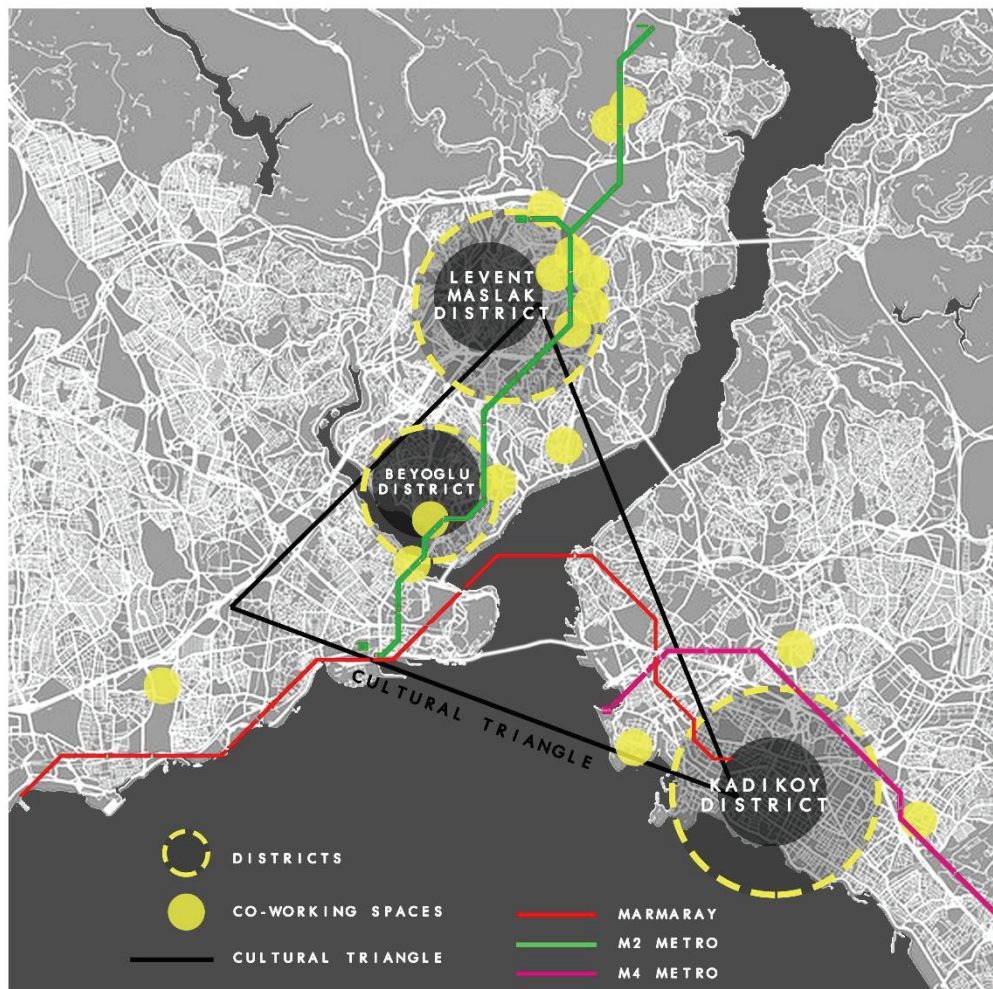


Figure 3.6. The Accumulation of the Co-Working Spaces in Istanbul

Levent – Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy. When the “Cultural Triangle” mapping of Enlil et al. (2011) is integrated to this analysis, it is seen that these three districts also constitute the corner areas of the triangle. In a way, the locational accumulation of co-working areas overlaps with the accumulation of the creative and cultural industries, and art & cultural infrastructure in Istanbul (Figure 3.6).

3.2.1 The Case of Levent – Maslak

The Levent – Maslak axis has been subject to inner city development strategies, plans and initiatives with the purpose of transforming an old industrial site into a new urban centre with global functions. Today, the area can be described as the central business district in Istanbul located at the north-west section of the conventional urban center (Eminonu - Karakoy). The district’s boundaries can be defined by the section of the road that extends from Barbaros Boulevard to Buyukdere Avenue and then to the Maslak region (Ölgen and Özker, 2020).

In order to layout a brief historical background of the development of the area, it can be stated that the territory of Levent – Maslak is initially envisioned as a high – income residential neighborhood in the 1950s. According to this vision, “Levent Housing Development Project” is generated and various industrial companies started to locate nearby. The area was home to several sectors’ manufacturing industries such as automotive and pharmaceutical. Due to the Istanbul Industrial Area Plan in 1966, industrial facilities developed on this route between 1940 and 1950 were relocated to other districts. These industrial operations were shifted to new places, and the service industry took their place (Erbas, 2013).

The most significant shift occurred in 1973, when the first Istanbul bridge was built, increasing accessibility from the Asian side of the city and drawing the attention of big companies looking for new office space (Eraydin, 2013). The “CBD – led development” in Istanbul started in the Levent – Maslak axis after the 1980s, during a period of new global flows reshaping world geography. Although the urban plans

prohibited development along this axis and designated a new CBD (Central Business District) proximate to the current one; development have subsequently been undertaken along the Buyukdere axis because of the “pressure from large capital groups” (Tokatli and Erkip, 1998 as cited in Eraydin, 2013). With the advantage of large available land parcels of old industrial use, the headquarters of several of Turkey’s biggest corporations found themselves space along the Levent – Maslak axis. Today, the qualities of this CBD are reflected in large shopping malls, banks, hotels, entertainment areas, research and development centers, venues for fairs, exhibitions, and performances, residences, and multi-stage office towers (Erbas, 2013).

As the axis of Buyukdere – Maslak has transformed, the “employment and population structures” in the area has changed accordingly (Eraydin, 2013). One of the significant effects of the CBD transformation was creating new job opportunities and therefore increasing the number of workers commuting to the area. Secondly, the accumulation of the “new core functions” such as workplaces including conventional office areas as well as new articulations of work such as co – working spaces and coffee shops, and other urban facilities such as entertainment areas, research and development centers, venues for fairs, exhibitions, and performances, residences started to attract “a new working population” who wants to be in close proximity with those functions (Eraydin, 2013). The fact that the Levent – Maslak axis is connected to main transportation networks of which the major one is M2 metro line (Figure 3.6), made the area accessible to these commuters.

In the area of Levent – Maslak, new places of work co-exist with a social, cultural, commercial, education and research infrastructure. There are many co-working spaces and work-friendly coffee houses along with other public areas which offer mixed-uses of art, commerce, work and leisure. The co-working spaces in Levent – Maslak area can be listed as Kolektif Maslak, Workhaus, ITU Cekirdek, Impact Hub, Open Up Office, Joint Idea, Habita, Workinton, SERVCORP, Smartoffice Levent 195, BIZWORLD, Regus Istanbul and BUBA Campus (Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8).

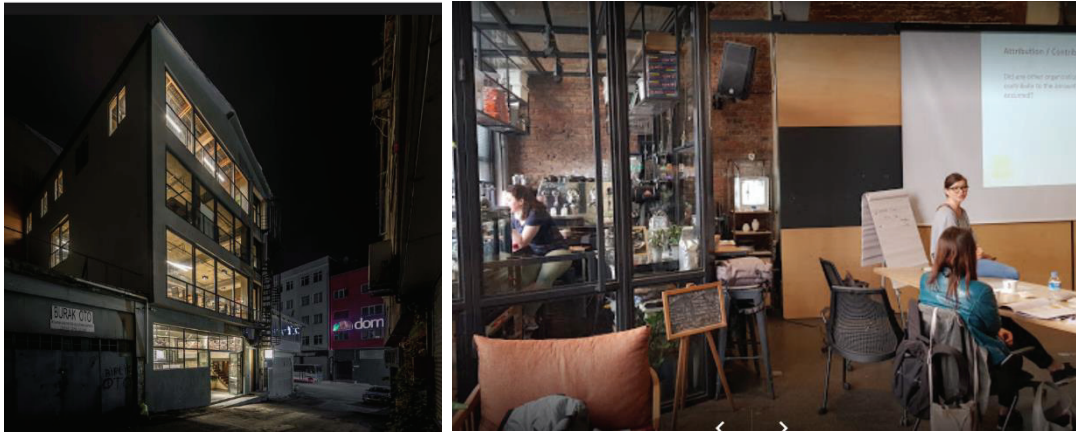


Figure 3.7. Examples of co-working spaces: Impact Hub



Figure 3.8. Examples of co-working spaces: Kolektif House Maslak

Numerous coffee houses along the Levent – Maslak axis also act as public workspaces which offer necessary spatial and technological infrastructure to creative workers (Figure 3.9). Several art galleries, multi-purpose performance centers, commercial facilities and networking events complement this creative work habitat (Figure 3.10). The area is also home to the campuses of the many universities, such as Istanbul Technical University, Yildiz Technical University, Halic University, Isik University, Beykent University, MEF University and Nisantasi University.



Figure 3.9. Examples of the coffee houses: Startup Cafe (left), Starbucks (right)



Figure 3.10. Examples of mixed use commerce, networking, art and performance centers: 42 Maslak (above), Zorlu Center (below)

3.2.2 The Case of Beyoglu

Beyoglu is a metropolitan cultural center and a destination for millions of visitors, with its art nouveau historical buildings, art galleries, restaurants, cafés and bars, cinemas, and cultural centers. In a way, the district's existing creative industry clustering demonstrates the characteristics of urban environments that attract the creative businesses and creative labor to the city. In a study conducted by Ekdi and Çıracı in 2015, the creative workers expressed that:

“being in the heart of the culture and social hub of the city and intellectual milieu affected and encouraged creative production. Also, it was found that a workspace and inhabitable urban pattern provides convenience and generates a productive atmosphere” (Ekdi and Çıracı, 2015)

The study demonstrates that Beyoglu district’s “proximity to the city center, accessibility, ambiance, and atmosphere” attract the creative sectors and creative people, allowing creative businesses and workspaces to cluster in the neighborhood (Ekdi and Çıracı, 2015). Moreover, “the historical identity and land use diversity” of the district – particularly third spaces such as coffee shops, restaurants and bars as sites of “random encounters” (Ekdi and Çıracı, 2015) make Beyoglu a place of agglomeration of creative industries and labor, therefore of the new workspaces they locate in.

As mentioned earlier, the historical development of Beyoglu as a cultural center of Istanbul dates back to the second half of the 17th century when the accumulation of embassies in Beyoglu (along the Grand Rue de Pera, which is now Istiklal Street) accelerated urban growth and boosted population in the neighborhood. With the European population growth in the neighborhood, new cultural and economic activities evolved, as well as a new way of life in Beyoglu; and eventually, the district grew into the city's modern core (Akın, 1998). Until the 18th century, several communities formed cultural/creative industry clusters (like banking and insurance businesses in Karakoy; or arts and crafts in Eminonu). As the population of

Europeans residing in Beyoglu district increased, and hence with a new cultural impact, a concentration of industries centered around engineering, architecture, photography, music, and theatre began to develop in Pera / Beyolu in the beginning of the 18th century (Ekdi and Çıracı, 2015). Following this European population, a wide group of creatives including artists, architects, engineers, photographers and musicians chose to live in the Beyoglu neighborhood.

With the republican period in the 20th century, there existed a drop in the European population in Beyoglu during the 1950s; and the economic and demographic character of the district has changed with the decline in the number of creative industries. However, the creative and cultural industries started to relocate in the district after 1960s because of the revitalization of the neighborhood. Since the 18th century, cultural and creative sectors consisting a majority of film production companies, visual and performing arts, or architecture companies have tended to concentrate in Beyoglu – which has become the city's cultural center.

In the area of Beyoglu, new places of work reside side by side with art nouveau historical buildings, art galleries, restaurants, cafés and bars, cinemas, cultural centers, commercial areas and education and research institutions. The co-working spaces in Beyoglu district can be listed as Kolektif House Sishane, Workinton, DAM, BIZ'im Ofis, eOfis, Office Chill, MAGNet, CoDA, The Circle and Kamara (Figure 3.11).



Figure 3.11. Examples of co-working spaces: Workinton Galata

Because of its metropolitan identity, working in public spaces such as third places such as coffee shops might be challenging to concentrate and maintain a calm environment for creative activity; but there are several places that fulfills that sort of places to work (Figure 3.12). In fact, the metropolitan identity, the crowd and the high probability of random encounters in Beyoglu makes these third spaces even more attractive than a conventional office space or a co-working area for the creative labor in some cases. Moreover, in the surrounding neighborhood, there are various mixed use places that offers unique spatial environments for work, research, art and cultural facilities (Figure 3.13).



Figure 3.12. Examples of the coffee houses: Journey Cihangir

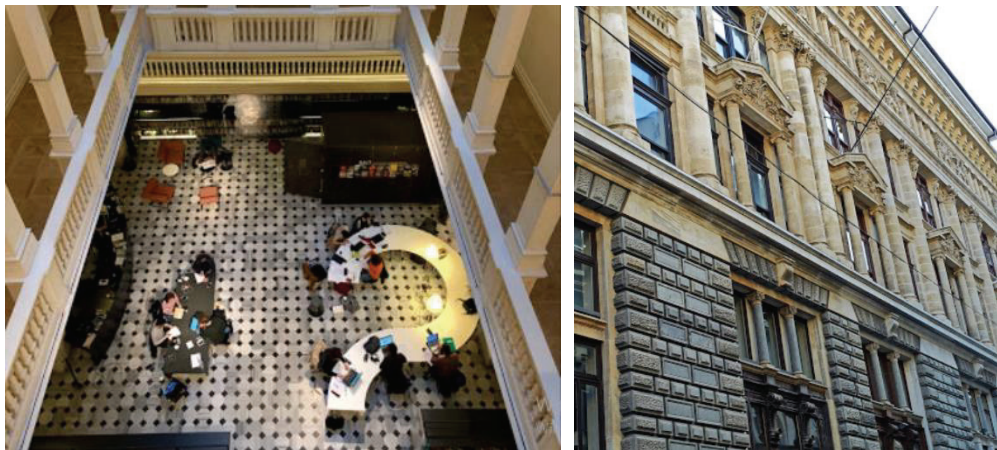


Figure 3.13. Examples of mixed use work, research, art and cultural centers: SALT Galata

3.2.3 The Case of Kadikoy

Located in the southwest region of the Anatolian side of Istanbul, Kadikoy is one of the major districts in the city where creative industries, people and spaces are concentrated. The clustering of creative industries in the district continues along the Bagdat Street axis and concentrates in the Caddebostan neighborhood. Yeldeğirmeni and Osmanaga – Caferaga regions and Kosuyolu neighborhood are also home to creative industries and the spatial configurations of them. With its location, historical and cultural heritage, and the concentration of housing, service, and entertainment sectors, the Kadikoy District is one of the biggest attraction areas for the creative labor in Istanbul.

The historical development of the city in terms of creative industries dates back to the second half of the 19th century when the number of non-Muslims in Kadikoy neighborhood increased. The Greek population was the highest, and Armenian, Levantine and Jewish populations were following them. In the Republican period, however, this population has declined. Even though, it is possible to declare that until 1950s, Kadikoy was a vibrant region of the city.

An important shift was witnessed in the 1950s as Istanbul has been exposed to migration from Anatolian regions of Turkey due to the political changes in the country. During this time, with the changes in the population and the unplanned construction processes, the area entered a period of decline. The district started to become attractive again in the first half of 2000s, when the student population has risen because of the low rent levels in the neighborhood. The Yeldeğirmeni district, in particular, has become a place of attraction for the creative labor and the process is triggered by the urban transformation projects and improvements in the transportation infrastructure in the area. As the rents are higher in the neighborhoods such as Taksim, Cihangir or Galata, creative industries found themselves place in Yeldeğirmeni district. The area soon became a site of creative production, art and cultural activities with the migration of artists, musicians, academicians, architects, writers and so on.

Resulting from the presence of creative value formation in the district, the capital followed the creative labor and spatial infrastructure started to be shaped with a variety of cafes, restaurants, bars, coffee shops, art and cultural centers, co-working places and creative hubs. The social vitality, cultural and historical heritage and the locational advantage of the area makes Kadikoy a preferred site for the creative labor to work, live and benefit from urban facilities in the city.

There are many co-working spaces in Kadikoy district; and naming a few, these spaces can be listed as IDEA, Workinton, Workstation, Smartoffice, Open Up Office, Business93 and Kolektif Ev (Figure 3.14). An important point here to highlight is that IDEA is a co-working space which is a municipality-operated organization, whereas in a majority of other co-working spaces, the institutions are privately owned and operated.

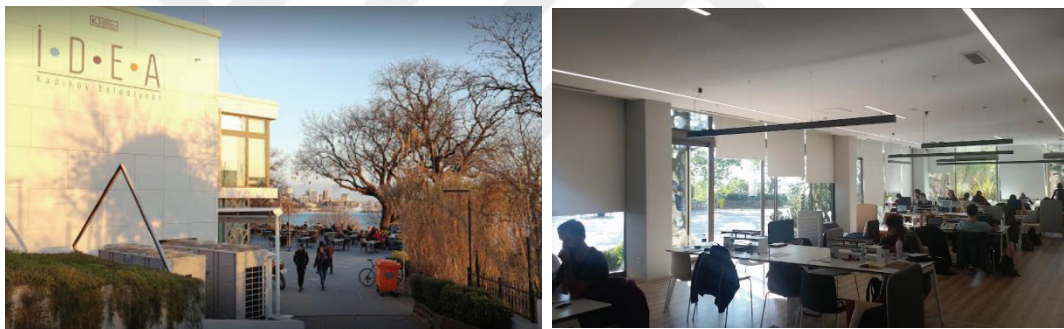


Figure 3.14. Examples of co-working spaces: IDEA Kadikoy

There are a plenty of public spaces for the creative workers to use as a workspace in Kadikoy, which serve as coffee houses and provide specialized places to work remotely at the same time (Figure 3.15). Moreover, many education, research, art and cultural centers are present in the district, which complement the creative atmosphere in the neighborhood (Figure 3.16). These education, research, art and cultural centers are established with different collaborations between the

municipality and NGOs, private institutions and the academy; and constitute great examples of public-private sectors and academy partnerships.



Figure 3.15. Examples of the coffee houses: Montag Kadikoy

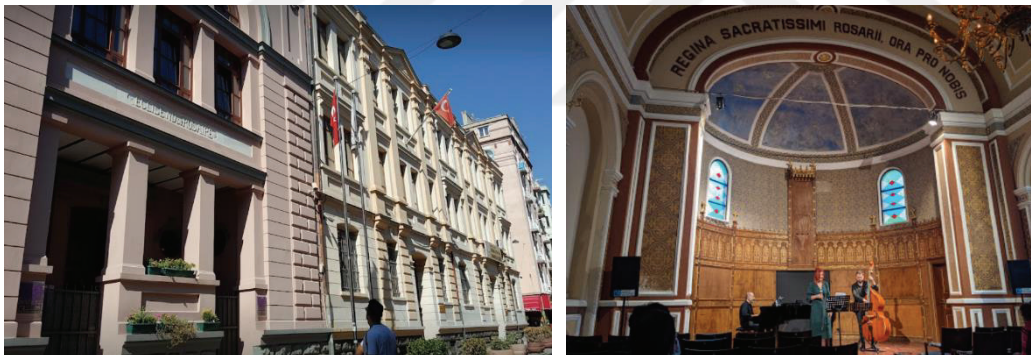


Figure 3.16. Examples of education, art and cultural centers: Yeldegirmeni Art Center

3.3 The Changing Workspaces and Urban Experiences of Creative Labor Questionnaire in Istanbul

As mentioned in the previous sections; Istanbul has a huge growth potential for the creative industries with a population of 15,4 million, a significant number of international visitors, its historical and cultural heritage, the presence of Turkey's most advanced education and human resources infrastructure and a growing demand in the cultural and creative industries. The city is recently selected as the host city of the 15th UNESCO Creative Cities Network's Annual Conference in 2021. In the last decades, new articulations of work, life, commerce, leisure, art, culture and education started to emerge in Istanbul as the needs and preferences of creative labor started to change simultaneously with the changes in the new post-industrial economic order. The co-working areas began to accumulate parallel to the accumulation of the creative and cultural industries, and art & cultural infrastructure in Istanbul. In such a context, as drivers of the creative development within the city, creative labor and both their economic practices in changing workspaces and their urban experiences holds great importance. Regarding these aspects; Istanbul requires to meet the constantly-changing social, spatial and technological infrastructure to expand its part in the global creative economic ecosystem. In this manner, a questionnaire is conducted in three locations in Istanbul where creative industries, creative people and the research / education and art / culture facilities are agglomerated: Levent – Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy districts. In the following sections, the structure of the questionnaire is presented with the analysis of the results.

3.3.1 General Information About the Questionnaire Structure

The questionnaire consists of three main parts which are the Work-related / Economic Practices (A), the Urban Services (B) and Hard and Soft Factors in Istanbul (C). The questionnaire includes 36 questions, in which multiple-choice type

is used for 6 of the questions, 5-point Likert scale is used for 24 of the questions, and open-end style is used in 6 of the questions. All different types of questions are mixed in the three chapters of the questionnaire, depending on the data that is tried to be obtained.

After the general information about the survey participants' gender, age, marital status and profession is acquired, the first part of the questionnaire included questions about the work-related / economic practices of creative labor. Work type (formal / freelance), workplace type (clustered / dispersed) and type of residence (clustered / dispersed) are the three multiple choice questions in this section. Advantages and disadvantages of this workplace type (clustered / dispersed) in terms of the workers' productivity are also asked to the participants with open-end questions. Frequency of working from home, co-working spaces and public spaces are evaluated by the survey participants with 5-point Likert scale questions of which the scale ranges from 1 (never) to 5 (always). The reasons for the frequency of working in these different workplace preferences (home/co-working/public spaces) are asked with open-end questions. In this first part, there are also questions of average income, level of satisfaction with the participants' workplace and the environment surrounding their workspace; all three in 5-point Likert scale. In the last question of the first part, the survey participants are asked to assess their creative economic activities (production / dissemination / consumption / exhibition / networking) with particular locations in the city; and this is the 5th open-end question in the questionnaire. The 2009 UNESCO framework for cultural statistics (Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009) is adapted for the identification of the components; and networking is added as an additional component for this particular research.

The second part of the questionnaire consists of questions about the creative worker's interaction with the urban services that the city provides, including art and cultural infrastructure and education and research facilities. The participants are asked to list the art and cultural activities and education and research facilities that they use the most, and indicate where those activities/facilities are located through open-end questions. Moreover, 5-point Likert scale is used for the questions about if proximity

of these art and cultural activity centers / education and research facilities to the participants' home / workplace affect their frequency of use; if art and cultural infrastructure / education and research facilities beneficial for the creative sector that they work in; and if the spatial qualifications of art and cultural activity centers / education and research facilities adequate. This part has a final question investigating how important the variety and quality of the activities besides the use of work and home are according to the creative labor, and this is also a 5-point Likert scale question.

In the third part of the questionnaire, where evaluation of hard and soft factors in Istanbul is made by the survey participants, there are 3 multiple choice questions investigating the duration of living in Istanbul, the reasons of choosing Istanbul as a place to live and whether they would like to play an active role in shaping the future of Istanbul if they had the opportunity. This part also has 8 questions in 5-point Likert scale, in which hard and soft factors in Istanbul are evaluated by the survey participants. In addition to these, there is one more question in 5-point Likert scale where the survey participants evaluate to what extent they see the urban development of Istanbul as positive.

3.3.2 The Results of the Questionnaire

The Changing Workspaces and Urban Experiences of Creative Labor questionnaire is conducted with 30 participants who are working in any creative sector. The surveys with 17 of these participants were executed in Levent – Maslak district, while 8 of them were in Beyoglu and 5 of them in Kadikoy districts. Each participant is asked to reply to all the questions in the survey.

The initial analysis of the gender distribution of the participants show that 60% of them (18 men) are men and 40% of them (12 women) are women (left side of Figure 3.17).

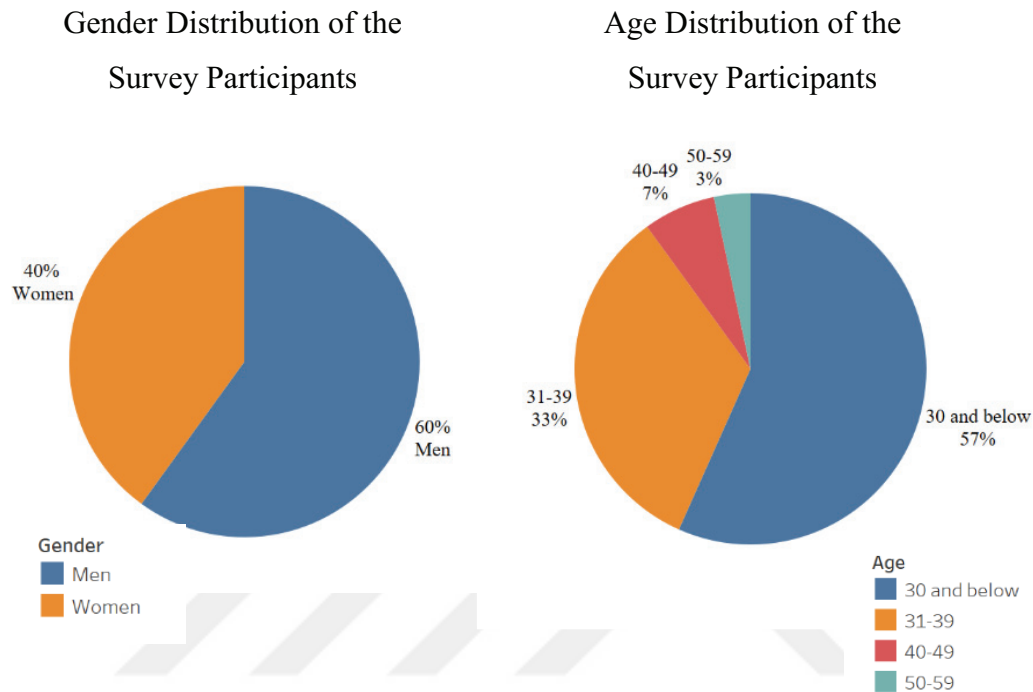


Figure 3.17. Gender Distribution (on the left) and Age Distribution (on the right) of the Participants in the Survey

The age distribution in the survey reveal that the percentage of the participants of ages between 30 and below is constituting the majority of the total participants, with a percentage of 57% (17 people). The second most-frequently seen age group in the survey is between 31-39, and this age group comprises 33% (10 people) of all participants. There are 2 people who make up for 7% of the participants and they are between the ages of 40-49. Finally, there is 1 person between the ages of 50-59, covering 3% of the total number of participants. The age intervals and the percentage

distribution of the participants in the survey are presented on the right side of Figure 3.17.

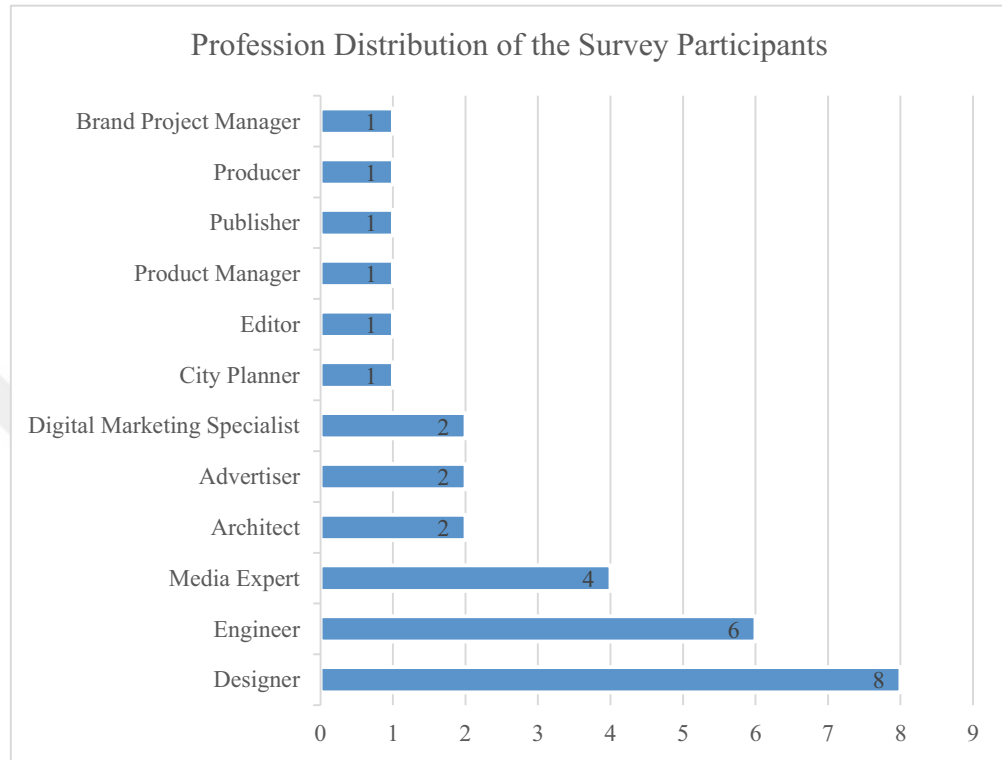


Figure 3.18. Profession Distribution of the Survey Participants

The participation criteria of the survey involved being occupied in any creative sector; and the participants had different professional identities. The professional distribution of the survey participants shows that the occupations of them involve designers, engineers, media experts, architects, advertisers, digital marketing specialists, brand project managers, city planners, editors, product managers, publishers and producers. The majority of the survey participants were designers (8 people) which constitute 27% of total participants. Following the designers, there were 6 engineers who cover 20% of the participants taking part in the interviews. The third profession that is encountered the most is media experts (4 people), who

comprise 13% of the total participants. Architects, advertisers and digital marketing specialists were the professions of 2 participants each, making up for 7% of total participants in each professional group. These occupations are followed by city planners, editors, product managers, publishers, producers and brand project managers which have 1 participant in each profession, each one constituting 3% of the total participants. The listing of the occupations of the participants in the interviews and the number of participants in each occupation is viewed in Figure 3.18.

3.3.2.1 The First Part of the Questionnaire: Work-Related / Economic Practices (A)

The averages of the work type of the participants expose that 90% of the participants (27 people) who are creative workers in different creative sectors define their work type as formal. Only 10% of the total participants (3 people) define their work type as freelance (Figure 3.19).

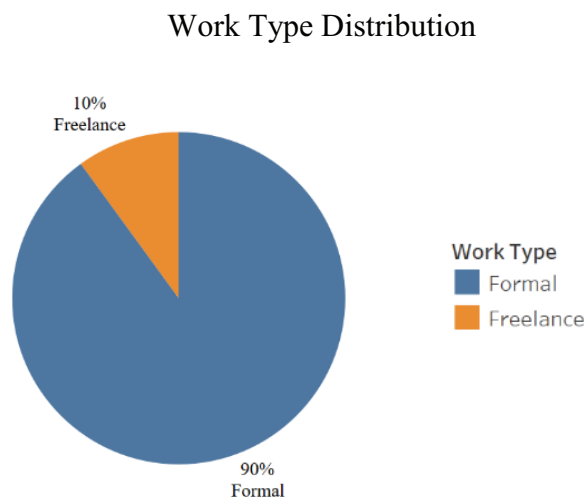


Figure 3.19. Work Type Distribution of the Survey Participants

The workplace type of the survey participants, which are categorized as “clustered” or “dispersed”, reveal that 60% of them (18 people) define their workplace type as “clustered” whereas 40% of them (12 people) indicate that their workplace is “dispersed” regarding their urban spatial configurations (Figure 3.20).

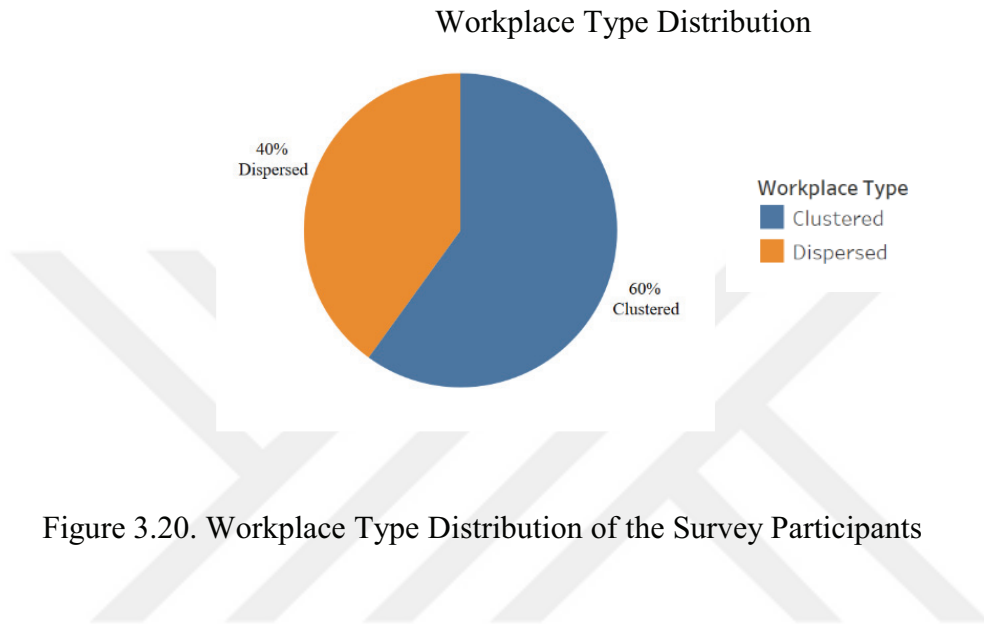


Figure 3.20. Workplace Type Distribution of the Survey Participants

When income levels of the creative labor are considered, results of the questionnaire indicate that more than half of the survey participants (63,3%), who are elements of the creative labor, define their income level as “intermediate” compared to the average income levels in Turkey. 16,67% of the survey participants classify their income level as “high”, whereas 13,33% of them consider their income level as “low”. The percentage of the participants defining their income level as “very high” is 3,34% and 3,33% of them place their income level in the “low-intermediate” range. The income level distribution of the participants is presented in the Figure 3.21.

Income Level Distribution of the Survey Participants

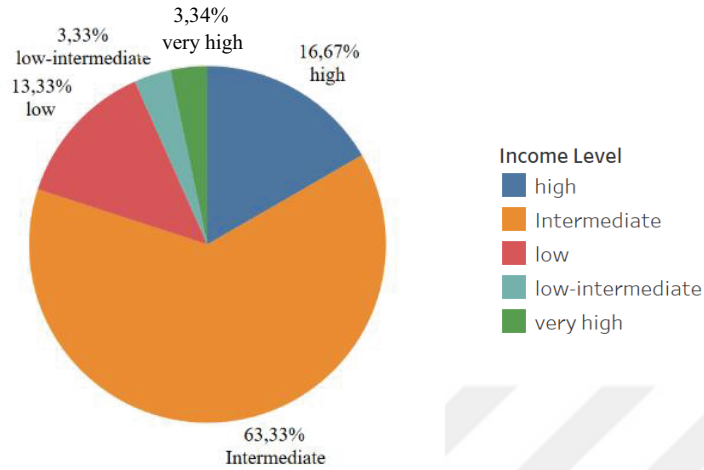


Figure 3.21. Income Level Distribution of the Survey Participants

Analyzing the average frequency of working from the changing workspaces of the flexible work on the other hand, involves three categorizations as home, co-working spaces and public spaces. According to the results of the questionnaire, the average frequency of working in co-working spaces is 3,70 in a scale range from 1 to 5. The second most frequently preferred workplace is home, as the average frequency of working from home is 2,67. Lastly, the average frequency of working in public spaces is 2,30 as presented in Table 3.1.

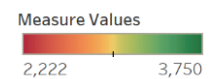
Table 3.1 Average frequency of working in different workspaces

Avg. Frequency of Working from Home	2,667
Avg. Frequency of Working in Co-Working Spaces	3,700
Avg. Frequency of Working in Public Spaces	2,300

Adding the gender groups into the analysis, it is possible to indicate that the male participants in the survey have an average frequency of 2,89 for working from home, 3,67 for working in co-working spaces and 2,22 for working in public spaces. For the female participants in the survey, the average frequency of working from home is lower than the male participants, with a number of 2,33. The average frequency of working in co-working spaces for the female participants appear to be 3,75; which is a slightly higher number than the number for male participants. The average frequency of working in public spaces is again slightly higher for the female participants, as the number is 2,42 (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Average frequency of working in different workspaces among gender groups

Gender	Avg. Frequency of Working from Home	Avg. Frequency of Working in Co-Working Spaces	Avg. Frequency of Working in Public Spaces
Men	2,889	3,667	2,222
Women	2,333	3,750	2,417



In the age groups, the highest average frequency of working from home belongs to the age interval of 40-49 with a number of 3,50. This number is followed by the age interval of 31-39, 30 and below, and 50-59 with average frequencies of 2,70, 2,60

and 1,00 respectively for working from home. For working in co-working spaces, the highest number is encountered in the ages between 50-59 with an average frequency of 5,00. However, it should be noted that there is only one participant representing this age group in the survey; so the results for this age interval might not be valid for a larger group of participants. The average frequency of working in co-working spaces for the participants of ages between 40-49 is 4,50 while this number decreases for the participants of ages between 30 and below as 3,76. The lowest average frequency of working in co-working spaces is 3,30 for the age interval of 31-39. For working in public spaces, the ages between 50-59 has the highest average frequency of 5,00 while the ages of 30 and below have an average frequency of 2,29; the ages of 31-39 have an average frequency of 2,10 and the ages of 50-49 have an average frequency of 2,00 (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Average frequency of working in different workspaces among age groups

Age	Avg. Frequency of Working from Home	Avg. Frequency of Working in Co-Working Spaces	Avg. Frequency of Working in Public Spaces
30 and below	2,647	3,765	2,294
31-39	2,700	3,300	2,100
40-49	3,500	4,500	2,000
50-59	1,000	5,000	5,000

Measure Values



1,000 5,000

Among the different professions that the survey participants have, the highest frequency of working from home belongs to product managers, producers and city planners with an average frequency of 4,00. Advertisers have the second highest average frequency of working from home with a number of 3,50. With an average frequency of 3,00 publishers and architects are seen as the professions with a medium frequency of working from home. The lower average frequencies belong to the occupational group of media experts, engineers, digital marketing specialists and designers with numbers of 2,75; 2,67; 2,50 and 2,12 respectively. The lowest average frequency of working from home is seen in profession groups of brand project

managers and editors; and the numbers for these groups are 2,00 and 1,00 respectively (Table 3.4).

When the average frequencies of working in co-working spaces are analyzed among different job groups, it is evident that the highest numbers belong to product managers, publishers and editors with an average frequency of 5,00. Architects and engineers come next, with second and third highest average frequencies of working from co-working spaces: 4,50 and 4,33 respectively. The following profession groups are digital marketing specialists, brand project managers and advertisers with average frequencies of 4,00 each. Designers, on the other hand have an average frequency of working from co-working spaces as 3,37. Producers have the medium average frequency of 3,00 whereas media experts and city planners have the lowest average frequencies of working from co-working spaces: 2,50 and 1,00 respectively (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Average frequency of working in different profession groups

Profession	Avg. Frequency of Working from Home	Avg. Frequency of Working in Co-Working Spaces	Avg. Frequency of Working in Public Spaces
Product Manager	4,000	5,000	3,000
Producer	4,000	3,000	3,000
Engineer	2,667	4,333	2,667
Publisher	3,000	5,000	1,000
Digital Marketing Speciali..	2,500	4,000	2,500
Brand Project Manager	2,000	4,000	3,000
Architect	3,000	4,500	1,500
Advertiser	3,500	4,000	1,500
City Planner	4,000	1,000	3,000
Designer	2,125	3,375	2,375
Media Expert	2,750	2,500	2,250
Editor	1,000	5,000	1,000



When the average frequency of working from public spaces are considered, the lowest numbers among the three different flexible work environments (home, co-working spaces and public spaces) are obtained. There are no significant profession groups that prefer public spaces as their workspaces above the medium average

frequency of 3,00. The profession groups with a medium average frequency (3,00) of working from public spaces are product managers, producers, brand project managers and city planners. The following profession group, on the other hand, is engineers with an average frequency of 2,67 for working in public spaces. Digital marketing specialists, designers and media experts are the following professions with average frequencies of 2,50; 2,37 and 2,25 respectively. Architects and advertisers have an average frequency of 1,50 while publishers and editors have the lowest average frequency of working from public spaces with a number of 1,00 (Table 3.4).

3.3.2.2 The Second Part of the Questionnaire: Urban Services (B)

The first section of the second part of the questionnaire involves art and cultural infrastructure of Istanbul. The participants are asked to list the art and cultural activities they are involved in most frequently, and the places attached to these activities. According to the survey results; Zorlu Center, Beyoglu area, Kanyon and Moda area are the places that are most frequently used art and cultural activity centers that the survey participants mentioned. Among the total number of the places of art and cultural activity, Zorlu Center has the highest percentage of mentions with a ratio of 18% (16 mentions). Beyoglu area comes next, with a percentage of 8% (7 mentions) of the total mentions. The third most frequently mentioned art and cultural activity center is Kanyon as 7% of the answers involve this mixed use retail and culture center (6 mentions). Moda area in Kadikoy, on the other hand, is mentioned with a percentage of 5% (4 mentions) by the survey participants as a place for art and cultural activity. Kadikoy Cinema, Kadikoy area, Istanbul Modern, SALT Beyoglu and Nisantasi are mentioned in 3% of the total answers by the survey participants (3 mentions each). Kagithane State Theatre, Haldun Taner Stage, City's

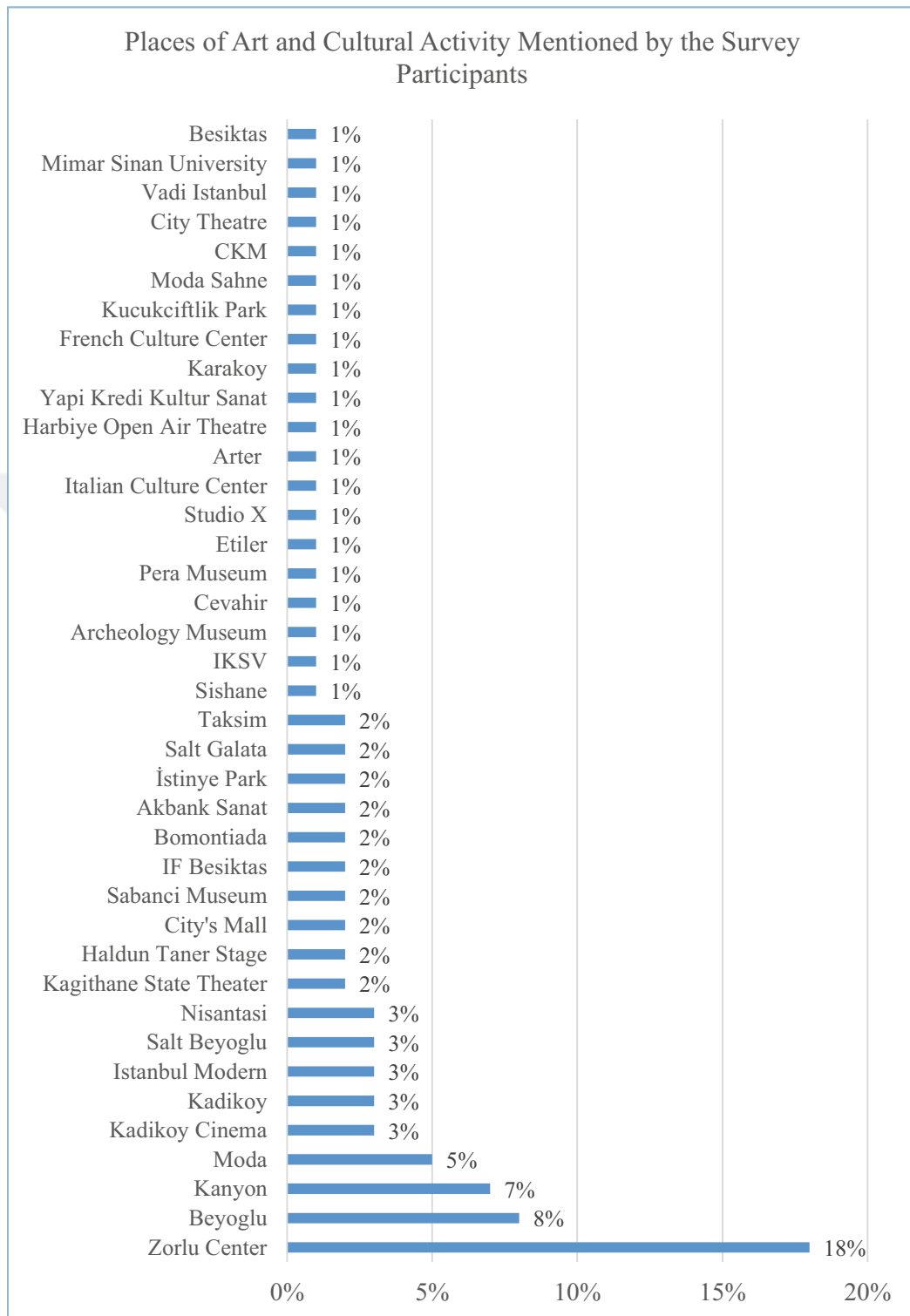


Figure 3.22. Places of Art and Cultural Activity Mentioned by the Survey Participants

Mall Nisantasi, Sabanci Museum, IF Besiktas, Bomontiada, Akbank Sanat, Istinye Park, SALT Galata and Taksim area are mentioned by a percentage of 2% (2 mentions each). Sishane area, IKSIV (Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation), Archeology Museum, Cevahir Mall, Pera Museum, Etiler area, Studio X, Italian Culture Center, Arter, Harbiye Open Air Theatre, Yapi Kredi Kultur Sanat, Karakoy area, French Culture Center, Kucukciftlik Park, Moda Sahne, CKM, City Theatre, Vadi Istanbul, Mimar Sinan University and Besiktas area are mentioned by a ratio of 1% each (1 mention each) by the participants of the interview. The places of art and cultural activity are presented in Figure 3.22 regarding their percentages based on the number of mentions by the survey participants.

It is also important to mention that, 8 mentions involved the answer “everywhere in Istanbul” when the survey participants are asked the places of art and cultural activity that they use most frequently. These mentions are excluded from the data when the places of art and cultural activity are aimed to be listed according to their frequency of use by the number of survey participants mentioning them (Figure 3.22). However, these 8 mentions would cover a percentage of 8% which shows that a group of survey participants mentioned the whole city as a place of art and cultural activity instead of naming a few specific places.

There are 9 classifications of activities that are listed by the participants; which are art galleries, concerts, cinema, theatre, museums, opera, workshops, café / restaurants and bars (Figure 3.23). Although café / restaurants and bars are classified under the category of leisure and entertainment activities, many participants mentioned them when their art and cultural activities are questioned. Therefore, these activities are added to the art and culture infrastructure classification of this particular study.

As seen in Figure 3.23, art galleries constitute the largest percentage of mentions by the survey participants as they cover 28% (27 mentions) of the total listing of art and cultural activities. Concerts are the second most frequently mentioned art and cultural activities with a percentage of 22% (21 mentions). Cinema and theatre

comprise 19% (18 mentions) and 16% (16 mentions) of the art and cultural activities mentioned, respectively. Going to bars is considered as another art and cultural activity that is mentioned by a percentage of 6% (6 mentions) while going to cafes / restaurants constitute 5% (5 mentions) of the art and cultural activities mentioned by the survey participants. Visiting museums are considered as an art and cultural activity by a frequency percentage of 2% (2 mentions). Opera and workshops are the least mentioned art and cultural activities by the survey participants with a percentage of 1% each (1 mention each).

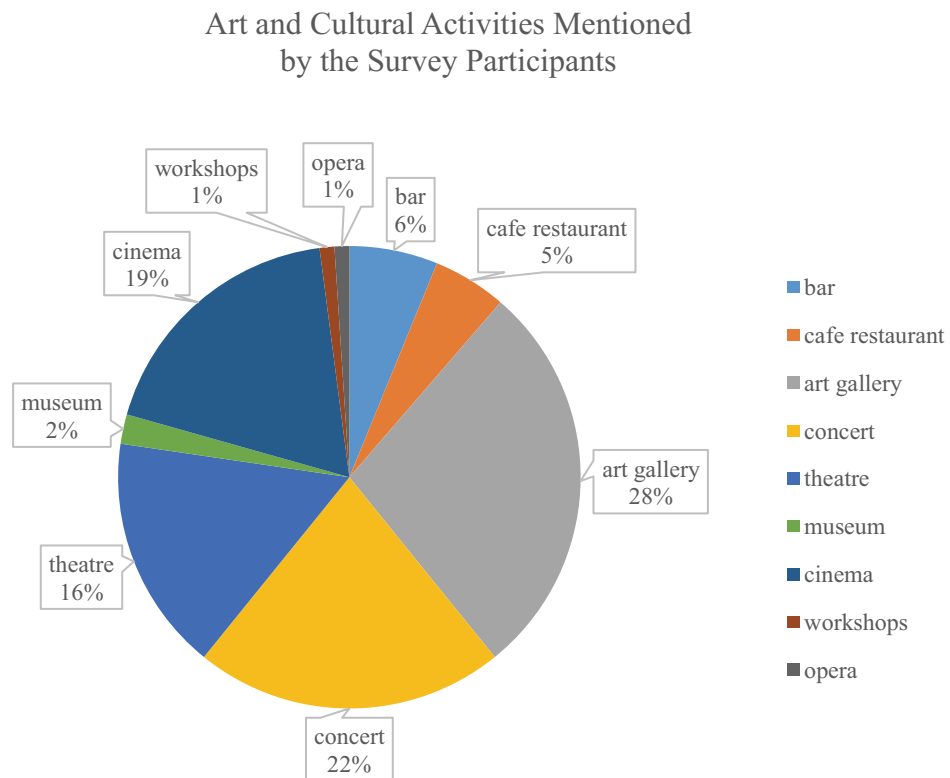


Figure 3.23. Art and Cultural Activities Mentioned by the Survey Participants

Figure 3.24 shows a bump chart, which is a frequency map of art and cultural activities and the places assessed, based on the number of mentions by the survey participants. According to the map, Zorlu Center is the most frequently mentioned space for various art and cultural activities such as concerts, cinema, theatre, opera and art galleries with 16 mentions in total assessed with different art and cultural activities. 28% of the participants who mentioned “concert” as an art and cultural activity mentioned Zorlu Center as the place assessed to that activity. Similarly, 28% of the participants who considered “cinema” as an art and cultural activity chose Zorlu Center as the space for this activity. 19% of the participants who mentioned “theatre” as one of the art and cultural activities they’re involved in also mentioned Zorlu Center as the spatial setting for that activity. For “opera”, there is only 1 mention and Zorlu Center is the only place mentioned. Finally, 4% of the participants who listed visiting “art galleries” as an art and cultural activity considered Zorlu Center as the space for that activity.

In the map (Figure 3.24), Beyoglu area appears to be mentioned as another place holding various art and cultural activities such as concerts, art galleries, cinema, theatre and bars. According to the survey results, 16% of the survey participants who mentioned going to “bars” as a part of their art and cultural activities mentioned Beyoglu area as its spatial setting. 9% of the participants who considered “concerts” as an art and cultural activity of theirs, mentioned Beyoglu area as a place to go. 7% of the survey participants who mention visiting “art galleries” as an art and cultural activity, choose Beyoglu area as the spatial setting for that activity. For “theatre”, 6%, and for “cinema” 5% of the participants who mentioned those as their art and cultural activities assessed Beyoglu area to these activities.

Kanyon Mall is another place to which different art and cultural activities are assessed. The shopping and entertainment mall is mostly called for the art and cultural activity of “cinema” as 22% of the survey participants who mentioned “cinema” also mentioned Kanyon Mall as the place they prefer for this activity. 20% of the participants who considered going to “café / restaurants” as an art and cultural activity chose Kanyon as a place to go. Moreover, 5% of the participants who list

“concerts” as their art and cultural activity associated Kanyon Mall with that activity (Figure 3.24).

Moda area in Kadikoy is also assessed with multiple art and cultural activities such as going to bars, theatre and concerts. 33% of the survey participants who mentioned going to “bars” as a part of their art and cultural activities mentioned Moda area as its spatial setting. 6% of the participants who mentioned “theatre” as an art and cultural activity mentioned Moda area as the place assessed to that activity. 5% of the survey participants who mentioned “concert” also mentioned Moda area as the place they prefer for this activity (Figure 3.24).

It is also important to underline that 20% of the survey participants who mention going to a “café / restaurant”, 17% of the survey participants who mention going to a “bar”, 12% of the survey participants who mention “concert”, 7% of the survey participants who mention visiting an “art gallery” and 6% of the survey participants who mention “theatre” could not choose a particular location for those activities and declared that “everywhere in Istanbul” could be the place assessed to those art and cultural activities they experience (Figure 3.24).

Besides the spatial assessments they make with the art and cultural activities in the urban sphere of Istanbul, survey participants are also asked to evaluate the effect of proximity to their home and work on their frequency of use of these urban services, the level of effectuality of these services for the creative sector they work in, and the adequateness of spatial qualifications of these urban services. Firstly, considering the questions about proximity to home, the questionnaire results show that 43% of the survey participants (13 people) evaluate that the proximity of the art and cultural activity centers to their home affect their frequency of use substantially (Substantially: 4). 37% of them (11 people) indicate that the proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their home affect their frequency of use completely (Completely: 5). 17% of them (5 people) are neutral (Neutral: 3) and 3% of them (1 person) indicate that proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their home does not affect their frequency of use at all (Never: 1). The evaluation of the survey

participants about the effect of proximity to their home on their frequency of their use of art and cultural activity centers is presented in Figure 3.25.

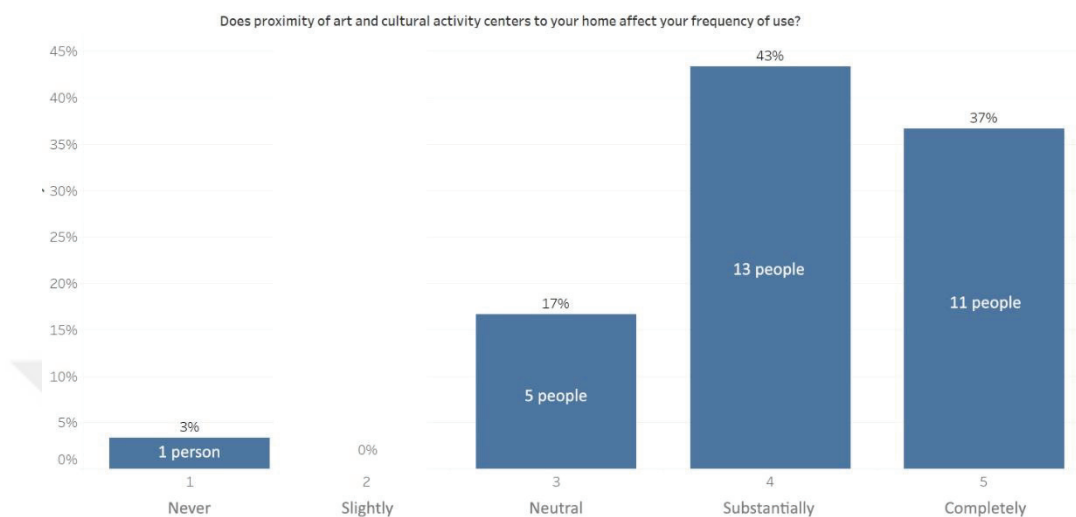


Figure 3.25. The Effect of Proximity of Art and Cultural Activity Centers to the Survey Participants' Home on their Frequency of Use

Considering the proximity of art and cultural activity centers to the participants' workplace, the questionnaire results show that 37% of the survey participants (11 people) evaluate that the proximity of the art and cultural activity centers to their workplace affect their frequency of use completely (Completely: 5). 27% of them (8 people) indicate that the proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their workplace affect their frequency of use substantially (Substantially: 4). 23% of them (7 people) are neutral (Neutral: 3) and 3% of them (1 person) think that proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their workplace affect their frequency of use slightly (Slightly: 2). 10% of the participants (3 people) indicate that proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their workplace does not affect their frequency of

use at all (Never: 1). The effect of proximity of art and cultural activity centers to the survey participants' workplace on their frequency of use is viewed in Figure 3.26.

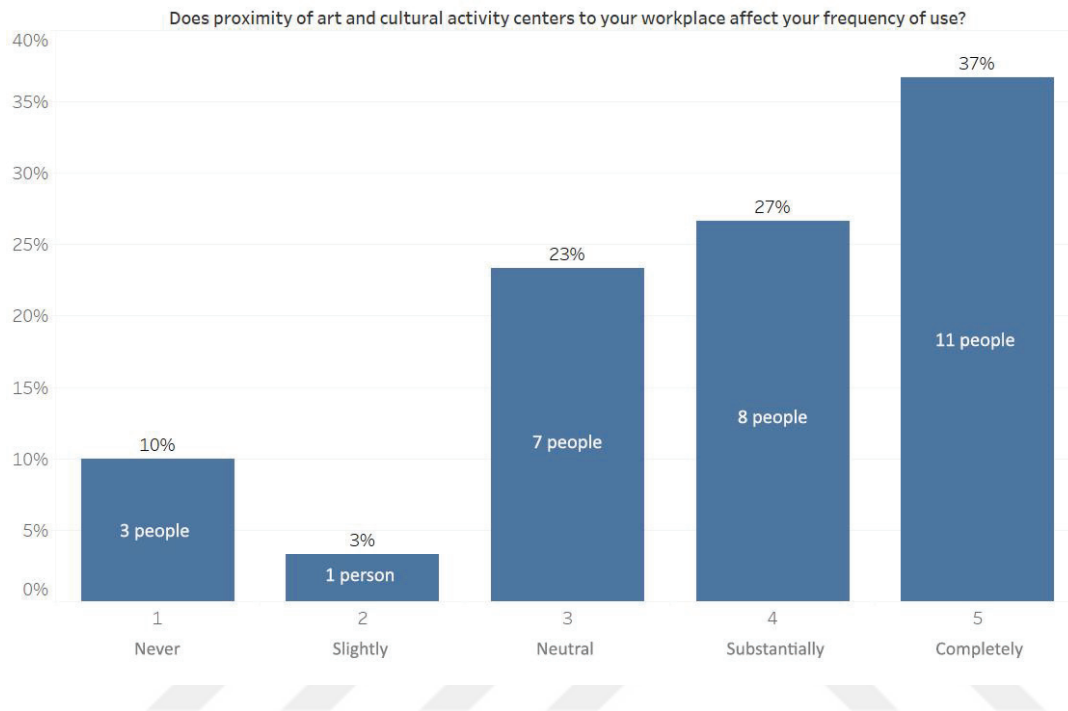


Figure 3.26. The Effect of Proximity of Art and Cultural Activity Centers to the Survey Participants' Workplace on their Frequency of Use

When the participants are asked the level of effectuality of art and cultural activities for the creative sector they work in, 45% of the survey participants (14 people) considered them as highly beneficial (High: 5). 24% of them (7 people) evaluate these art and cultural activity centers as substantially beneficial (Substantial: 4) whereas 21% of them (6 people) are neutral (Neutral: 3). The proportion of the survey participants that think art and cultural activity centers are slightly beneficial (Slightly:2) is 7% (2 people) and the proportion of the ones that do not find these urban services of art and cultural activities beneficial at all (Never: 1) is 3% (1

person). The evaluation of the survey participants of the level of effectuality of art and cultural activities for the creative sector they work in is presented in Figure 3.27.

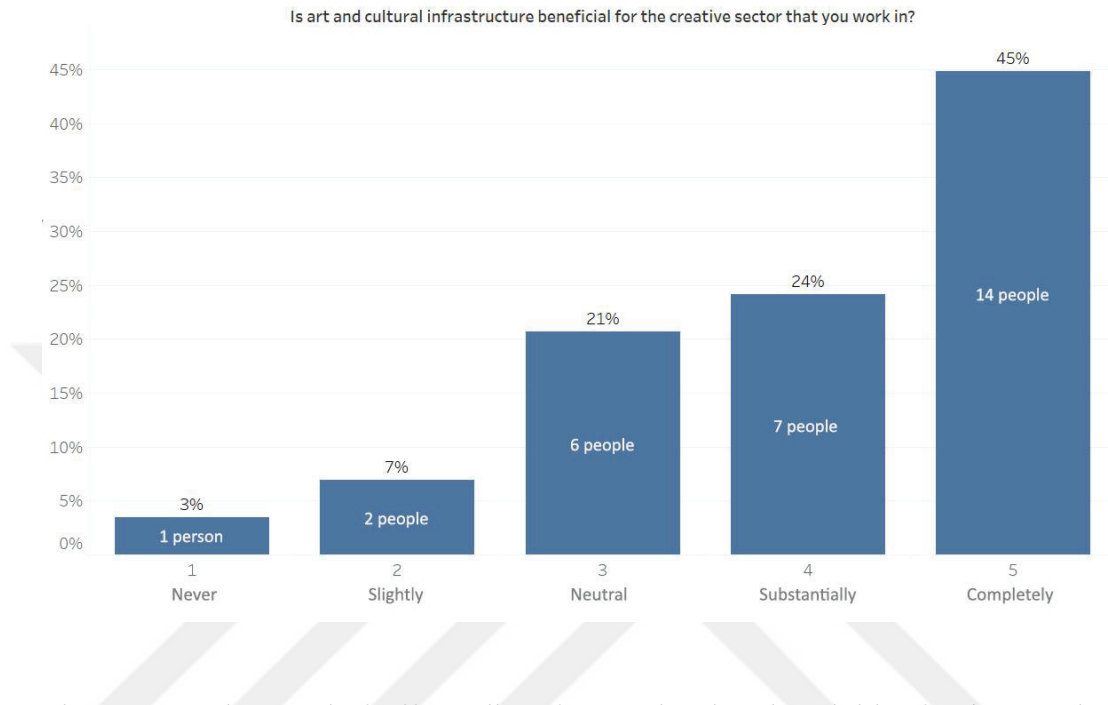


Figure 3.27. The Level of Effectuality of Art and Cultural Activities for the Creative Sector the Survey Participants Work in

The adequateness of spatial qualifications of these art and cultural activity centers as urban services is also questioned in the survey. According to the results of the questionnaire, there is a balance between the participants who evaluate the spatial qualifications as completely adequate (Completely: 5) and the ones that consider their spatial qualifications are adequate on a medium-level (Neutral: 3): with percentages of 31% each (9 people and 10 people respectively). 28% of the survey participants (8 people) expressed that they find the spatial qualifications of art and cultural activity centers substantially adequate (Substantially: 4) while 7% of them (2 people) do not find these art and cultural activity centers adequate at all (None: 1). Lastly, 3% of the survey participants (1 person) consider the spatial qualifications

of these art and cultural activity centers as slightly adequate (Slightly: 2). The evaluation of the level of adequacy of the spatial qualifications of art and cultural activity centers according to the survey participants is viewed in Figure 3.28.

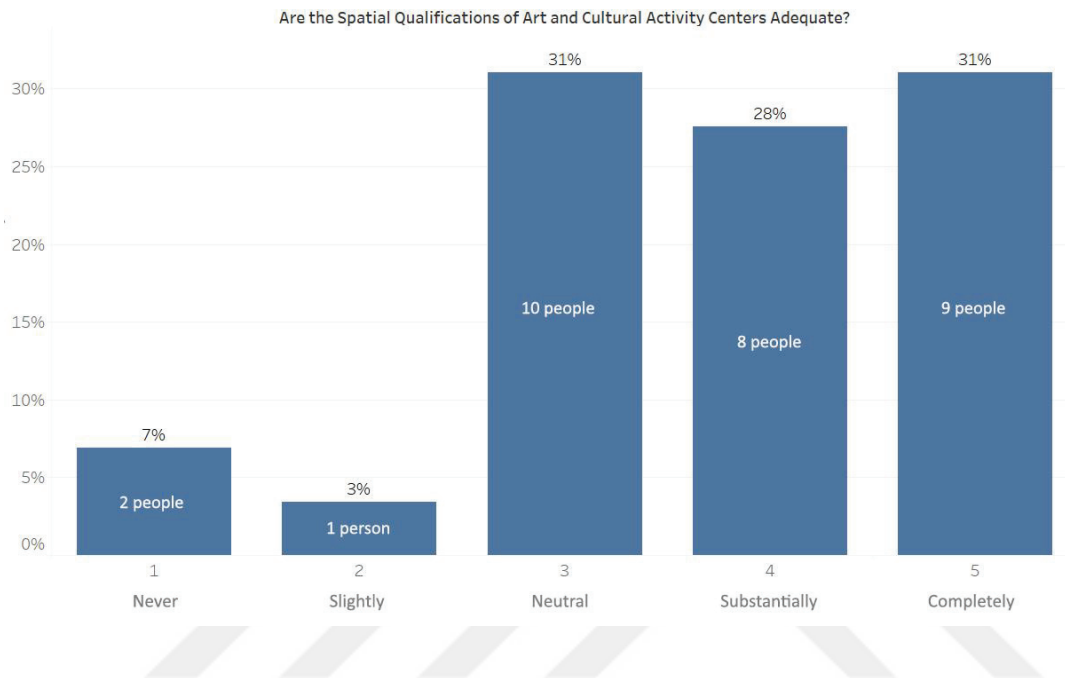


Figure 3.28. The Level of Adequacy of the Spatial Qualifications of Art and Cultural Activity Centers According to the Survey Participants

The second section of the second part of the questionnaire involves education and research facilities in Istanbul. The participants are asked to list the education and research facilities they use most frequently, and the places attached to these activities. According to the survey results; SALT Galata, Ataturk Library, Istanbul Modern, Mimar Sinan University, Koc University and Istanbul Technical University Taskisla Campus are the places that are most frequently used education and research centers that the survey participants mentioned. Among the total number of the places of education and research facilities, SALT Galata has the highest percentage of mentions with a ratio of 19% (5 mentions). Ataturk Library in Beyoglu is the second most frequently mentioned place for education and research activities with a

percentage of 12% (3 mentions). Istanbul Modern, Mimar Sinan University, Koc University and Istanbul Technical University Taskisla Campus have a percentage of 8% each (2 mentions each), among the total mentions of places of education and research facilities. Akbank Sanat, Archeology Museum, Sabanci University, Yildiz Technical University, Kocaeli University, Borusan Contemporary, Taksim area, Beyoglu, Hotels and Malls are also mentioned as places of education and research facilities with a percentage of 4% each (1 mention each). The places of education and research facilities are presented in Figure 3.29 regarding their percentages based on the number of mentions by the survey participants.

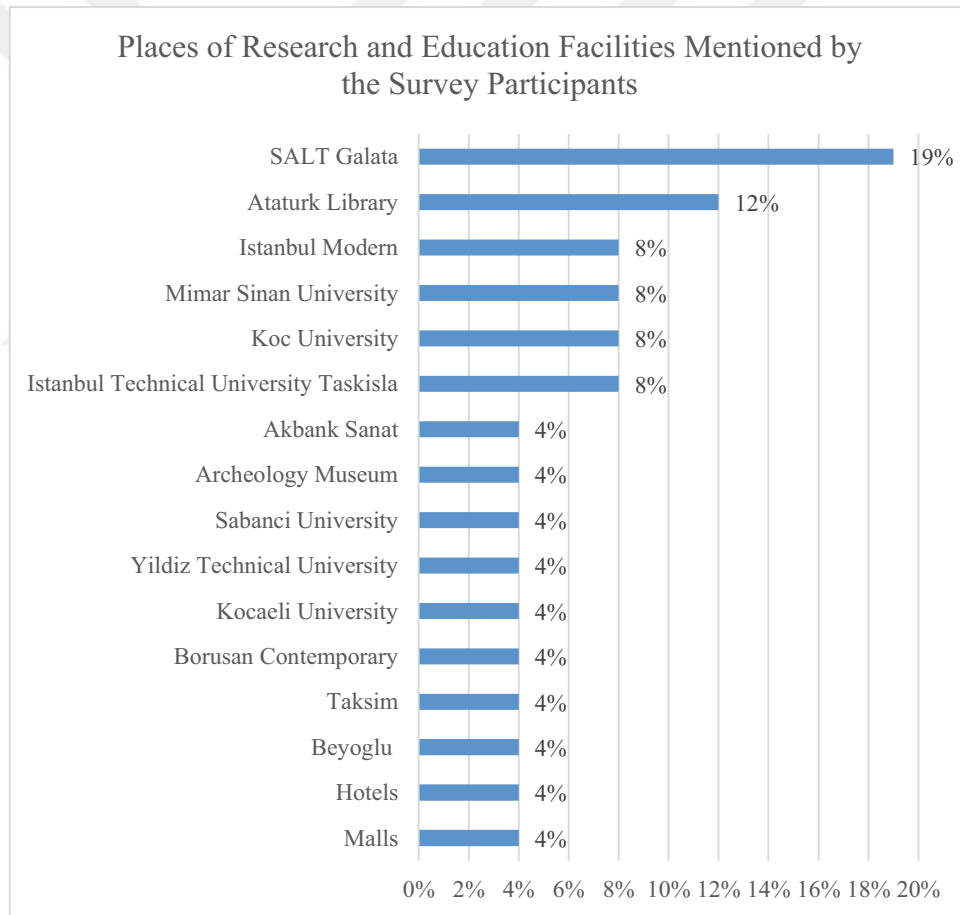


Figure 3.29. Places of Education and Research Facilities Mentioned by the Survey Participants

There are 6 classifications of activities that are listed by the participants; which are universities, libraries, museums, seminars, digital data sources, research implementation centers and internet (Figure 3.30). There is also a proportion of survey participants who declared that they are not engaged with any of the education and research facilities, and this group is classified under the category; “none”.

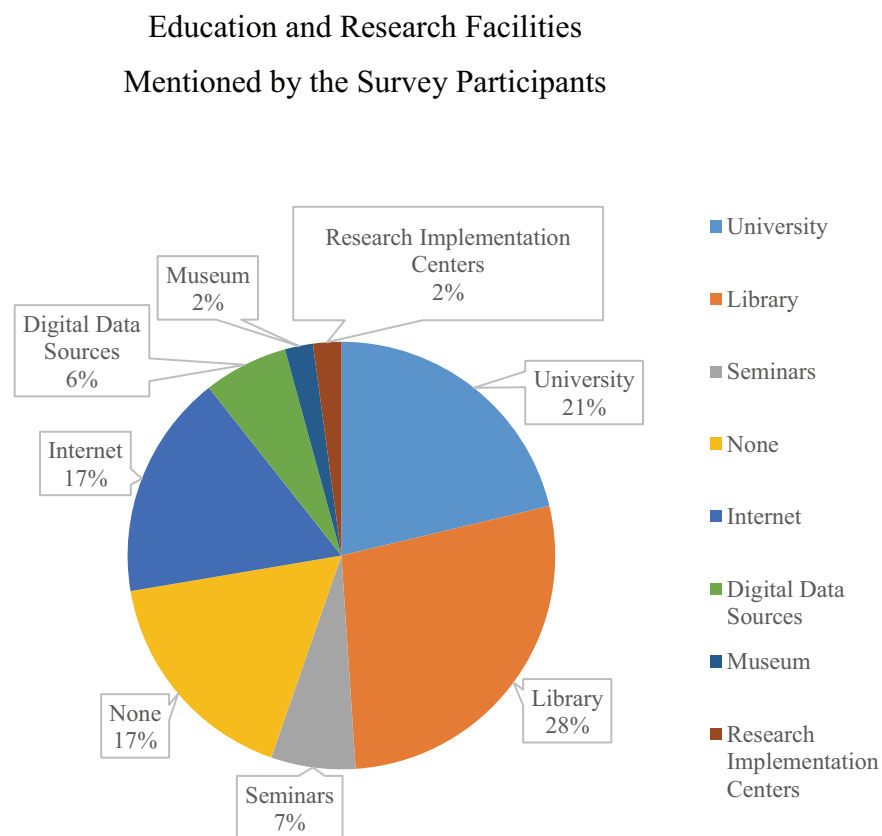


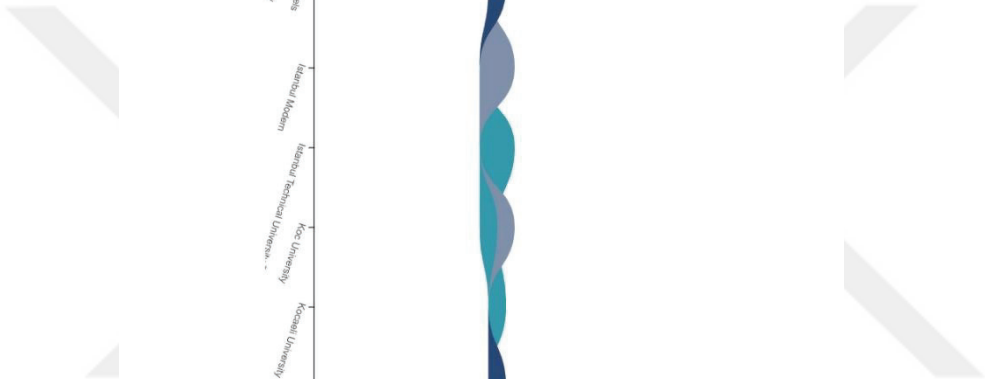
Figure 3.30. Education and Research Facilities Mentioned by the Survey Participants

As seen in Figure 3.30, “libraries” constitute the largest percentage of mentions by the survey participants as they cover 28% (13 mentions) of the total listing of

education and research facilities. “Universities” are the second most frequently mentioned education and research facilities with a percentage of 21% (10 mentions). “Internet”, on the other hand, is mentioned at a ratio of 17% (8 mentions) as an education and research facility. 17% of the total listing of education and research facilities involved no particular activities, and these answers were classified as “none”. “Seminars” are considered as another education and research activity that is mentioned by a percentage of 7% (3 mentions) while “digital data sources” constitute 6% (3 mentions) of the education and research facilities mentioned by the survey participants. “Research implementation centers” and “museums” are the least mentioned education and research facilities by the survey participants with a percentage of 2% each (1 mention each).

The bump chart in Figure 3.31, displays a frequency map of education and research facilities and the places assessed, based on the number of mentions by the survey participants. According to the map, the majority of the mentions of education and research facilities that the survey participants are engaged in does not have a particular places assessed to it. 100% of the survey participants who mentioned “internet”, “digital data sources”, “research implementation centers” and “none” did not mention any particular place. Also 10% of the survey participants who mentioned “university” as the education and research facility they are engaged in did not mention any specified spatial setting.

In the chart (Figure 3.31), “SALT Galata” stands out as a frequently mentioned place of education and research facilities. According to the survey results, 38% of the survey participants who considered “library” as an education and research facility they are engaged with mentioned “SALT Galata” as its spatial setting. “Ataturk Library”, on the other hand, holds 23% of the mentions by the survey participants who specified “library” as an education and research facility they use frequently.



106

Survey participants are asked to evaluate the effect of proximity to their home and work on their frequency of use of these urban services of education and research facilities, the level of effectuality of these services for the creative sector they work in, and the adequateness of spatial qualifications of these urban services. Firstly, considering the questions about proximity to home, the questionnaire results show that 45% of the survey participants (13 people) evaluate that the proximity of education and research facilities to their home does not affect their frequency of use at all (Never: 1). However, 21% of them (6 people) indicate that the proximity of education and research facilities to their home affect their frequency of use completely (Completely: 5). 14% of them (4 people) are neutral (Neutral: 3) and there is a balance between the ones (3 people each) that consider the proximity of education and research facilities to their homes as slightly effective (Slightly:2) and the ones that think that the proximity of education and research facilities to their homes affect their frequency of use substantially (Substantially: 4). The evaluation of the survey participants about the effect of proximity to their home on their frequency of their use of education and research facilities is presented in Figure 3.32.

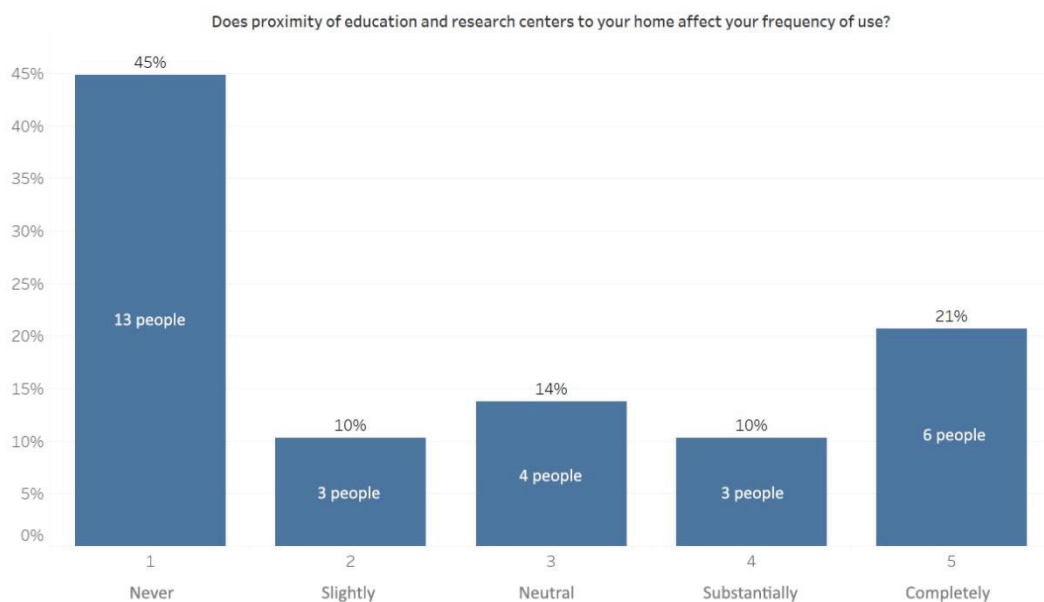


Figure 3.32. The Effect of Proximity of Education and Research Facilities to the Survey Participants' Home on their Frequency of Use

When proximity of education and research facilities to the participants' workplace is taken into consideration, the questionnaire results show that 48% of the participants (14 people) indicate that proximity of education and research facilities to their workplace does not affect their frequency of use at all (Never: 1). 17% of them (5 people) indicate that the proximity of education and research facilities to their workplace affect their frequency of use substantially (Substantially: 4). 14% of the survey participants (4 people) evaluate that the proximity of education and research facilities to their workplace affect their frequency of use completely (Completely: 5). 10% of them (3 people) are neutral (Neutral: 3) and 10% of them (3 people) think that proximity of education and research facilities to their workplace affect their frequency of use slightly (Slightly: 2). The effect of proximity of education and research facilities to the survey participants' workplace on their frequency of use is shown in Figure 3.33.

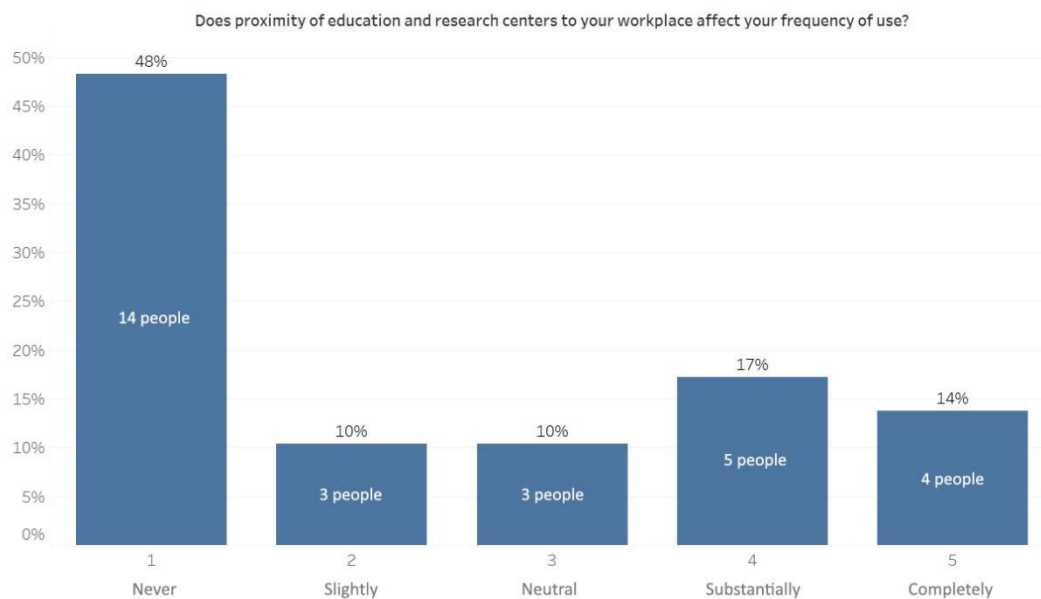


Figure 3.33. The Effect of Proximity of Education and Research Facilities to the Survey Participants' Workplace on their Frequency of Use

Considering the level of effectuality of education and research facilities for the creative sector they work in, 66% of the survey participants (20 people) considered them as highly beneficial (High: 5). 17% of them (5 people) evaluate these education and research facilities as neutral (Neutral: 3) whereas 14% of them (4 people) substantially beneficial (Substantial: 4). The proportion of the survey participants that do not find these urban services of education and research facilities beneficial at all (Never: 1) is 3% (1 person). The survey participants' evaluation of the level of effectuality of education and research facilities for the creative sector they work in is presented in Figure 3.34.

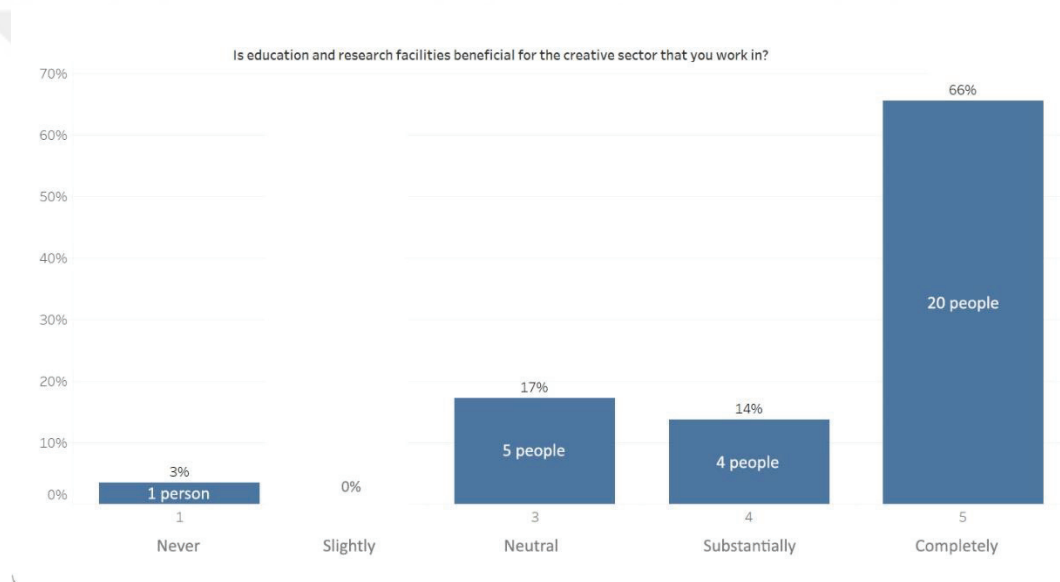


Figure 3.34. The Level of Effectuality of Education and Research Facilities for the Creative Sector the Survey Participants Work in

When the adequateness of spatial qualifications of education and research facilities as urban services is analyzed, there is a balance between the participants who evaluate the spatial qualifications as substantially adequate (Substantially: 4) and the ones that consider their spatial qualifications are adequate on a medium-level (Neutral: 3): with percentages of 28% (8 people) each. 21% of the survey participants

(6 people) expressed that they find the spatial qualifications of education and research facilities completely adequate (Completely: 5) while 14% of them (4 people) do not find these education and research facilities adequate at all (None: 1). Lastly, 10% of the survey participants (3 people) consider the spatial qualifications of these education and research facilities as slightly adequate (Slightly: 2). The evaluation of the level of adequacy of the spatial qualifications of education and research facilities according to the survey participants is viewed in Figure 3.35.

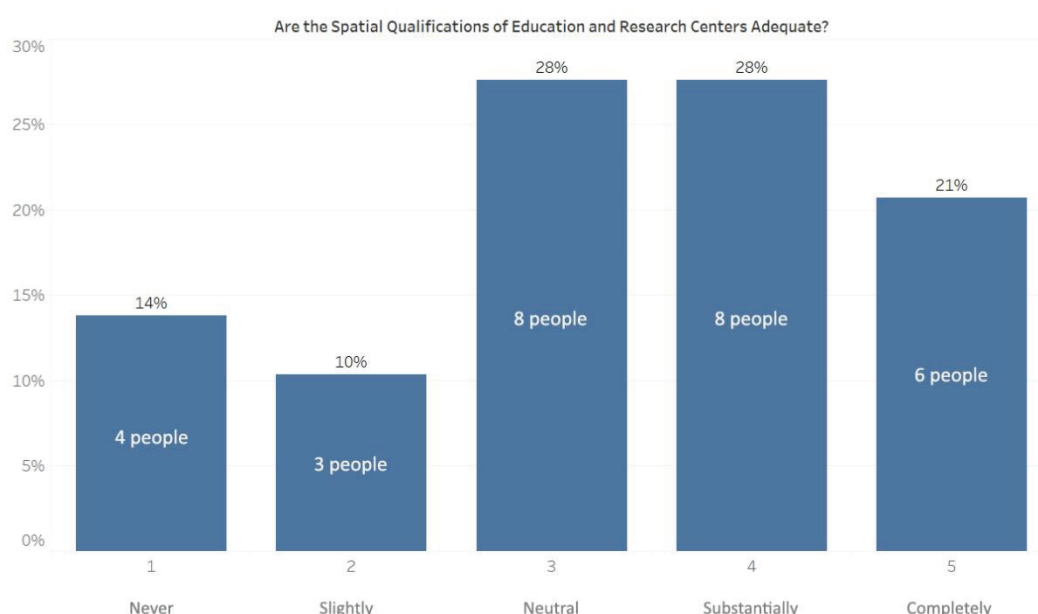


Figure 3.35. The Level of Adequacy of the Spatial Qualifications of Education and Research Facilities According to the Survey Participants

The questionnaire also involved the evaluation of the participants on the topic of how important the variety and quality of the activities besides the use of work and home. According to the results of the survey analysis, more than half of the participants (55%: 16 people) think that these activities are highly important (highly: 5). 41% of these participants (13 people) considered these activities besides the uses of work

and home as substantially important (Substantially: 4) whereas 3% of them (1 person) are neutral (Neutral: 3). There are no participants who evaluate the importance of these activities below the rate of 3 (Figure 3.36).

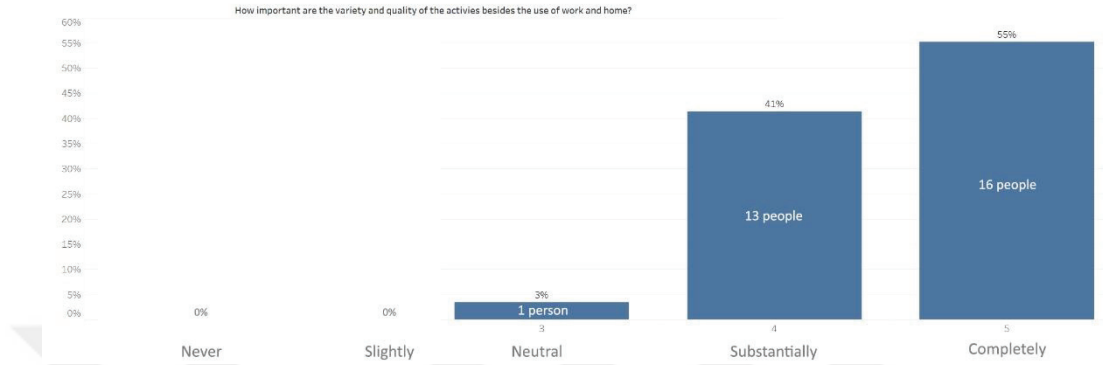


Figure 3.36. The Evaluation of the Importance of Activities Besides the Uses of Work and Home According to the Survey Participants

3.3.2.3 The Third Part of the Questionnaire: Hard and Soft Factors in Istanbul (C)

The third part of the questionnaire comprises the evaluation of hard and soft factors in Istanbul according to the survey participants. The hard factors in the questionnaire comprise dimensions of housing, employment, education, safety, transportation and health whereas the soft factors include dimensions of tolerance and openness, leisure / entertainment opportunities, art and cultural activities and the city environment.

As presented in Table 3.5, the average values of the evaluations of hard factors in Istanbul show that the highest average value belongs to the adequacy of work opportunities in Istanbul with a number of 4,27. The transport infrastructure comes next, as the average value for that factor is found to be 3,37 according to the survey results. The adequacy of housing opportunities in Istanbul is evaluated with an average value of 3,07 whereas the qualification and variety of education services are

rated with an average value of 3,03. The qualification and variety of health services has an average value of 2,77. Safety in Istanbul is rated with the lowest average value as the survey participants evaluated this factor with a number of 2,43.

Table 3.5 Average values of hard factors in Istanbul evaluated by the survey participants

Avg. Do you think Istanbul provides adequate residential opportunities?	3,067
Avg. Do you think Istanbul provides adequate work opportunities?	4,267
Avg. Are education services qualified and various in Istanbul?	3,034
Avg. Do you feel safe in Istanbul?	2,433
Avg. Are transport infrastructure qualified and various in Istanbul?	3,367
Avg. Are health services qualified and various in Istanbul?	2,767

Considering the soft factors in Istanbul, the highest average value belongs to the qualification and variety of leisure / entertainment opportunities with an average value of 4,27. The second highest average value is assessed with the qualification and variety of art and cultural activities in the city, as the survey participants rated this factor with an average frequency of 4,00. The soft factor of tolerance and openness (to immigrants, minorities, different socio-economic groups, sexualities etc.) has an average value of 2,00 according to the survey results. Lastly, the lowest average value belongs to the rating of the city environment in terms of cleanliness, pollution, congestion etc., and this factor is evaluated with an average value of 1,67 by the participants of the survey. The average values of the soft factors of Istanbul evaluated by the survey participants are viewed in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Average values of soft factors in Istanbul evaluated by the survey participants

Avg. Do you think Istanbul is tolerant and open (to immigrants, minorities, different socio-economic groups, sexualities etc.)?	2,000
Avg. Are leisure / entertainment opportunities qualified and various in Istanbul?	4,267
Avg. Are art and cultural activities qualified and various in Istanbul?	4,000
Avg. How do you rate the city environment in Istanbul (in terms of cleanliness, pollution, congestion etc.)?	1,667

3.4 Evaluation of the Questionnaire Results

Istanbul, which is an urban landscape in constant change, needs to adapt to the new styles of work, life and leisure that the creative labor force introduces to the city. In that sense, the interviews conducted in the three main research areas of Levent - Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy will contribute to the evaluation and discussion of whether Istanbul's key locations – holding the greatest potential for the attraction of creative labor and the growth for the creative economy – are providing the suitable environment for the flexible work practices and urban spatial engagements of the creative labor; that continues to preserve its global importance in the new economy.

3.4.1 Evaluation of the Work-Related / Economic Practices of Creative Labor

Firstly, the work type distribution of the participants in the questionnaire resulted in a dominance in formal work, with a percentage of 90% formal and 10% freelance workers. This result of work type distribution is not consistent with the “precarious nature of creative work” which includes temporary freelance contracts (Baum, 2020; Merkel, 2019). Furthermore, the initial hypothesis of the study included expecting younger creative professionals to be more engaged in freelance work type, since they

are outside the creative core in the beginning of their career, searching for ways to access the sector. However, as seen in Figure 3.37, the survey participants at the age interval “30 and below” do not have a significance of having a freelance work type, compared to other age groups. In fact, in this study, the ratio of freelance work is distributed evenly in three age groups: “30 and below”, “31-39” and “40-49”. It is also important to add that, although the age intervals and the work types assessment is not consistent with the literature, the gender distribution and work type assessment which is presented in the results of the questionnaire in the previous section of the chapter is coherent with the related literature. Recalling that the literature assumes female creative labor, especially mothers who conduct their jobs remotely in order to maximize their flexibility, has a greater tendency of working as freelancers due to child care responsibilities and the “reconciliation” of family and professional lives (Duberley and Carrigan 2012), women having a freelance work percentage of 16,7% might be an expected result while the ratio is 5,6% for male workers.

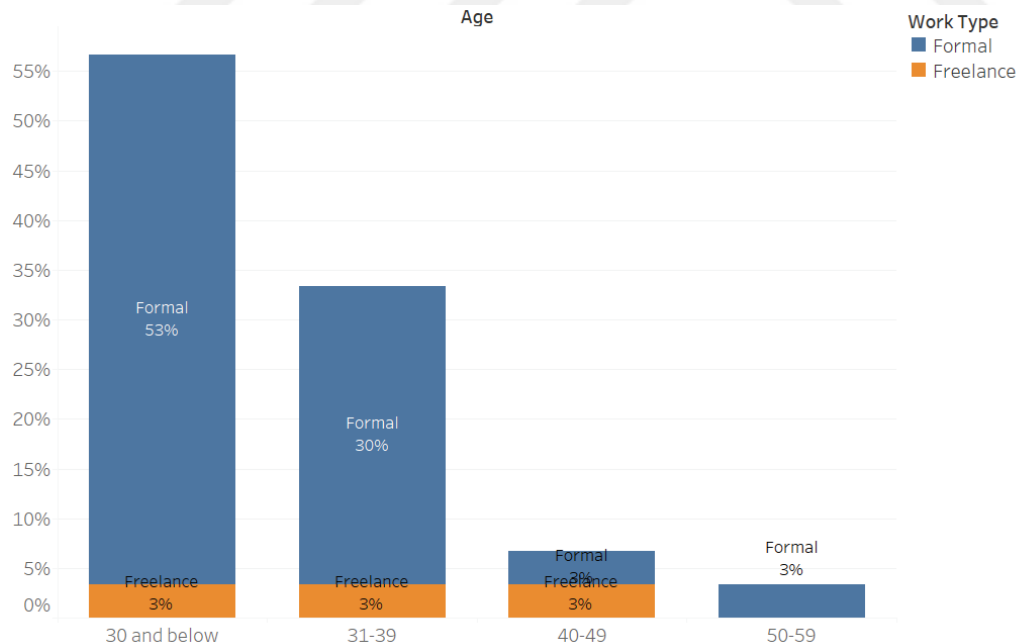


Figure 3.37. The Distribution of Work Types Among Different Age Groups of the Survey Participants

When the age distribution among the income level distribution of the participants is taken into consideration, there is an accumulation in the “intermediate” level and this level involves age groups of “30 and below”, “31-39” and “40-49” which are distributed by ratios of 30%, 27% and 7% respectively (Figure 3.38). The levels of “low” and “low-intermediate” income consists of merely the age group “30 and below”. At this point, it would be necessary to highlight that in the literature, there is a prevalent claim that creative labor need to be involved in “a great variety of non-paid labour practices such as volunteering, in-kind labour, favors, internships or working for free in ‘no budget’ productions” in order to break into the sector, or “to get a foot in the door at the start of a career” (Bain and McLean, 2013; Fast, O’rnebring and Karlsson, 2016; Wreyford, 2015). In that sense, the average income groups of “low” and “low-intermediate” comprising of only the age interval “30 and below” may be due to this nature of creative work. Nevertheless, according to the survey results, 10% of the survey participants who evaluated their average income level as “high” are also in the age group “30 and below”; so the increase in the income generation appears to be possible in small time intervals during the following

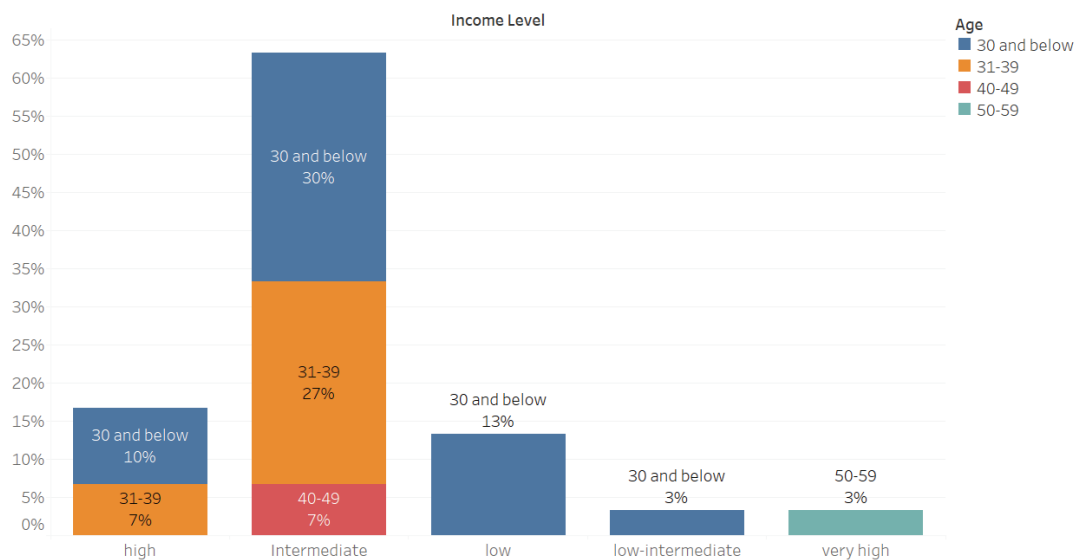


Figure 3.38. The Distribution of Age Groups Among Different Income Levels of the Survey Participants

steps of a career in a creative sector. The professions of this group of creative workers whose age group is “30 and below” and average income level is “high” are engineers, media experts and designers.

The survey participants are also asked their level of satisfaction with their workspace and the environment surrounding their workplace. As presented in Figure 3.39, for the case of Beyoglu, the percentage of the survey participants who rated their level of satisfaction both with their workplace and with the environment surrounding their workplace as 5 is 88%. This ratio is the highest for the case of Beyoglu; and for cases of Levent – Maslak and Kadikoy, the ratios are 59% and 40% respectively. The fact that the case of Beyoglu holds the greatest number of creative workers who evaluate the level of both their workspace and the environment surrounding their workplace as high, might be deriving from the historical identity and land use diversity of the district. As Ekdi and Çıracı (2015) expressed in their study, “being in the heart of the culture and social hub of the city and intellectual milieu affected and encouraged creative production” while “a workspace and inhabitable urban pattern provides convenience and generates a productive atmosphere”.

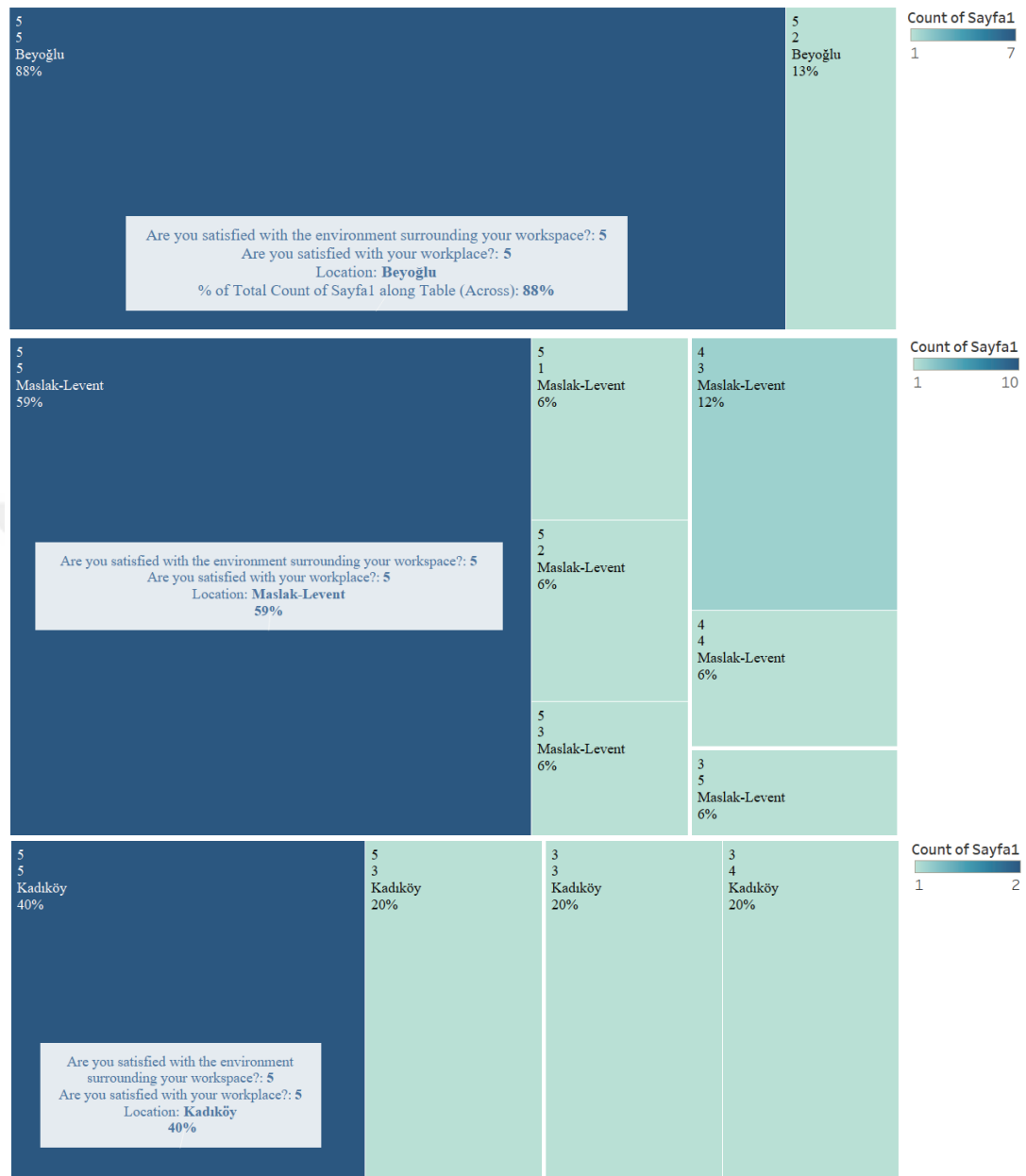


Figure 3.39. The Evaluation of the Workplace and the Environment Surrounding the Workspace in cases of Beyoglu, Levent – Maslak and Kadikoy

3.4.1.1 Lifecycle of Creative Economic Activity and its Spatial Dimension

As accepted in the literature, creative supply chains are complex and hard to identify or model, since they encompass a vast spectrum of economic activity in and outside of the creative industries (Greater London Authority, 2019). Nevertheless, in this study, the stages of creative economic activity and their possible economic assessments are tried to be analyzed according to the survey participants' sectoral patterns. In the scope of the study, the economic lifecycle of creative activities included *production, dissemination, exhibition, consumption* and *networking*. Although networking is not a component proposed in the 2009 UNESCO framework for cultural statistics (Pessoa, Deloumeaux and Ellis, 2009), the strong emphasis on networking in the recent works in the literature (Blair, 2009; McKinlay, 2009; Merkel, 2019; Clifton et. al, 2016; Wheatley, 2020) regarding the economic activities of creative labor paved the way to add this component to the stages of creative economic activity.

The spatial assessments of these creative economic activities constituting the creative value chain in this particular study show that these activities are both supplied “within a single actor/firm or divided among different actors/firms as within a single geographical location or spread over wider areas” as Miles (2009) also highlighted in the literature. As presented in the map seen in Figure 3.40, for some sectors such as advertising or publishing, the geographical assessment of the creative economic activities in the value chain are in a relatively small and closed circle of multiple locations. Nonetheless, the rest of the creative sectors which the survey participants work for show a widely spread geographical pattern of creative economic activity. Although the phases of exhibition, consumption or networking can be located in a single location or multiple locations in close proximity, the production and dissemination phases make the geographical pattern of value generation step outside the central locations and spread around the urban periphery (i.e. media experts, digital marketing specialists and engineers). This analysis is also consistent with the statement in the literature that the economic value created in the

creative industries is tied to additional activity in other sections of the economy (Greater London Authority, 2019). Since these creative industries are in relationship with a diverse range of products, services, and skills-based businesses for different stages of the value creation process, the inter-sectoral relation shows itself in a urban spatial level with a dispersion in phases of production and dissemination.

According to the map seen in Figure 3.40, in some of the creative sectors such as design, producing and engineering; creative economic activities are leaning towards grouping and “districtualization” (Köster and Sanchis, 2020). The district of Nisantasi – Sisli and the area around Zorlu Center is a great example for that “districtualization” in the context of design industries according to the mapping of survey results. This situation is valid for especially fashion design sector in Istanbul, since the agglomeration of creative production and consumption takes place in Nisantasi – Sisli areas; whereas the exhibition and networking is located in Zorlu Center and the surrounding areas, since the events of Istanbul Fashion Week takes place there. For engineers, the clustering of creative economic activities takes place in the area of Maslak within the scope of this study; while for producers, activities of exhibition, dissemination and consumption are all located in a concentrated area of Beyoglu. For engineers in Maslak, the network of large, small and medium-sized businesses, and the fact that these businesses mostly share common relations and similar operational and management models (Costa, 2008) may explain the agglomeration of production, consumption, exhibition and networking activities in the same territory. Likewise, benefiting from positive externalities, the producers locating in Beyoglu for the creative economic activities of dissemination, consumption and exhibition might be an example of taking advantage of this historical, commercial and central location's distinctive production conditions, with endogenous and exogenous elements interacting in the territorial concentrations of such creative economic activities in the area. For these sectors, the co-location of these activities of creative value chain becomes part of larger structures of flexible specialization; therefore, increasing their level of competitiveness in a global context (Costa, 2008).

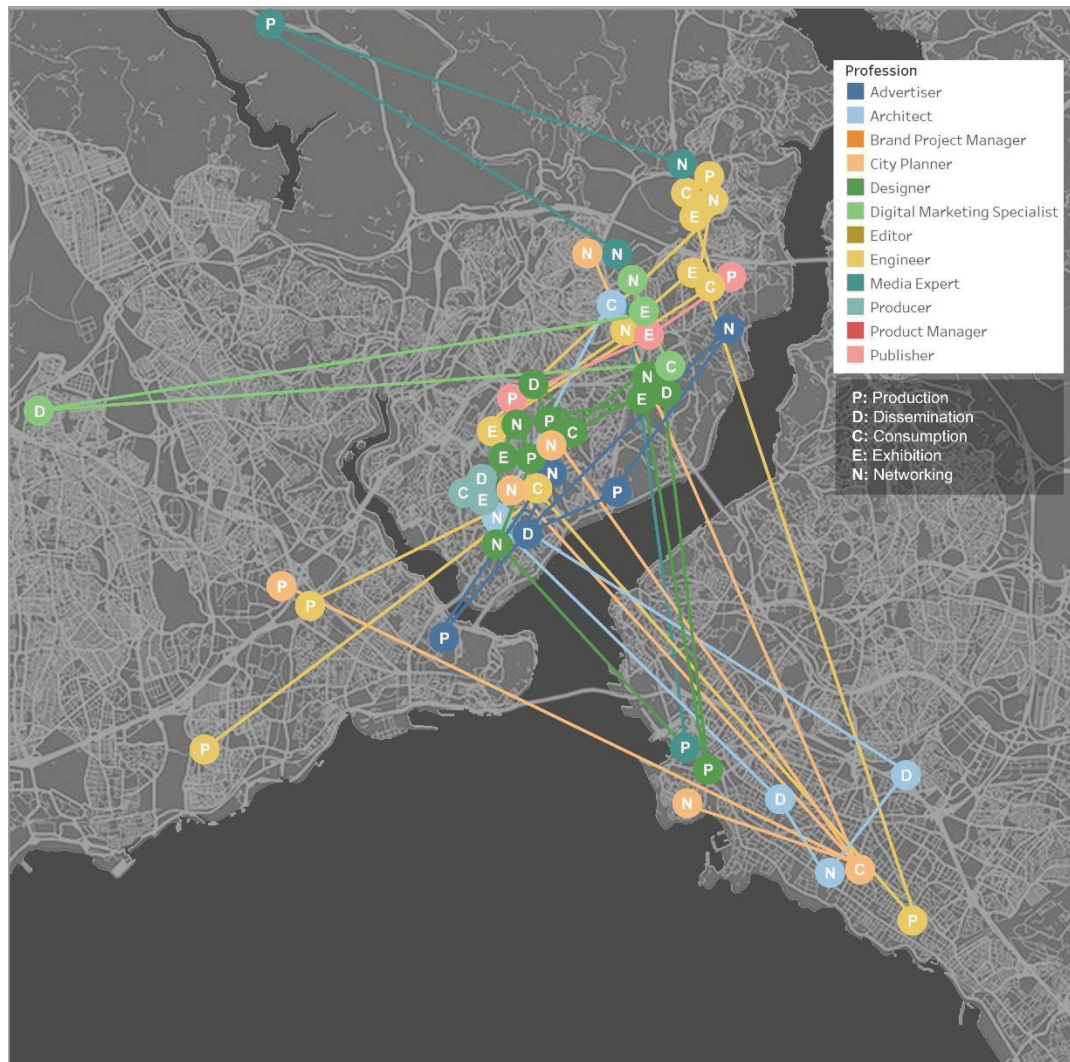


Figure 3.40. Mapping the Creative Economic Activities Constituting the Creative Value Chain of Different Creative Sectors

It is also a significant analysis to declare that 40% of the survey participants expressed that they could not assess particular locations for their creative economic activities. The answers of these participants included “*place does not matter*”, “*everywhere*” and “*various*”. The majority of these participants who do not define their creative economic activities as space-bounded involves media experts,

engineers and designers with ratios of 17% each. Architects are the second major group with a percentage of 9%, and the rest of this group of survey participants who could not assess any particular space for their creative economic activities are producers, brand project managers, digital marketing specialists, advertisers and editors with a percentage of 8% each. This result of the questionnaire supports the idea that the space for economic activity extends its limits as the knowledge creation becomes less spatially bounded and digitalized; since new ideas, software and services do not need a fixed location to be produced (Felstead and Henseke, 2017).

3.4.1.2 Clustering and Proximity

According to the results of the questionnaire, the survey participants categorized their place of work and home whether the spatial articulation of these places are clustered or dispersed in the city space. Considering workspaces, 60% of the survey participants evaluated their workplace having a “clustered” characteristic while 40% of them expressed that their workspace has a “dispersed” characteristic. Moving on to the residential space, 70% of the survey participants declared that the spatial characteristic of their home can be classified as “dispersed” in the urban surrounding while 30% of them considered the spatial characteristic of their residential space as “clustered” (Figure 3.41).

Considering the residential space preference of the survey participants as mostly “dispersed”, the claim in the literature that creative workers prefer intense, active and diverse urban environments (Yigitcanlar, Baum and Horton, 2007) can be underlined. When the residential space has a “dispersed” characteristic in a inner city area or neighborhood, the chance of encounters with different socio-economic and cultural groups increase. The diverse social environment and social interaction appears as a positive externality for the creative value creation process of the creative labor.

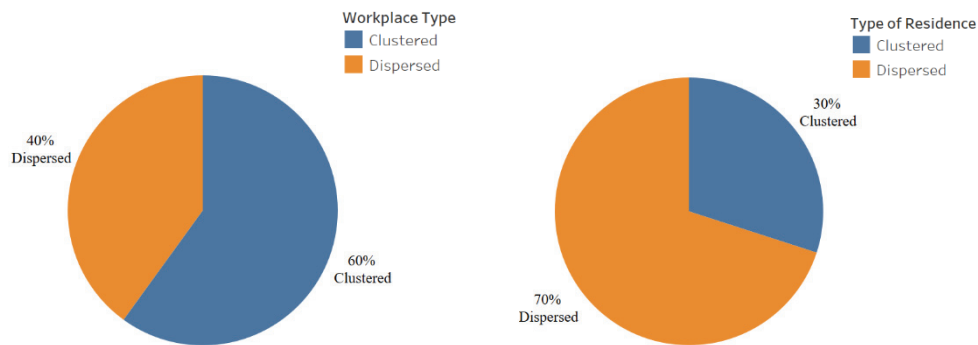


Figure 3.41. The Spatial Characteristic (Type) of Workplace and Residence

For the workplaces, different advantages and disadvantages of the urban spatial characteristics are expressed by the survey participants, regarding their level of productivity. As seen in the word cloud map in Figure 3.42 prepared according to the questionnaire results, the advantages of the clustered workplace type are mostly densified around (both intra-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary) “interaction”. 44% of the participants who work in a clustered workspace mentioned “interaction” as an advantage of these clustered workspaces, highlighting that this “interaction” is instructive and enlightening, triggering professional aid and sharing of knowledge among workers. This result of the questionnaire is consistent with Porter (1998)’s argument suggesting that creative clusters promote both competition and cooperation; with proximity of the cluster’s elements (both the creative labor and the firms) in one location fostering coordination and encouraging exchanges. The “networking” effect is another advantage of a clustered workspace mentioned by 17% of the survey participants. Proximity in the context of networking, can be evaluated to be “driven by the need for cultural producers to swap ideas and contacts, socialise together and trade industry gossip” (Oakley and O’Connor, 2015 as cited in Brown, 2017) and networking functions as a mutual support and benefit system

“over-socializing” as a disadvantage of clustered workspaces since it causes setback at work.

The advantages of the dispersed workplace type are mostly densified around “meeting different people”, as presented in the word cloud map in Figure 3.43 prepared according to the questionnaire results. 42% of the participants who work in a dispersed workspace mentioned “meeting new people” as an advantage of these dispersed workspaces, declaring that *“different people offer different points of view”*. 17% of the survey participants who define their workspace type as dispersed also expressed that “the urban spatial texture” is an important advantage for their level of productivity whereas 17% of them considered the “human traffic / crowd” as an advantage of a dispersed workspace in inner city areas. Some of other advantages of the dispersed workspace type are listed as follows by the survey participants:

“boosts creativity, productivity and concentration”

“opportunity for working with and meeting different people in different places”

“proximity to home, walkability, walking helps concentrating”

“historical texture, being in the neighborhood makes me happy”

Considering the disadvantages of a dispersed workplace, 58% of the survey participants who work in a dispersed workspace expressed that there are “no disadvantages”. 17% of the survey participants who define their workspace type as dispersed find “crowd” as a disadvantage. These creative workers evaluate that *“crowded places might not always be good for creativity”*. “Noise” is another disadvantage mentioned by 8% of the survey participants who define their workspace type as dispersed. Moreover, “vehicle traffic” is also identified as a disadvantage by 8% of the survey participants working in a dispersed workplace.

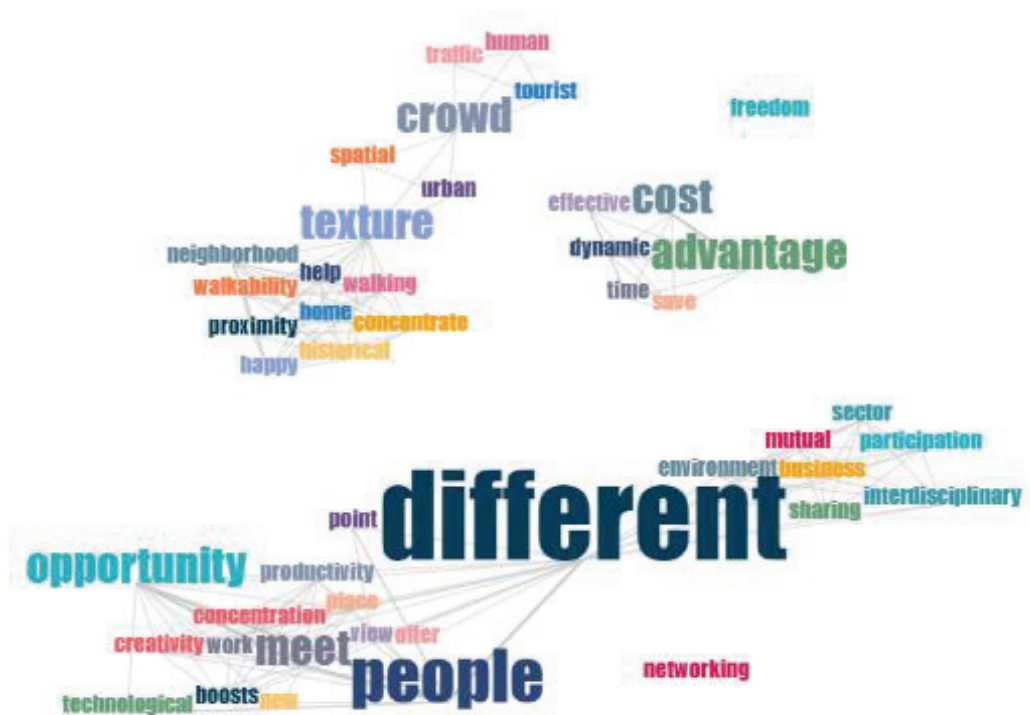


Figure 3.43. Word Cloud Map of the Advantages of a Dispersed Workplace According to Survey Participants

3.4.1.3 Co – Working

When the questionnaire results are analyzed, it appears that the percentage of survey participants who stated that they always work in co-working spaces (Always: 5) is 37%. The gender distribution of this group of participants is 20% men and 17% women. The survey participants who sometimes (Sometimes: 3) work in co-working spaces are at a ratio of 26%. The gender distribution of this group is 23% men and 3% women. On the other hand, 20% of the survey participants often (Often: 4) work in co-working spaces and this group comprises 10% women and 10% men. 10% of the survey participants indicated that they rarely (Rarely: 2) work in co-working

spaces; and the gender distribution of this group comprises 7% women and 3% men. Lastly, the percentage of the survey participants who never (Never: 1) work in co-working spaces is 6% and the gender distribution of this group demonstrates an equal distribution of 3% men and 3% women. When the frequencies of working in co-working spaces is evaluated in relation to the gender distribution, it is evident that a great majority of the survey participants indicated that they always work in co-working spaces; and the number of men are greater than the number of women who work in co-working spaces all the time. The percentages showing the frequencies of working in co-working spaces and the gender distributions are presented in Figure 3.44.

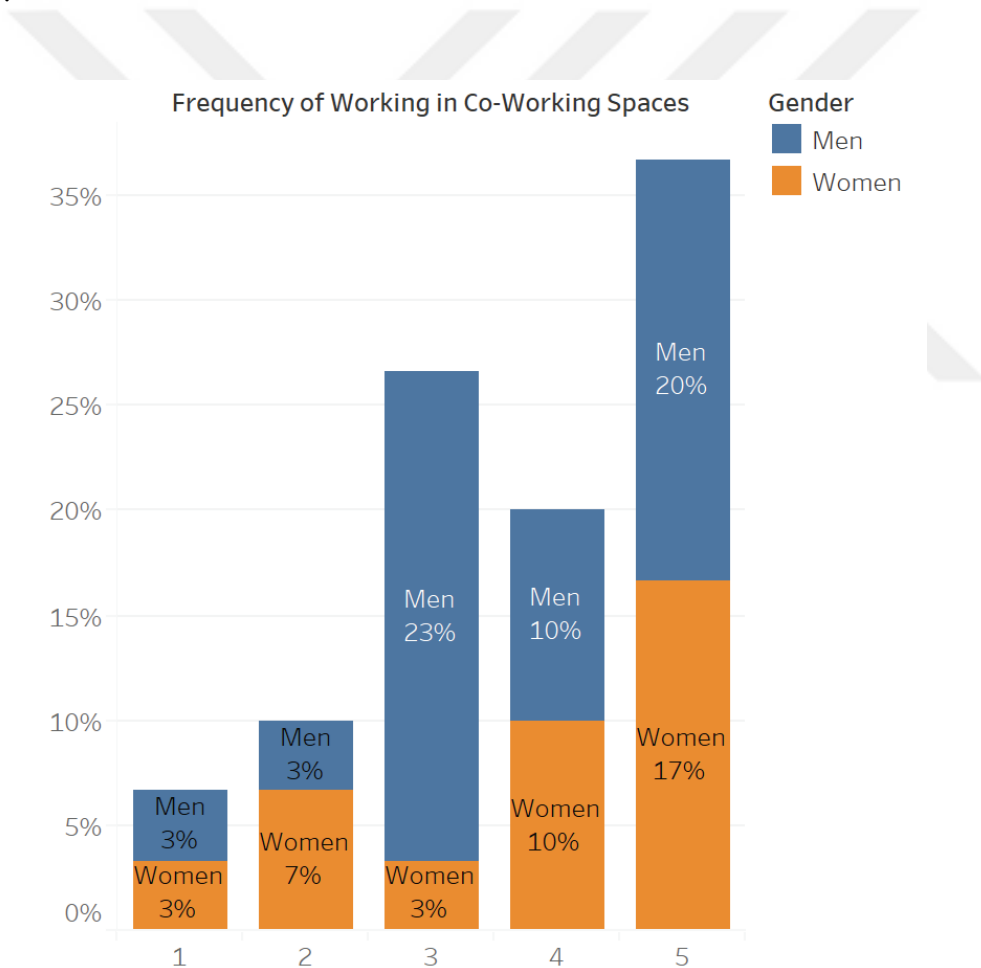


Figure 3.44. Frequency of Working in Co-Working Spaces and the Gender Distribution

The survey participants are also asked to express their motivations of working in co-working spaces. In Table 3.7, the direct connotations of the survey participants' reasons for their use frequencies of co-working spaces are presented for the case of Levent – Maslak. *The work environment, flexible hours of use, locational advantages, social interaction opportunity, existence of mutual spaces for meetings, proximity to home and leisure activity centers* can be listed as the motivations of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 5 (meaning that they work in co-working spaces on a daily basis). On the other hand, *spatial flexibility, high level of knowledge flow, technological opportunities, meeting new people, calmness yet not being in a boring environment, interdisciplinary participation from different sectors, mutual sharing environment for self-run businesses, boosting creativity and productivity* are considered as the reasons for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated theirs as 4 (meaning that they often work in co-working spaces). For the survey participants who sometimes work in co-working spaces (Use frequency: 3), the reasons for their use frequency can be listed as *different spaces being mind-opening, allows new ideas to be generated, use for meetings, networking, intra-sectoral interaction being instructive and enlightening, and the existence of professional aid among workers*. The survey participants who rarely (Use frequency: 2) use co-working spaces indicated their reasons as their *need for an office setting for their specified work conditions and work location, and their necessity of production in community*.

Table 3.7 Reasons for Use Frequency of Co-Working Spaces, Case of Levent – Maslak

Case of Levent – Maslak	Use Fr.: 5	<i>“work habit”</i>
		<i>“relaxed and flexible work environment and working hours, no traffic in Maslak (locational advantage)”</i>
		<i>“social interaction, joy”</i>
		<i>“transport ease, good environment”</i>
		<i>“mutual space for meetings, location is not important”</i>
		<i>“company is located there, needs are more visible, close to home, the most significant work center of the city”</i>
		<i>“locational advantage of Levent, proximity to home, proximity to commercial and leisure activity center Kanyon, networking, social interaction”</i>
	Use Fr.: 4	<i>“flexible spaces with high level of knowledge flow”</i>
		<i>“technological opportunities, meeting new people”</i>
		<i>“calm but not boring”</i>
		<i>“interdisciplinary participation from different sectors, mutual sharing environment for my own business”</i>
		<i>“boosting creativity and productivity”</i>
	Use Fr.: 3	<i>“different spaces are mind-opening, allows new ideas to be generated”</i>
		<i>“meetings, networking”</i>
		<i>“intra-sectoral interaction is instructive and enlightening, professional aid among workers”</i>
	Use Fr.: 2	<i>“need office setting for work conditions and work location”</i>
		<i>“production in community”</i>

Table 3.8 comprises direct connotations of the survey participants’ reasons for their use frequencies of co-working spaces in the case of Beyoglu. The answers of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 5 (meaning that they work in co-working spaces on a daily basis) indicate that *staying motivated, historical texture, spatial characteristics of Istanbul and Beyoglu, and architectural awareness* are listed as their motivations for using these spaces. *Relaxed and flexible work environment and working hours, social interaction, need for place for meetings* are considered as the reasons for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated

theirs as 4 (meaning that they often work in co-working spaces). For the survey participants who sometimes work in co-working spaces (Use frequency: 3), the reasons for their use frequency can be listed as *social interaction, need for an office setting for meetings, and co-working spaces' dynamic, fast and effective structure*.

Table 3.8 Reasons for Use Frequency of Co-Working Spaces, Case of Beyoglu

Case of Beyoglu	Use Fr.: 5	"motivation"
		"historical texture, spatial characteristics of Istanbul and Beyoglu, architectural awareness"
	Use Fr.: 4	"relaxed and flexible work environment and working hours, social interaction, meetings"
	Use Fr.: 3	"social interaction"
		"need for an office setting for meetings, more dynamic, fast and effective"

The reasons for the survey participants' use frequencies of co-working spaces in the case of Kadikoy is presented with direct connotations in Table 3.9. The answers of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 5 (meaning that they work in co-working spaces on a daily basis) indicate that *economic advantage, interdisciplinary participation, opportunity for meeting new people in the creative processes, friendship and networking* are their motivations for using these spaces. Moreover, *conducting mutual projects* is considered as the reason for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated theirs as 3 (meaning that they sometimes work in co-working spaces). For the survey participants who never work in co-working spaces (Use frequency: 1), the reasons for their use frequency can be identified as *ending membership due to economic conditions, and still being in a decision process about the practice of co-working*.

Table 3.9 Reasons for Use Frequency of Co-Working Spaces, Case of Kadikoy

Case of Kadikoy	Use Fr.: 5	<i>"economic advantage, interdisciplinary participation, friendship and networking"</i>
		<i>"opportunity for meeting new people in the creative processes"</i>
	Use Fr.: 4	<i>"mutual projects"</i>
	Use Fr.: 1	<i>"ending membership - economic conditions"</i>
		<i>"thinking about it"</i>

In Figure 3.45, a word cloud map is viewed in order to see an overview of all the reasons why creative workers participating in the questionnaire use co-working spaces (including all 5 frequency rates). The highlight of the words *interaction*, *socializing*, or *meeting* in the cloud map shows that co-working spaces are mainly preferred because of the opportunity for socializing, “peer-support/mentoring, professional networking, idea/ knowledge sharing and collaboration” (Clifton, Crick and Fuzi, 2016). As Merkel (2015) suggests, this collaborative aspect is the distinctive feature that identifies co-working apart from other forms of shared, flexible work settings; such as working from home or from semi – public / public spaces.

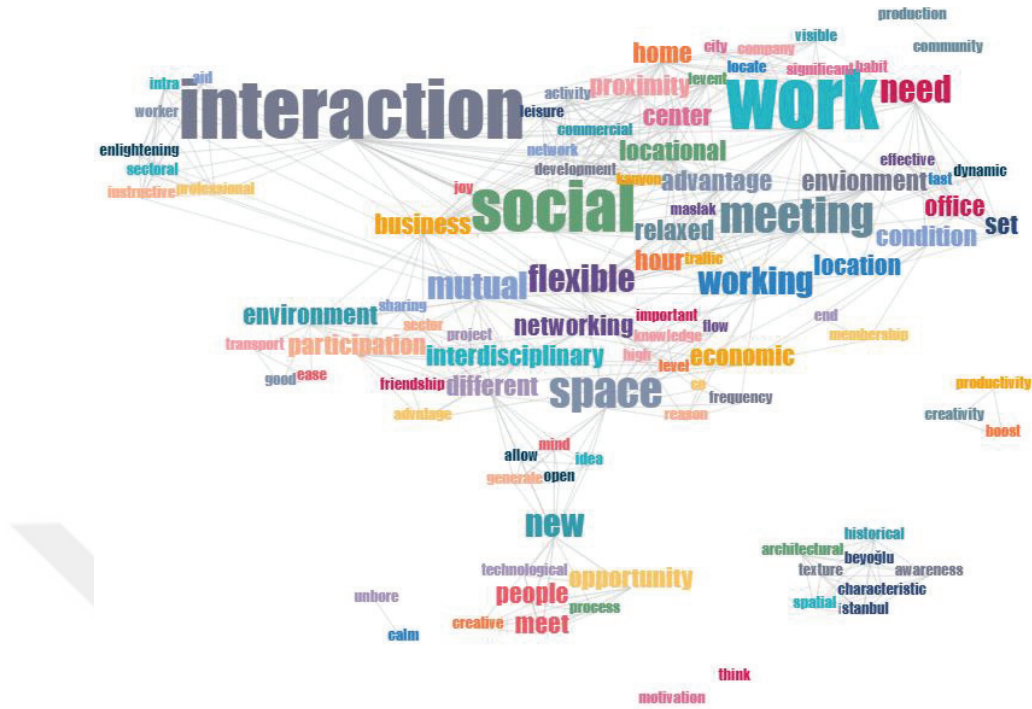


Figure 3.45. Word Cloud Map of the Reasons for Using Co-Working Spaces According to Survey Participants

3.4.1.4 Home – Based Remote Working

The analysis of the questionnaire results show that the percentage of survey participants who stated that they sometimes (Sometimes: 3) work from home is 30%. The gender distribution of this group of participants is 23% men and 7% women. The survey participants who often (Often: 4) work from home and who rarely (Rarely: 2) work from home both consist of 23% of the survey participants. This group comprises 13% men and 10% women. The percentage of the survey participants who never (Never: 1) work from home is 20% and the gender distribution of this group demonstrates a distribution of 13% women and 7% men. Lastly, the survey participants who always (Always: 5) work from home are at a ratio

of 3%. The gender distribution of this group consists of only men participants with a percentage of 3%. The percentages showing the frequencies of working remotely from home and the gender distributions are presented in Figure 3.46.

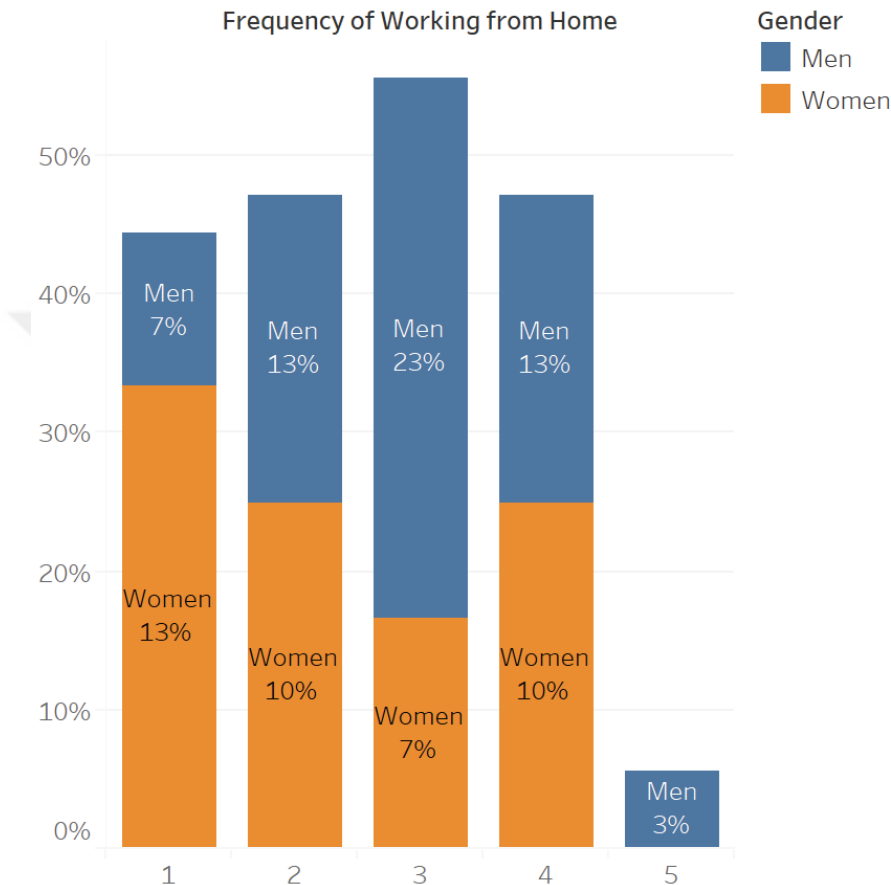


Figure 3.46. Frequency of Working from Home and the Gender Distribution

The results of the questionnaire in the context of gendered distribution of the use of home as a workspace do not show a significance for female workers to prefer home as a workspace more than men. This analysis is consistent with the argument that the conventional assumption where the home represents the female realm where the workplace is associated with the male (Hanson, 1992; Hanson and Pratt, 1988) is now challenged, with the rise of remote-working where both male and female

workers conduct their daily work activities from their private sphere. Referring to Saskia Sassen (2013)’s gendered connotations of public and private space – where the public sphere is marked mostly masculine, acquiring economic and social value; and the private sphere, marked mostly feminine, is given only symbolic value – working from home is located at a point where the private sphere acquires not only symbolic, but economic value for both men and women.

Although home becomes an economic sphere for both men and women, as the survey results corroborate, the relationship between the marital status of female creative workers and their average frequency of working from home has significance. Presented in Figure 3.47, the average frequency of working from home for married female creative workers doubles the average frequency of working from home for the ones who are single. This result seems to be consistent with the theoretical framework drawn by Duberley and Carrigan (2012), in which they argue that married women's biggest incentives for working from home, whether freelancing or having their own enterprises, appear to be child care responsibilities and the “reconciliation” of family and professional lives.

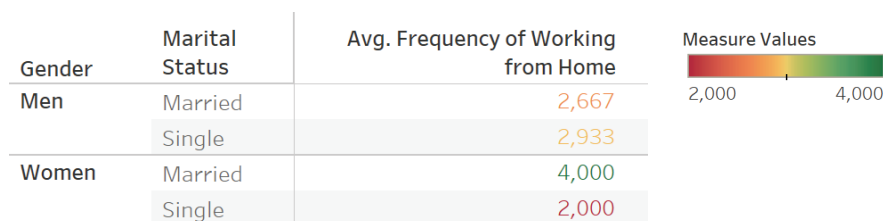


Figure 3.47. Frequency of Working from Home and the Gender Distribution

Analyzing the survey participants’ motivations of working from home, in Table 3.10, direct connotations of survey participants’ reasons for their use frequencies of home as a workspace are presented for the case of Levent – Maslak. *Home-office work* is listed as the motivation of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 5 (meaning that they work from home on a daily basis). On the other hand, *staying*

focused, company allowance, extra working hours, avoiding waste of time in traffic, work need at weekends and in evenings, increased motivation and concentration are considered as the reasons for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated theirs as 4 (meaning that they often work from home). For the survey participants who sometimes work from home (Use frequency: 3), the reasons for their use frequency can be listed as *shifting to flexible work, staying focused, need for technological hardware, saving time and extra working hours*. The survey participants who rarely (Use frequency: 2) use home as a workspace indicated their reasons as their *company obligation, lack on interaction at home and saving time*. Participants who never (Use frequency: 1) work from home, on the other hand, pointed out reasons such as *decreased concentration, boredom and lack of inspiration*.

Table 3.10 Reasons for Use Frequency of Working from Home, Case of Levent – Maslak

Case of Levent – Maslak	Use Fr.: 5	"home-office work"
	Use Fr.: 4	"to stay focused"
		"company allowance in two days per week, extra working hours, to avoid wasting time in traffic"
		"preferred on evenings and weekends"
		"motivation, concentration"
	Use Fr.: 3	"shift to flexible work"
		"to stay focused"
		"need for technological hardware"
		"to save time"
		"for extra working hours"
	Use Fr.: 2	"company obligation"
		"lack of interaction"
		"to save time"
	Use Fr.: 1	"lack of concentration"
		"boring"
		"uninspiring"

Table 3.11 comprises direct connotations of the survey participants' reasons for their use frequencies of home as a workspace in the case of Beyoglu. The answers of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 4 (meaning that they often work from home) indicate that *they are more inspired and relaxed to design at home, they work 7 days a week and 15 to 20 hours a day and just need their computer and mobile phone while working, and that home is a comfortable environment. Calmness and freelance working* are considered as the reasons for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated theirs as 3 (meaning that they sometimes work from home). For the survey participants who rarely work from home (Use frequency: 2), the reasons for their use frequency are listed as *calmness of home as a workspace and extra working hours*. Lastly, participants who never (Use frequency: 1) work from home indicated their reasons as *working with high capacity computers*. Some of the participants also point out that they *used to work from home 24/7 from home before they started their membership in a co-working space*.

Table 3.11 Reasons for Use Frequency of Working from Home, Case of Beyoglu

Case of Beyoglu	Use Fr.: 4	"more inspired at home, relaxed to design"
		"working 7 days, 15 to 20 hours of work per day, just need computer and mobile phone while working on a project, comfortable environment"
	Use Fr.: 3	"calmness"
		"freelance work"
	Use Fr.: 2	Calmness
		extra working hours
	Use Fr.: 1	"working with high-capacity computers, used to work 7/24 from home before starting membership in a co-working space"

The motivations of the survey participants resulting in their use frequencies of working from home in the case of Kadikoy is presented with direct connotations in Table 3.12. The answers of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 4 (meaning that they often work from home) indicate that *they temporarily work from home because of ending membership in co-working space: Impact Hub*. Moreover, *saving time in the work rush* is considered as the reason for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated theirs as 3 (meaning that they sometimes work from home). For the survey participants who rarely work from home (Use frequency: 2), the reason for their use frequency is *the unavailability for collective decision-making*. Lastly for the survey participants who never work from home (Use frequency: 1), the reasons for their use frequency can be identified as *lack of interaction at home*.

Table 3.12 Reasons for Use Frequency of Working from Home, Case of Kadikoy

Case of Kadikoy	Use Fr.: 4	<i>"temporarily because of ending membership at Impact Hub"</i>
	Use Fr.: 3	<i>"work rush - to save time"</i>
		<i>"productivity"</i>
	Use Fr.: 2	<i>"unavailable for collective decision-making"</i>
	Use Fr.: 1	<i>"lack of interaction"</i>

In Figure 3.48, a word cloud map is viewed in order to present the reasons why creative workers participating in the questionnaire use home as a workspace (including all 5 frequency rates). The highlight of the cloud map is the frequent use of words *lack of interaction, saving time and staying focused*. Lack of interaction is

the main reason why creative workers prefer home-based remote working less than other flexible work options of co-working and working in public spaces. The analysis verifies Merkel (2015)'s suggestion highlighting the collaborative aspect of co-working, identifying it from other flexible work settings such as working from home. "Isolation" is also mentioned as a disadvantage of home-based work by Reuschke et al. (2015), which is also consistent with the result of the questionnaire. Moreover; according to the map, home is mainly preferred in order to save time, as the home-workers avoid the time wasted in traffic that they would otherwise spend while they commute to work. This reason of working from home is also identified by Reuschke et al. (2015), as he listed "avoiding commute" as one of the reasons and the most significant advantages of working remotely from home. However, some disadvantages of home-based work that are stated by the author, such as "interruption of surrounding family members" has not been mentioned in the interview; and in contrast, most of the survey participants declared that they concentrate and stay focused better at home.

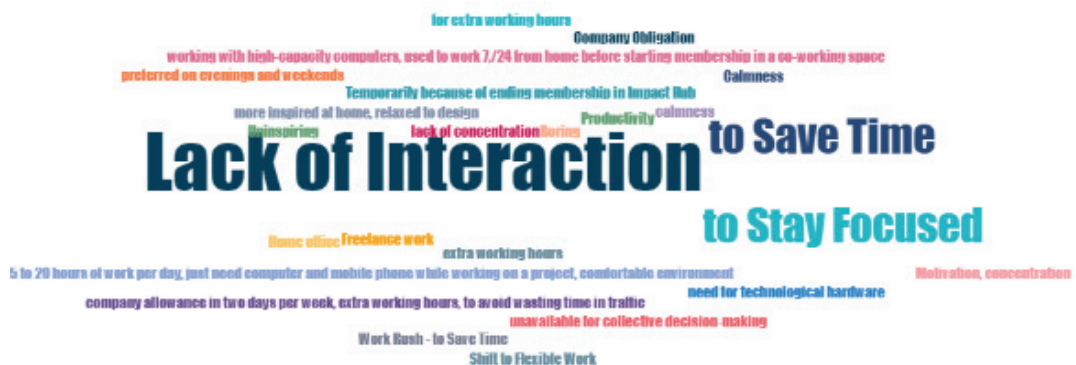


Figure 3.48. Word Cloud Map of the Reasons for Using Home as a Workspace According to Survey Participants

3.4.1.5 Public Spaces as Workspaces

According to the analysis of the questionnaire results, it appears that the percentage of survey participants who stated that they rarely work in public spaces (Rarely: 2) is 40%. The gender distribution of this group of participants demonstrates an equal distribution of 20% men and 20% women. The survey participants who sometimes (Sometimes: 3) work in public spaces are at a ratio of 27%. The gender distribution of this group is 20% men and 7% women. On the other hand, 24% of the survey participants never (Never: 1) work in public spaces and this group comprises 17% men and 7% women. 6% of the survey participants indicated that they always (Always: 2) work in public spaces; and the gender distribution of this group comprises 3% women and 3% men. Lastly, the percentage of the survey participants who often (Often: 4) work in public spaces is 6% and this group consists of only women participants. When the frequencies of working in public spaces is evaluated in relation to the gender distribution, it is evident that a great majority of the survey participants indicated that they rarely work in public spaces; and the number of men and women does not show a significant difference among that majority. The percentages showing the frequencies of working in public spaces and the gender distributions are presented in Figure 3.49.

The motivations of the survey participants for working in public spaces are evaluated in the questionnaire. In Table 3.13, direct connotations of the survey participants' reasons for their use frequencies of public spaces as workspaces are presented for the case of Levent – Maslak. *The preference for unquiet places* is stated as the motivation of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 5 (meaning that they work in public spaces on a daily basis). For the survey participants who sometimes work in co-working spaces (Use frequency: 3), the reasons for their use frequency can be listed as *meeting new people, getting inspired, being in the crowd* and *meetings*. The survey participants who rarely (Use frequency: 2) use public spaces to work indicated their reasons as *need for an office setting for their specified*

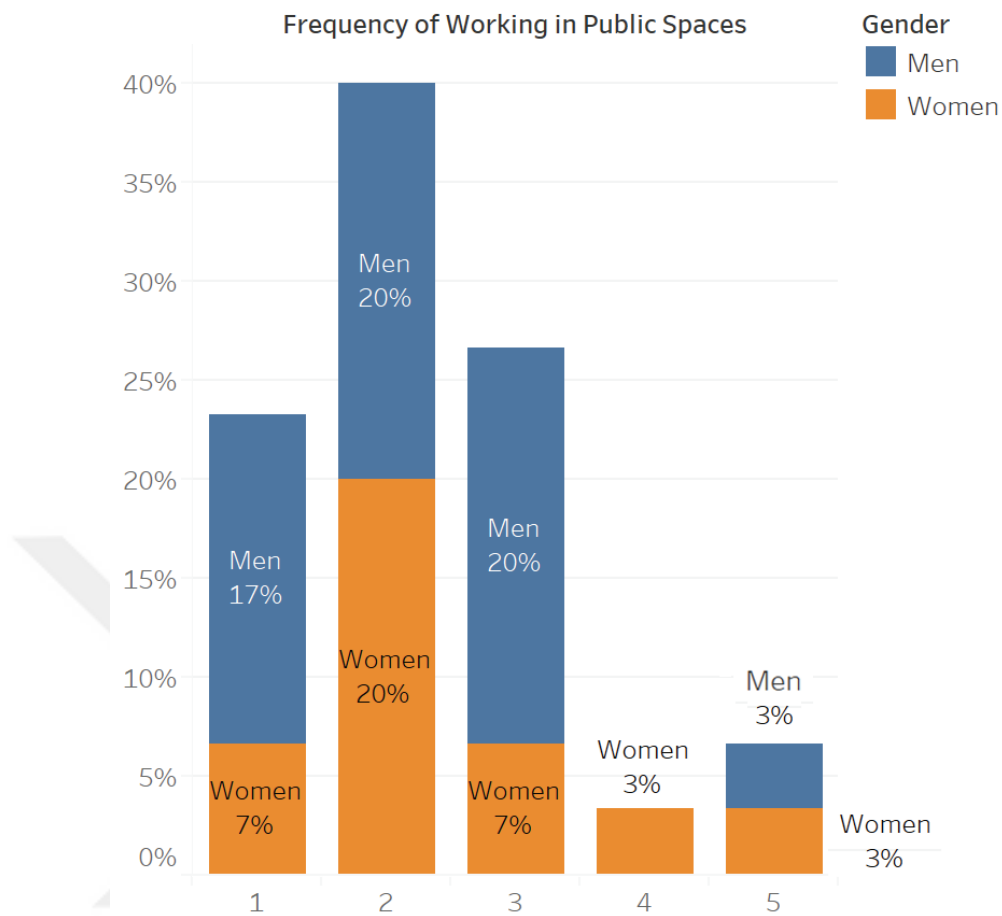


Figure 3.49. Frequency of Working in Public Spaces and the Gender Distribution

work conditions and work location, getting coffee service, networking and extra working hours. This group of participants also mentioned the negative reasons such as *noise, crowd, discomfort* as the reasons for their use frequency rate (2). Lastly, for the case of Levent – Maslak, the survey participants who never (Never: 1) use public spaces to work expressed their reason as *lack of concentration because of socializing*.

Table 3.13 Reasons for Use Frequency of Public Spaces as Workspaces, Case of Levent – Maslak

Case of Levent - Maslak	Use Fr.: 5	<i>"like unquiet places"</i>
	Use Fr.: 3	<i>"meeting new people"</i>
		<i>"inspiration, being in the crowd"</i>
		<i>"meetings"</i>
	Use Fr.: 2	<i>"need office setting for work conditions and work location"</i>
		<i>"coffee service"</i>
		<i>"noisy and crowded"</i>
		<i>"networking"</i>
		<i>"not comfortable"</i>
		<i>"extra working hours"</i>
	Use Fr.: 1	<i>"lack of concentration because of socializing"</i>

Table 3.14 involves survey participants' reasons for their use frequencies of public spaces in the case of Beyoglu. The answers of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 5 (meaning that they work in public spaces on a daily basis) indicate that they use public spaces for *meetings* and for *working hour flexibility until late hours*. For the survey participants who sometimes work in public spaces (Use frequency: 3), the reasons for their use frequency can be listed as *being in the crowd*, *urban spatial texture*, *use for meetings*, *work emergencies out of office*, *need for change of place when bored from long hours of work in the same spot*. Lastly, the ones that stated they never work from public spaces (Never: 1) indicated their reasons as *noise* and *need for calmer space*.

Table 3.14 Reasons for Use Frequency of Public Spaces as Workspaces, Case of Beyoglu

Case of Beyoglu	Use Fr.: 5	<i>"for meetings, working hour flexibility until late hours"</i>
	Use Fr.: 3	<i>"being in the crowd, urban spatial texture"</i>
		<i>"meetings"</i>
		<i>"work emergency out of office, change of place is good when bored from working long hours in the same spot"</i>
	Use Fr.: 1	<i>"need for calmer space"</i>
		<i>"noise"</i>

For the case of Kadikoy, the reasons for the survey participants' use frequencies of public spaces as workspaces are presented with direct connotations in Table 3.15. The answers of the survey participants who rated their use frequencies 3 (meaning that they sometimes work in public spaces) indicate that their frequency of use *depends on the density of field work*. Moreover, use of public spaces as workspaces *when faced with technical difficulties, need for a wider space and freedom* are considered as the reason for the use frequencies of the survey participants who rated theirs as 2 (meaning that they rarely work in public spaces). For the survey participants who never work in public spaces (Use frequency: 1), the reasons for their use frequency can be identified as public spaces *not being suitable for the work tools used and not being comfortable*.

Table 3.15 Reasons for Use Frequency of Public Spaces as Workspaces, Case of Kadikoy

Case of Kadikoy	Use Fr.: 3	<i>"depends on the density of field work"</i>
	Use Fr.: 2	<i>"used when faced with technical difficulties"</i>
		<i>"need for wider space, freedom"</i>
	Use Fr.: 1	<i>"not suitable for the work tools used"</i>
		<i>"not comfortable"</i>

In Figure 3.50, a word cloud map is viewed in order to see an overview of all the reasons why creative workers participating in the questionnaire use public spaces as workspaces (including all 5 frequency rates). In three of the cases of Levent – Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy, the highlight of the words *not comfortable* and *noise* in the cloud map shows that even though some of the survey participants prefer public spaces as workspaces (Av. Frequency: 2,30), the majority of them do not prefer this type of flexible workspaces due to the disturbance of outer noise and the unavailability of the comfort that their home or various spatial options of co-working spaces offer them. However, when the reasons why public spaces are functioning as workspaces for a group of the participants are analyzed, it is seen that they are consistent with the factors listed in the literature. As Wheatley (2020) points out, emergence of public spaces as temporary workplaces derives from economical benefits as well as the need for relaxation, social contact, networking, entertainment, leisure, and work. Similarly, the desire of some survey participants for “*being in the crowd*” refers to social contact and networking, and statement of “*change of place is good when bored from working long hours in the same spot*” emphasizes the need for relaxation and entertainment. In addition to this, survey participants drawing attention to the “*urban spatial texture*” and expressing their self-fulfillment and

motivation because of locating in some parts of the city such as historical inner city areas of Beyoglu shows that the spatial characteristics and cultural / historical value of the districts effects their frequency of use of public spaces as workspaces.

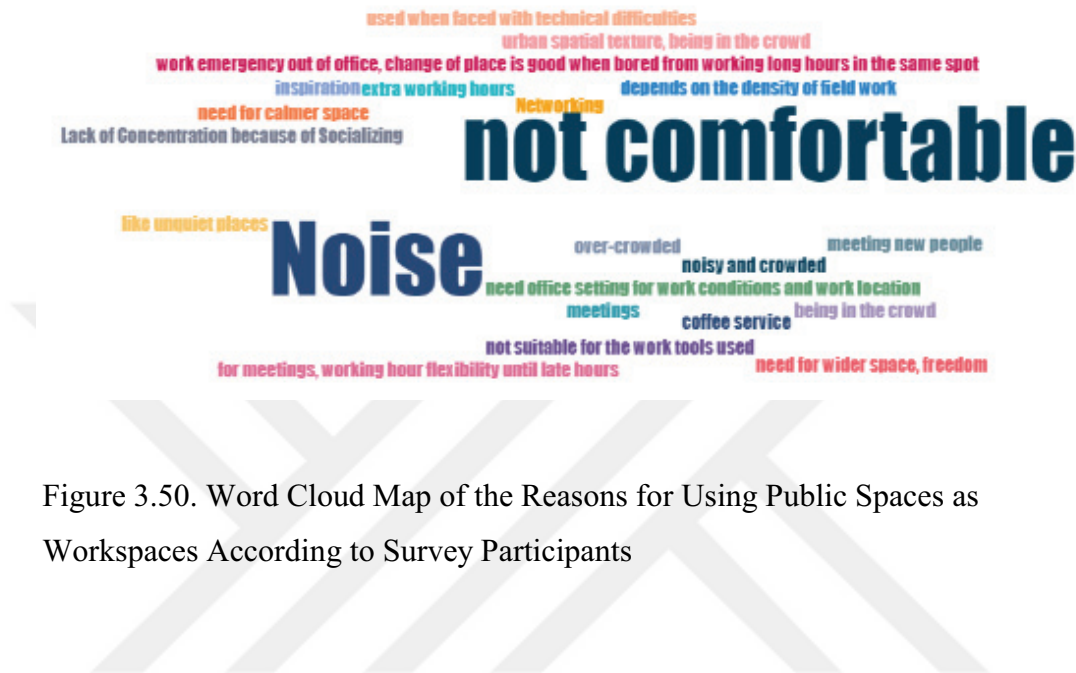


Figure 3.50. Word Cloud Map of the Reasons for Using Public Spaces as Workspaces According to Survey Participants

3.4.2 Evaluation of the Urban Services

According to the results of the survey analysis and the data visualized in Figure 3.36 in the previous section of the study, more than half of the participants (55%) think that the variety and quality of the activities besides the use of home and work are highly important (Highly important: 5). Similarly, 41% of them rated 4 (Substantially important: 4) and there are no participants who rated 1 (Not important: 1) or 2 (Slightly important: 2). This means that evaluating the variety and quality of the urban services that the city offers to creative labor is highly important in terms of generating policies in order to expand the attributes of these urban services – such as art and cultural infrastructure and education and research facilities – and enhance them for a more frequent use of creative labor.

3.4.2.1 Art and Cultural Infrastructure

According to the questionnaire results, visiting art galleries (mentioned by a percentage of 28%), concerts (mentioned by a percentage of 22%) and theatres (mentioned by a percentage of 16%) are the most frequently mentioned art and cultural activities by the survey participants. When the spatial settings of these activities are evaluated, it is examined that Zorlu Center holds the greatest variety of art and cultural activities mentioned by the survey participants. 28% of the participants who mentioned “concert” as an art and cultural activity; 19% of the participants who mentioned “theatre” as one of the art and cultural activities they’re involved in; and 4% of the participants who listed visiting “art galleries” as an art and cultural activity considered Zorlu Center as the space for that activity. Beyoglu area appears to be mentioned as another place holding various art and cultural activities as 9% of the participants who considered “concerts” as an art and cultural activity of theirs; 7% of the survey participants who mention visiting “art galleries” as an art and cultural activity; and for “theatre”, 6% of the participants who mentioned those as their art and cultural activities assessed Beyoglu area to these activities. Kanyon Mall is another place to which different art and cultural activities are assessed.

In the scope of this particular study, some of these art and cultural activity centers in Istanbul such as Zorlu Center, Kanyon Mall, Beyoglu area and Moda area found to be holding a variety of different activities such as art galleries, theatre, concerts, cinema etc. that the creative labor use frequently. Some areas, on the other hand, such as SALT Galata, SALT Beyoglu, Sishane area, Studio X, Taksim, IKSU, Istanbul Modern, Italian Culture Center specialize on specific art and cultural activities like art galleries.

Although café, bars and restaurants are not typically considered as art and cultural activity centers, the survey participants’ answers to open-end questions in the questionnaire revealed that these spaces that are known with their commercial value and service function, are also used as places to gather with cultural and artistic

purposes for the creative labor in Istanbul. This analysis is consistent with Lysgård (2012)'s assumption in which he defines these type of uses as the "consumption of culture through the provision of different cultural and entertainment" activities, through "social meeting places (e.g. cafes, clubs, open areas), and cultural festivals, and also spectacular architecture and artistic monuments".

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the survey participants were asked to rate the effectuality of the proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their home and work separately. In Figure 3.51, it is possible to analyze that 82% of the survey participants who evaluated the proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their home as 5 (highly effective) also rated the effectuality of the proximity of these activity centers to their work 5 (highly effective). The interpretation for this analysis is that the proximity of these urban services to where the creative workers work is as important as the proximity to where they live, since "after-work events" (Neff, 2005) constitute a great part of the economic and social experiences of the creative labor.

Evaluating the adequateness of spatial qualifications of these art and cultural activity centers as urban services according to the survey results, it is possible to analyze that 31% of the survey participants evaluate the spatial qualifications as completely adequate (Completely: 5), and 31% of them as adequate on a medium-level (Neutral: 3). Moreover, 28% of the survey participants expressed that they find the spatial qualifications of art and cultural activity centers substantially adequate (Substantially: 4). This high rating of adequacy of spatial qualifications of these art and cultural activity centers as urban services especially accumulate in case of Beyoglu. Evaluating the case of Beyoglu, 62,5% of the survey participants consider the spatial qualifications as completely adequate (Completely: 5). The presence of such a spatial art and culture infrastructure in case of Beyoglu is a great example of the theory of Richard Florida (2002), in which he asserts that "places with a flourishing artistic and cultural environment are the ones that generate economic outcomes and overall economic growth". In that sense, the case of Beyoglu holds a great potential in terms of its high adequacy of spatial qualifications of art and cultural activity centers.

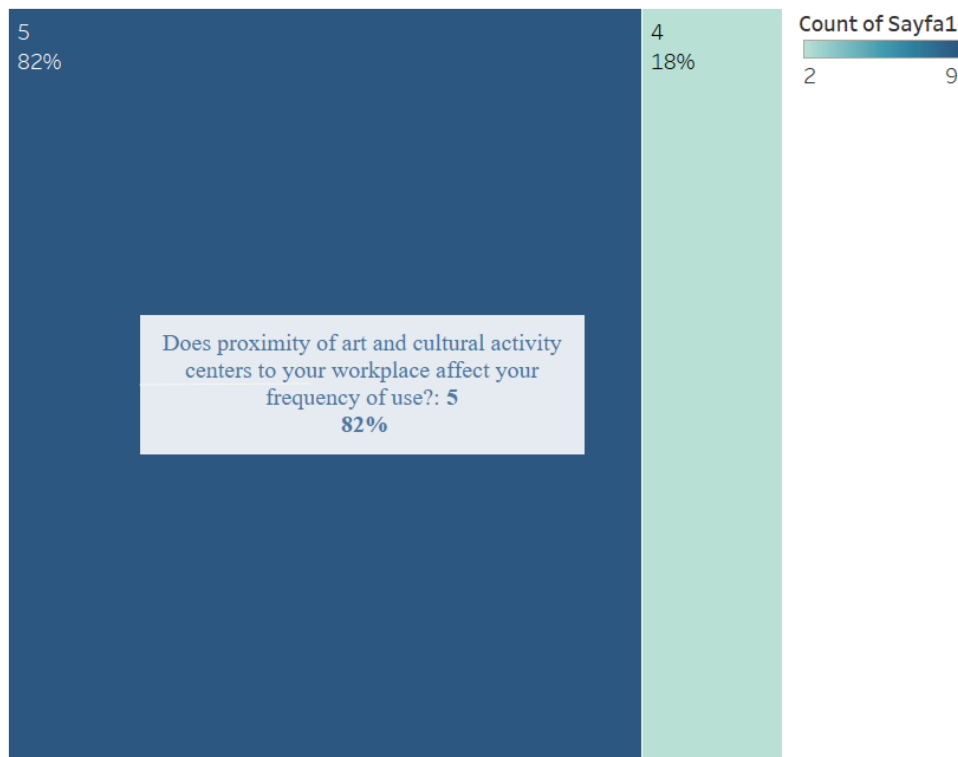


Figure 3.51. The Effect of Proximity of Art and Cultural Centers to Workplace for the Survey Participants Who Rate the Effectuality of Proximity of them to Home as High

3.4.2.2 Education and Research Facilities

According to the questionnaire results, libraries (mentioned by a percentage of 28%), universities (mentioned by a percentage of 21%) and internet (mentioned by a percentage of 17%) are the most frequently mentioned education and research facilities by the survey participants. Moreover, 17% of the survey participants did not specify any location for their use of education and research facilities. All of the survey participants who mentioned “internet”, “digital data sources”, “research implementation centers” and “none” did not mention any particular place. In addition, 10% of the survey participants who mentioned “university” as an education

and research facility did not mention any specified spatial setting. This analysis shows that considering education and research facilities, the activities are moving far from being spatially bounded with the effect of digitalization. With the widespread use of digital data sources, e-libraries, digital seminars etc., education and research facilities started to be detached from its spatial configuration and be remotely accessible.

When the spatial settings of the education and research facilities are examined, it is analyzed that specific places are associated with specific purposes. Unlike art and cultural activity centers, there are no significant places that hold multiple activities or functions when education and research facilities are considered. 38% of the participants who mentioned “library” as an education and research facility mentioned “SALT Galata” as its spatial setting while 23% of them mentioned “Ataturk Library”. SALT Galata and Ataturk Library holds the greatest majority of the mention of “libraries” as education and research facilities, although there are also other places mentioned in the questionnaire such as Akbank Sanat Library, Borusan Contemporary Library, Istanbul Modern Library and Koc University Library.

Among “universities”, which is also the second most frequently mentioned education and research facility in the questionnaire, Sabancı University, Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul Technical University Taskisla Campus, Koc University and Kocaeli University are the education and research facilities mentioned by the survey participants. According to the survey analysis, engagement of creative labor with the universities is not at an optimum level in the three research areas in Istanbul. Although the area of Levent – Maslak is near campuses of the most priveleged universities such as ITU, YTU, Bilgi University, MEF University, Koc University Istinye Campus, only 29% of the research participants are engaged with universities for the case of Levent – Maslak. In fact, the emphasis on universities, acting like a ‘knowledge factory’ that boosts knowledge and technology, and then transfers it to the public and private sectors through technology-transfer centers, incubators, R&D institutions, university-industry partnerships, commercialization programs and spin-off firms is highly important for the urban setting that the creative labor locates. As

mentioned in the literature, the interactions of the universities with firms and other institutions contribute to a vivid environment for creativity and innovation based economic development (Gertler and Vinodrai, 2004). Secondly, creative labor being in contact with the universities means that they also have the potential to be in contact with the potential high quality human capital in a region, as Faggian and McCann (2006, 2009) argue. In this way, it is possible to derive the conclusion that creative economic ecosystem of Istanbul including creative labor in close contact with those education and research facilities, hence with the highly skilled labor pool is crucial in terms of knowledge spillovers and innovative opportunities. Creative labor in Istanbul needs to stay connected and proximate to the research and education facilities, both because of their knowledge spillover effects and their potential of providing skilled creative labor to the creative industries. Furthermore, as Florida (2002b) highlights in his creative class and creative city theory, an urban environment with education and research facilities and higher human capital level constitutes the kind of a creative and cultural setting that highly educated creative labor will seek when making a locational choice. Accordingly, presence of these qualified universities in Istanbul, and generating effective and long-term strategies to increase the engagement of the creative labor with these universities is crucial.

In the questionnaire, the survey participants were asked to rate the effectuality of the proximity of education and research facilities to their home and work separately. In Figure 3.52, it is possible to analyze that 66,7% of the survey participants who evaluated the proximity of education and research facilities to their home as 5 (highly effective) also rated the effectuality of the proximity of these activity centers to their work 5 (highly effective). The interpretation for this analysis is that the proximity of these urban services to where the creative workers work is as important as the proximity to where they live; and just like art and cultural activity centers, education and research facilities might be a part of after-work activities that constitute a great part of the economic and innovative practices of the creative labor.

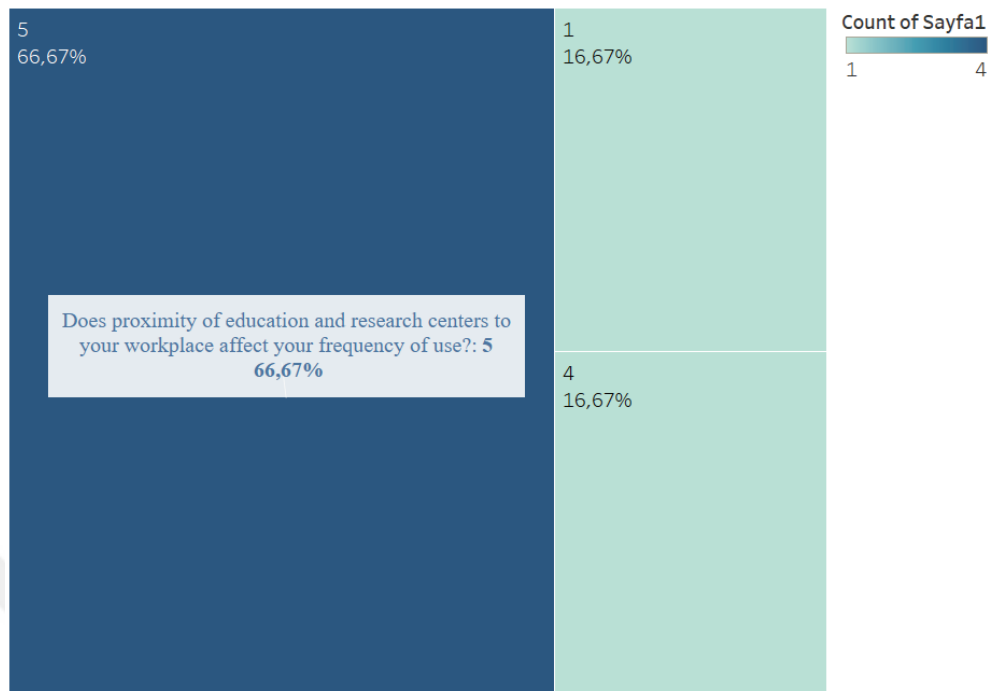


Figure 3.52. The Effect of Proximity of Education and Research Facilities to Workplace for the Survey Participants Who Rate the Effectuality of them to Home as High

Evaluating the adequateness of spatial qualifications of these education and research facilities as urban services according to the survey results, there is a balance between the participants who evaluate the spatial qualifications as substantially adequate (Substantially: 4) and the ones that consider their spatial qualifications are adequate on a medium-level (Neutral: 3): with percentages of 28% each. 21% of the survey participants expressed that they find the spatial qualifications of education and research facilities completely adequate (Completely: 5) while 14% of them do not find these education and research facilities adequate at all (None: 1). Lastly, 10% of the survey participants consider the spatial qualifications of these education and research facilities as slightly adequate (Slightly: 2). The highest ratings for the adequacy of spatial qualifications of education and research facilities as urban

services especially accumulate in cases of Beyoglu and Levent – Maslak. For both cases of Beyoglu and Levent – Maslak, 50% of the survey participants consider the spatial qualifications of education and research facilities as completely adequate (Completely: 5). However, 75% of the survey participants who rate the education and research facilities as not adequate (Not adequate: 1) is in the case of Levent – Maslak. This analysis is important regarding that Levent – Maslak area is home to the campuses of many privileged universities such as ITU, YTU, Bilgi University, MEF University or Koc University; yet the adequacy of spatial qualifications of education and research facilities is found to be not adequate by the highest number of survey participants in this area compared to other cases of Beyoglu and Kadikoy.

3.4.3 Evaluation of Hard and Soft Factors in Istanbul

As mentioned in the previous sections of the chapter, the hard factors in the questionnaire comprise dimensions of housing, employment, education, safety, transportation and health whereas the soft factors include dimensions of tolerance and openness, leisure / entertainment opportunities, art and cultural activities and the city environment; referring to Murphy and Redmond (2009)'s classification. It is necessary to highlight that half of the creative workers who participated in the questionnaire lived in Istanbul for more than 16 years, meaning that they had enough time to evaluate the different factors with their experience of living in the city (Figure 3.53). The rest of the survey participants have a distribution such as 23% of them have been living in Istanbul between 6-15 years and 13% of this group of participants is highly important since their experiences in Istanbul (especially regarding hard factors such as housing, work opportunities and education) effects the sustainability

of their contributions in the urban creative economy throughout the following years of their career in creative sectors.

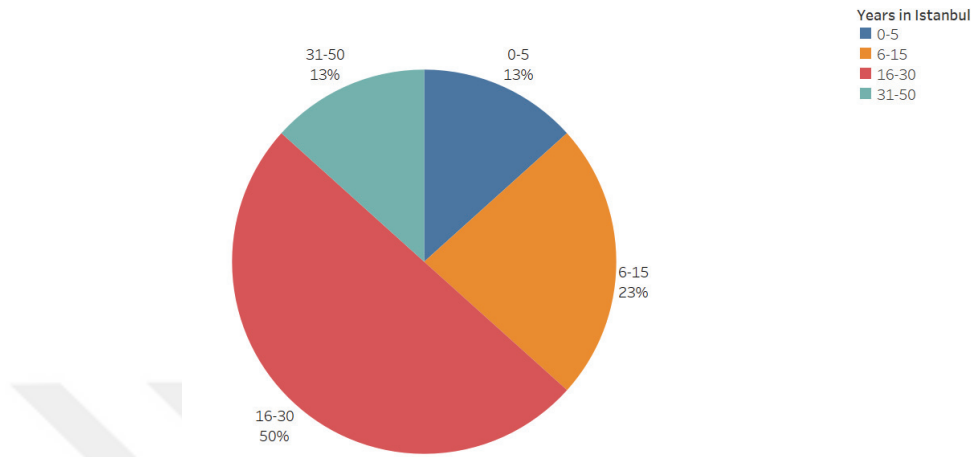


Figure 3.53. The Duration (Years) of Living in Istanbul for the Survey Participants

In the final part of the questionnaire, the survey participants are asked about the factors that caused their decision to live in Istanbul. As viewed in Figure 3.54, the questionnaire results demonstrate that, 35% of the survey participants has chosen Istanbul as a place to live due to “work opportunities”. At this point, it is crucial to include that all (100%) of the survey participants who have been living in Istanbul for less than 5 years mentioned “work opportunities” as a reason to choose Istanbul for living. This means that the work opportunities – which is also a “hard factor” in Murphy and Redmond (2009)’s classification – in Istanbul is a strong factor for especially newcomers among the creative workforce in the city. Apart from that, 27% of the survey participants has chosen Istanbul as a place to live because of family, 23% because of social environment, 12% for their love for the city, and 4% for education purposes. “Social environment” being a factor for 23% of the research participants shows that Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012)’s emphasis on social interaction arguing “social capital is a key feature of the creative labour market” is valid for the participants of this study. Among these percentages, the low percentage

for the factor of education opportunities deserves attention regarding that Istanbul is home to several of the most prestigious universities in Turkey, such as Bogazici University, ITU, YTU or Sabanci University to name a few; however, according to the results of this particular research, “education” is a reason to live in Istanbul for only 4% of the survey participants.

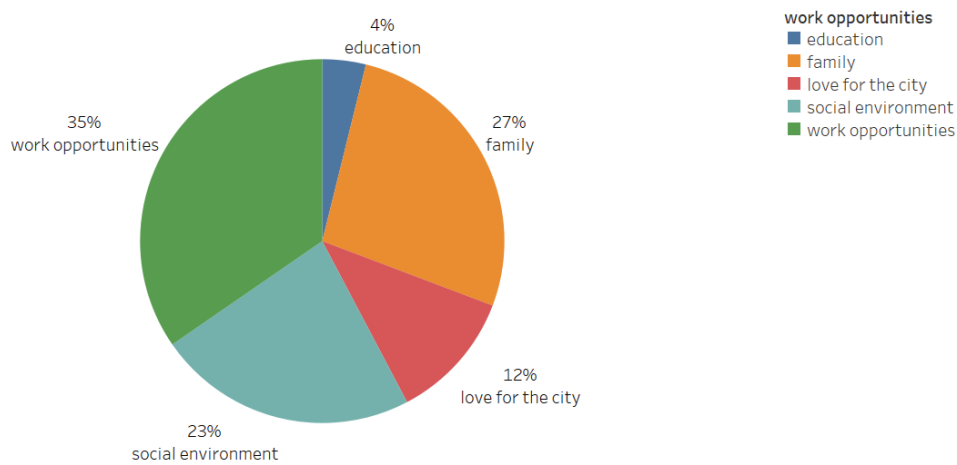


Figure 3.54. The Reasons of Choosing Istanbul as a Place to Live for the Survey Participants

As presented in Table 3.5 in the previous sections of the chapter, the average values of the evaluations of “hard factors” in Istanbul show that the highest average value belongs to the adequacy of “work opportunities” in Istanbul with a number of 4,27. The “transport infrastructure” has the second highest average value among “hard factors”, as the average value for that factor is found to be 3,37 according to the survey results. The adequacy of “housing opportunities” in Istanbul is evaluated with an average value of 3,07 while the qualification and variety of “education” services are rated with an average value of 3,03. The qualification and variety of “health services” has an average value of 2,77. “Safety” in Istanbul is rated with the lowest average value as the survey participants evaluated this factor with a number of 2,43.

Considering these results for the newcomers, it is evaluated that for the participants living in Istanbul for less than 5 years, “housing opportunities” is not a highly rated factor in the city. 50% of the newcomers rate the adequacy of housing opportunities in Istanbul as “2” out of “5”, while 25% of them as “1” and 25% of them as “3”. This result shows that high rents in Istanbul remains to be a significant issue for the creative labor, especially the newcomers in Istanbul. These workers who step into any creative sector and try to maintain a career usually live in housing conditions that are not suitable for them, since they can only afford small flats if they need to stay close to the city center. Otherwise, they need to commute long distances to get to work or leisure activities in the central districts. At this point, it is necessary to also declare that “transport services” in Istanbul is found to be rated as highly adequate (5) according to 25% of the newcomers whereas 75% of them think that the transport infrastructure in the city is adequate (4).

As seen on the top section of Figure 3.55, when the participants of the survey are asked, to what extent if they see the urban development of Istanbul as positive, 52% of them rated “not positive” (1). 28% of the survey participants evaluated the urban development of Istanbul as “slightly positive” (4) whereas 10% of them rated “neutral” (3). Only 7% of the survey participants think that the urban development of Istanbul is “substantially positive” (4) and 3% of them rate the urban development of the city as “highly positive” (5). Moreover, when the survey participants are asked if they would like to play an active role in shaping the future of Istanbul if they had the opportunity, 90% of them said they would not. As seen on the bottom section of Figure 3.55, only 10% of them declared that they would like to contribute in playing an active role in shaping the future of Istanbul. These results demonstrate that in terms of governance, creative labor in Istanbul does not have the enthusiasm to be in an active position in terms of taking part in the decision-making processes that will shape the future of Istanbul.

Although the results of the questionnaire in terms of answers to questions about the urban development and governance issues, it is necessary to highlight that the data is collected just before the local governmental elections in 2019. The survey

participants in three locations in Istanbul, Levent – Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy, evaluated the urban development of the city according to the conditions of that time before the change of administration when the local administration of the ruling party, which lasted for 15 years, left its place to a new understanding of urban development including a creative, inclusive, sustainable, innovative and pluralistic perception.

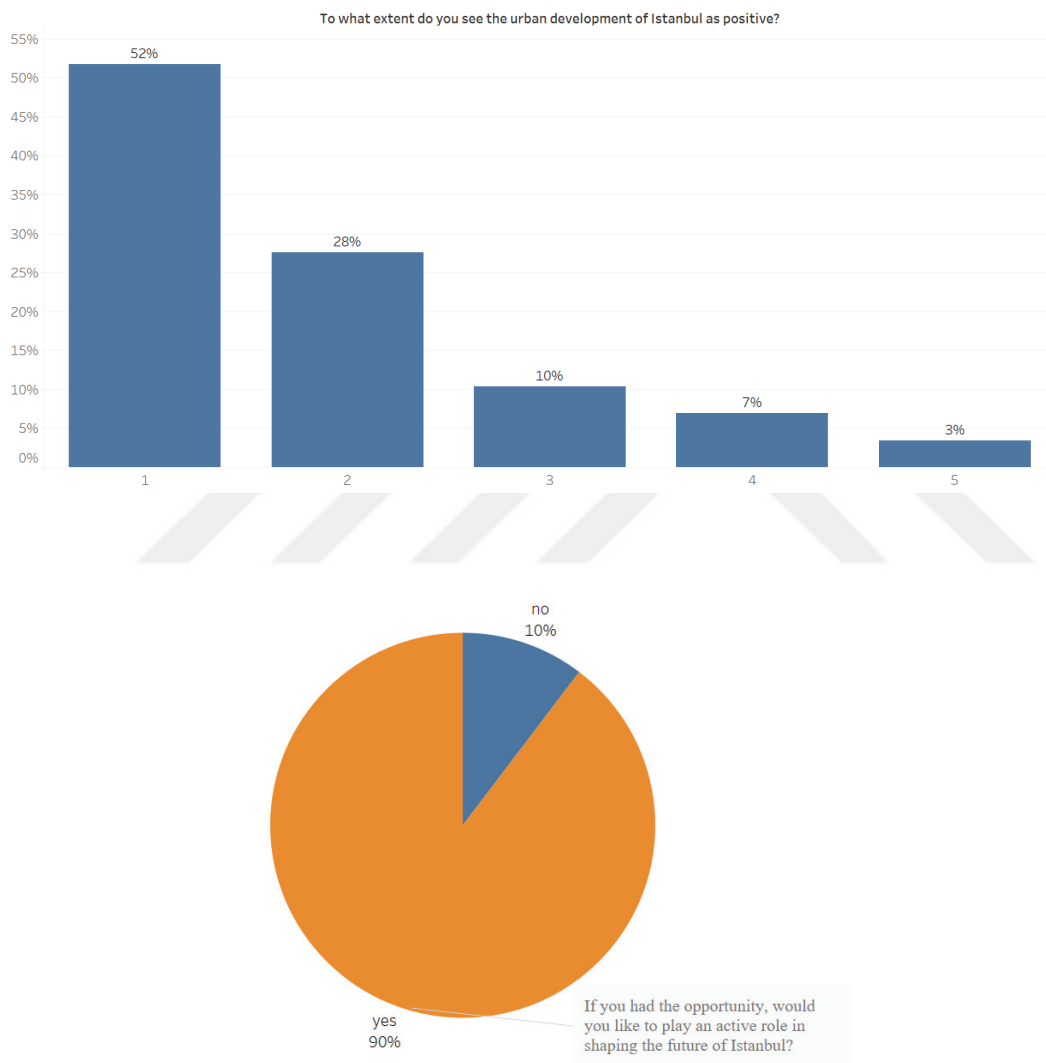


Figure 3.55. Evaluation of the Urban Development of Istanbul (top) and the Willingness of the Survey Participants to Take Part in Decision – Making Processes in Istanbul (bottom)

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Evaluation of the Case Study

The questionnaire consists of 3 main parts including the Work-related / Economic Practices (A), the Urban Services (B) and Hard and Soft Factors in Istanbul (C). The questionnaire includes 36 questions, in which multiple-choice type is used for 6 of the questions, 5-point Likert scale is used for 24 of the questions, and open-end style is used in 6 of the questions. All different types of questions are mixed in the three chapters of the questionnaire, depending on the data that is tried to be obtained.

Considering the first part of the questionnaire including questions about the work-related / economic practices of creative labor, a great majority of the creative workers in the study are found to have a formal work type, in contrast with the hypothesis of them being mostly freelancers. Creative labor in the survey evaluated their workplace type as mostly clustered, while they categorized their type of residence as dispersed in the city. In a sense, creative workers use the positive externalities of a clustered physical space such as interdisciplinary interaction and knowledge flow at work whereas they prefer intense, active and diverse urban environments to live.

The most used flexible workspace for the creative labor in the current study appears to be co-working spaces. As seen on Table 3.1, analyzing the data of three main locations in the city which are Levent – Maslak, Beyoglu and Kadikoy, home is the second most frequently used space for work, and public spaces are used the least frequently by the survey participants. For the case of Levent – Maslak, creative workers' use frequency of co-working spaces is found to be deriving from the factors such as the quality of the work environment, flexible hours of use, social interaction and meeting new people, existence of mutual spaces for meetings, proximity to home

and leisure activity centers, spatial flexibility, high level of knowledge flow, technological opportunities, interdisciplinary participation from different sectors, and boosting creativity and productivity. For a few workers in the case of Levent – Maslak, the low levels of use of co-working spaces is found to be caused by their need for an office setting for their specified work conditions and work location, and their necessity of production in community; so the reasons of low usage appear to be sector-specific. In case of Beyoglu, architectural awareness of historical texture and spatial characteristics of Istanbul and Beyoglu is found to be the primary motivation of creative workers for using co-working spaces, along with the factors of social interaction, relaxed and flexible work environment and working hours and need for space for meetings. In Kadikoy case, where there exist co-working spaces funded by local government, economic advantage, interdisciplinary participation, meeting new people, friendship and networking are found to be the reasons of creative workers' use of these spaces. When all cases are evaluated, it is seen that social interaction and proximity to people and networks is the primary reason why creative workers prefer co-working spaces.

Home is the second most frequently used flexible workspace according to this study, and although it becomes an economic sphere for both men and women, married female workers use home as a workspace more than men. Staying focused, extra working hours, technological hardware and avoiding waste of time in traffic are found to be the primary reasons why creative workers work from home. However, for some of the creative workers, lack of interaction and inspiration and unavailability for collective decision-making are also revealed as a reason of low frequencies of working from home.

Public spaces are found to be used the least, compared to home and co-working spaces, by the creative workers in the study. Working hour flexibility, being in the crowd, urban spatial texture, use for meetings and work emergencies out of office are found to be the reasons of creative workers for using public spaces as workspaces. However, over-crowdedness, noise and lack of concentration are stated

to be the reasons for low frequencies of working from public spaces for some of the creative workers.

The level of satisfaction of creative workers with their workplace and the environment surrounding their workspace is the highest in case of Beyoglu. As seen on Figure 3.39, the fact that the case of Beyoglu holds the greatest number of creative workers who evaluate both their workspace and the environment surrounding their workplace might be deriving from the historical identity and land use diversity of the district.

The assessment of creative workers' economic activities (production / dissemination / consumption / exhibition / networking) with particular locations in the city, as presented in Figure 3.40, exhibits that for some sectors such as advertising or publishing, the geographical assessment of the creative economic activities in the value chain are in a relatively small and closed circle of multiple locations, while the rest of the creative sectors show a widely spread geographical pattern of creative economic activity. Although the phases of exhibition, consumption or networking can be located in a single location or multiple locations in close proximity, the production and dissemination phases make the geographical pattern of value generation step outside the central locations and spread around the urban periphery. This might be deriving from the fact that economic value created in the creative industries is tied to additional activity in other sections of the economy, since these creative industries are in relationship with a diverse range of products, services, and skills-based businesses for different stages of the value creation process. It is also an important analysis to identify that for some of the creative sectors such as design, producing and engineering; creative economic activities are leaning towards grouping and districtualization. Nisantasi – Sisli and the area around Zorlu Center for design industries, the area of Maslak for the engineering sector and the area of Beyoglu for the sector of producing are the examples that show a pattern of significant districtualization in the current study.

The second part of the questionnaire investigated creative workers' interaction with the urban services that the city provides, including art and cultural infrastructure and education and research facilities. More than half of the creative workers declared that the variety and quality of the activities besides the use of home and work are highly important for them. Visiting art galleries, concerts and theatres are the most frequently mentioned art and cultural activities; while libraries, universities and internet are the most frequently mentioned education and research facilities according to creative workers in the study. For art and cultural activities, Zorlu Center holds the greatest variety of frequently participated activities, and Kanyon Mall, Beyoglu and Moda districts follow this mixed use activity center. For education and research facilities, on the other hand, there are no significant places that hold multiple activities or functions; and specific places are associated with specific purposes. SALT Galata and Ataturk Library hold the greatest majority of mentions with the use of libraries.

The effectuality of proximity of art and cultural activity centers and education and research facilities to creative workers' home and work are analyzed separately. It is evaluated that for art and cultural activity centers, proximity to home and work are both effectual on the creative workers' frequency of use, whereas proximity to home and work is not a factor when the access to education and research facilities is considered. Education and research facilities moving far from being spatially bounded with the effect of digitalization can be the reason for that situation. For art and cultural activities, also viewed in Figure 3.50, a great majority of the survey participants who evaluated the effectuality of proximity of art and cultural activity centers to their home as 5 (highly effective) also rated the effectuality of the proximity of these activity centers to their work 5 (highly effective). This means that the proximity of these urban services to where the creative workers work is as important as the proximity to where they live, since after-work events constitute a great part of the economic and social experiences of the creative labor. Although proximity is not an important factor for the use of education and research facilities, most of the creative workers who evaluated the effectuality of proximity of education

and research facilities to their home as 5 (highly effective) also rated the effectuality of the proximity of these activity centers to their work 5 (highly effective). This analysis can be interpreted as the proximity of these urban services to where the creative workers work is as important as the proximity to where they live; and just like art and cultural activity centers, education and research facilities might be a part of after-work activities.

The evaluation of creative workers whether art and cultural infrastructure and education and research facilities beneficial for the creative sector that they work in showed that they strongly think that they are, for both of the urban services. Creative labor in this study also find the spatial qualifications of both art and cultural activity centers and education and research facilities adequate. The highest ratings for the adequacy of spatial qualifications of education and research facilities as urban services especially accumulate in cases of Beyoglu and Levent – Maslak, while Beyoglu holds the greatest percentage of creative workers who consider the spatial qualifications as completely adequate for art and cultural activity centers as well.

According to the survey analysis, engagement of creative labor with the universities is not at an optimum level in the three research areas in Istanbul. Although the area of Levent – Maslak is near campuses of the most priveleged universities such as ITU, YTU, Bilgi University, MEF University, Koc University Istinye Campus, only 29% of the research participants are engaged with universities for the case of Levent – Maslak.

In the third part of the questionnaire, hard (housing, employment, education, safety, transportation and health) and soft (tolerance and openness, leisure / entertainment opportunities, art and cultural activities and the city environment) factors in Istanbul are evaluated by the survey participants. The half of the creative workers who participated in the questionnaire lived in Istanbul for more than 16 years, meaning that they had enough time to evaluate the different factors with their experience of living in the city. Considering the “hard factors” in Istanbul, the highest average

value belongs to the adequacy of “work opportunities” while “safety” is rated with the lowest average value.

All of the survey participants who have been living in Istanbul for less than 5 years mentioned “work opportunities” as a reason to choose Istanbul for living, which means that the work opportunities – also a “hard factor” in Murphy and Redmond (2009)’s classification – in Istanbul is a strong factor for especially newcomers among the creative workforce in the city. Also for the newcomers, “housing opportunities” is not a highly rated factor in the city. 50% of the newcomers rate the adequacy of housing opportunities in Istanbul as “2” out of “5”, while 25% of them as “1” and 25% of them as “3”. This result shows that high rents in Istanbul remains to be a significant issue for the creative labor, especially the newcomers in Istanbul. These workers who step into any creative sector and try to maintain a career usually live in housing conditions that are not suitable for them, since they can only afford small flats if they need to stay close to the city center. Otherwise, they need to commute long distances to get to work or leisure activities in the central districts. At this point, it is necessary to also declare that “transport services” in Istanbul is found to be adequate for most of the newcomers.

The majority of the creative workers in the research interpreted the urban development of Istanbul as “not positive”, and a great majority of them stated that they would not like to play an active role in shaping the future of Istanbul if they had the opportunity. Considering the notion of governance, creative labor in Istanbul does not seem to have the enthusiasm to be in an active position in terms of taking part in the decision-making processes; but it is also necessary to highlight that the data is collected just before the local governmental elections in 2019. Creative labor in the study evaluated the urban development of the city according to the conditions of that time before the change of administration when the local administration of the ruling party, which lasted for 15 years, left its place to a new understanding of urban development including a creative, inclusive, sustainable, innovative and pluralistic perception.

4.2 Implications for Urban Planning

As data accessibility and mobility has expanded beyond limits in today's cities, creativity has emerged as one of the most significant growth and development factors that that will turn knowledge into value, and become the leading competitive aspect that distinguishes countries and cities. Consequently, the role of sectors centered on these notions of knowledge and creativity is expanding at the local, national, and global levels (Florida, 2002b). In such a context, the importance of creative industries and the creative labor for economic and social growth of cities has become more significant considering the geographic location decisions that surround these industries, and the human capital the creative labor provides the urban locations they live and work in.

Creative industries continue to shape the practices and spatial characteristics in urban areas, and this research presents a stratified section. With the extension of working practices beyond fixed location due to digitalization, the spatial dynamics of work change for the creative labor and different spatial articulations in the city sphere gains economic value with the generation of new economic activity. The historic link "between where people live and where they work" is being challenged by remote work from home, co-working spaces and public areas. Thus, investigating the new work practices of the creative labor along with their spatial interrelations in the city will contribute in planning urban areas in which they can live, work, explore and create sustainably. In the future, considering that even more creative workers are projected to be working remotely, new articulations of urban spaces might be the focus of policy-makers, that will meet the needs and work-life-play patterns of them. Smaller cities, suburbs, or rural locations with outdoor facilities may attract creative workers with families, while "ambitious young professionals fresh out of college or graduate school" may flock to urban hubs for entry-level positions and social life. Given that more than half of newly remote workers want a much cheaper housing, new spatial articulations of work could provide them with more options.

From an urban planning perspective, the focus shifts “from luring companies to luring talent with services and amenities” when people work flexibly (Ozimek and Florida, 2021). As the creative workers in the study demanded, local governments will be expected to invest more cost-effectively in things like education and innovation centers, public services, vibrant art and cultural infrastructure, parks and green spaces, safer streets, transit-oriented and walkable neighborhoods to attract remote workers; instead of “using tax abatements, zoning variances, and direct grants to persuade big companies to locate their factories, warehouses, branch offices in their cities” (Ozimek and Florida, 2021). The competition for talent is expected to shift over time to regions that offer “the best combination of quality of life, affordability, and creative/innovative ecosystems” (Ozimek and Florida, 2021). Because of the emergence of flexible and remote working, local governments will change their economic development priorities away from providing large companies incentives and toward investing in and improving a community's quality of life. Communities' tax bases will rise as a result of attracting more creative workers, allowing them to improve education, art, and other services, which will benefit everyone. In such a shift, companies will come to these cities, too. Thus, it becomes clear that a better, more virtuous economic development cycle is possible. Moreover, with the rise of the trend of working from home, the viability of long-established central business districts in metropolitan areas will also be challenged. It will no longer be necessary to rent office towers for creative workers for the most part. According to Ozimek and Florida (2021), those “office districts are projected to see a decline nearly as 20% to 30% in post-pandemic demand for space”. Municipalities and governments will adopt urban strategies concentrating on these new formations as the creative industries turn human capital, culture, and creativity into economic resources while also increasing international awareness and improving the city's image.

4.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

Since the study is conducted just before the pandemic, the data obtained represents the conditions and work practices of that time period. After the pandemic, the notion of remote work became even more present in most of the creative workers' lives; so the frequencies of working in different flexible work settings such as home, co-working areas and public spaces would change dramatically if the questionnaire was conducted in post-pandemic period of time. Moreover, the fact that the lockdown made many urban services unavailable – such as art and cultural activities and education and research facilities – because of the lack of physical contact, the spatial assessments of them possibly became less space-bounded after the pandemic. Therefore, the study can be re-evaluated with the new data obtained in post-pandemic period.

Another limitation of the study is that; since the survey questions are asked in one-to-one meetings with the participants and the survey content is detailed and comprehensive, visiting co-working spaces are determined to be the most time-effective way to interact with the creative labor. However, limited places of collective work could be visited in the 3 key areas of Istanbul. If a bigger number of places could be visited to expand the sample size, different results could be obtained.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T. W. (1991). On the fetish character in music and the regression of listening. *The culture industry: Selected essays on mass culture*, 29-60.
- Akın, N. (1998). 19. Yüzyılın İkinci yarısında Galata ve Pera [Galata and Pera in the Second Half of the 19th century], Literatür Yayıncılık: İstanbul.
- Allen, K., Quinn, J., Hollingworth, S. and Rose, A. (2013) Becoming employable students and 'ideal' creative workers: exclusion and inequality in higher education work placements, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34:3:431-452.
- Asheim, B., & Clark, E. (2001). Creativity and cost in urban and regional development in the 'new economy'. *European Planning Studies*, 9(7), 805-811.
- Audretsch, D. B., & Feldman, M. P. (1996). Innovative clusters and the industry life cycle. *Review of industrial organization*, 11(2), 253-273.
- Australia. (1994). *Creative nation: Commonwealth cultural policy*. Department of Communications and the Arts.
- Bain A.L. and McLean H. (2013). The artistic precariat. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 6(1): 93–111.
- Banerjee, T. (2001). The future of public space: beyond invented streets and reinvented places. *Journal of the American planning association*, 67(1), 9-24.
- Banks, M., Lovatt, A., O'connor, J., & Raffo, C. (2000). Risk and trust in the cultural industries. *Geoforum*, 31(4), 453-464.

- Banks, M., & Hesmondhalgh, D. (2009). Looking for work in creative industries policy. *International journal of cultural policy*, 15(4), 415-430.
- Banks, M., & O'Connor, J. (2017). Inside the whale (and how to get out of there): Moving on from two decades of creative industries research. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 20(6), 637-654.
- Bathelt, H., Malmberg, A., & Maskell, P. (2004). Clusters and knowledge: local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation. *Progress in human geography*, 28(1), 31-56.
- Baum, T. (2020). Changing employment dynamics within the creative city: Exploring the role of 'ordinary people' within the changing city landscape. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 41(4), 954-974.
- Becattini, G. (1990). The Marshallian Industrial District as a Socio-Economic Notion. In Frank Pyke, Giacomo Becattini and Werner Sengenberger, eds., *Industrial Districts and Inter-Firm Cooperation in Italy*. Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies, pp.37-51.
- Becattini, G. (2002). Industrial Sectors and Industrial Districts. Tools for Industrial Analysis. *European Planning Studies* 10(4), pp.483-494.
- Blair, H. (2009). Active networking: action, social structure and the process of networking. *Creative labour: Working in the creative industries*, 116-134.
- Boschma, R. A. (2005). Does geographical proximity favour innovation?. *Économie et institutions*, (6-7), 111-128.
- Botsman, R. & Rogers, R. (2011). *What's mine is yours*. Collins, New York.
- Brennan-Horley, C. (2010). Multiple Work Sites and City-wide Networks: a topological approach to understanding creative work. *Australian Geographer*, 41(1), 39-56.

- Brinks, V., & Schmidt, S. (2015). Global knowledge communities in temporary spaces. *Transience and Permanence in Urban Development*, University of Sheffield.
- Brown, J. (2017). Curating the “Third Place”? Coworking and the mediation of creativity. *Geoforum*, 82, 112-126.
- Buitrago Restrepo, F., & Duque Márquez, I. (2013). The orange economy: An infinite opportunity. *Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank*.
- Capdevila, I. (2013). Knowledge dynamics in localized communities: Coworking spaces as microclusters. *Available at SSRN 2414121*.
- Castells, M. (1989). *The informational city: Information technology, economic restructuring, and the urban-regional process* (p. 24). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Caves, R. E. (2000). *Creative industries: Contracts between art and commerce* (No. 20). Harvard University Press.
- Chuah, V. (2016). *Beyond the core: The role of co-working spaces in local economic development* (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University).
- Clark, T.N. (2004) *The city as an entertainment machine*. Elsevier Ltd, Oxford.
- Clifton, N., Crick, T., & Fuzi, A. (2016). NEMODE Network+ 3K Open Call Final Report: New Economic Models for, and from, Co-Working. *Retrieved*, 2, 2018.
- Comunian, R., & Faggian, A. (2014). Creative graduates and creative cities: exploring the geography of creative education in the UK. *International journal of cultural and creative industries*, 1(2), 19-34.

- Costa, P. (2008). Creativity, innovation and territorial agglomeration in cultural activities: the roots of the creative city. *Creative cities, cultural clusters and local economic development*, 183-210.
- Coworker.com. (n.d.). Retrieved 12 July 2021, from <https://www.coworker.com/>
- Currid, E. (2007). "How Art and Culture Happen in New York." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 73 (4): 454–467.
- Daniel, E.M., Di Domenico, M. and Sharma, S. (2014), 'Effectuation and home-based online business entrepreneurs', *International Small Business Journal*, online first.
- DCMS, GB Department of Culture, Media, and Sport. (1998). *Creative Industries: Report of the Creative Industries Task Force*, London: DCMS. Retrieved October 20, 2020, from <http://www.culture.gov.uk>.
- DCMS, GB Department of Culture, Media, and Sport. (2008). *Creative Britain, New Talents for the New Economy*, London: DCMS. Retrieved October 20, 2020, from <http://www.culture.gov.uk>.
- Dear, M. (2000). *The Postmodern Urban Condition*. Oxford UK: Blackwell.
- Dear, M. (2001). *From Chicago to LA: Revisioning Urban Theory*. London: Sage.
- Deloitte (2019). *Cultural and Creative Sectors Introduction*, Bogota. Retrieved April 22, 2021, from https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/co/Documents/finance/Art_Finance%20-%20Creative%20industries%20-%20version%20v6.pdf.
- Demir, O. (2018). Looking forward for Istanbul's creative economy ecosystem. *Creative Industries Journal*, 11(1), 87-101.

- Deskmag (2018). The 2018 state of coworking spaces. Available at: <http://www.deskmag.com/en/the-state-of-coworking-spaces-in-2018-market-research-development-survey> (accessed 26 April 2020).
- Di Marino, M., & Lapintie, K. (2015). Libraries as transitory workspaces and spatial incubators. *Library & Information Science Research*, 37(2), 118-129.
- Drake, G. (2003). “‘This Place Gives Me Space’: Place and Creativity in the Creative Industries.” *Geoforum* 34 (4): 511–524.
- Duberley, J. and Carrigan, M. (2012), ‘The career identities of “mumpreneurs”: women’s experiences of combining enterprise and motherhood’, *International Small Business Journal*, 31(6), 629–651.
- Eikhof, D. R., & Warhurst, C. (2013). The promised land? Why social inequalities are systemic in the creative industries. Employee relations.
- Ekdi, F. P. Ö., & Çıracı, H. (2015). Cultural/creative industries in Istanbul: Beyoğlu case. *A|Z ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 12(1), 67-82.
- Enlil, Z. M., Evren, Y., & Dincer, I. (2011). Cultural triangle and beyond: a spatial analysis of cultural industries in Istanbul. *Planning, Practice & Research*, 26(2), 167-183.
- Eraydin, A. (2013). “Resilience Thinking” for Planning. In *Resilience thinking in urban planning* (pp. 17-37). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Erbas, A. E. (2013). Central business district planning and the sustainable urban development process in Istanbul. *The Sustainable City VIII (2 Volume Set): Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, 179, 169-179.
- Ettlinger, N. (2003). Cultural economic geography and a relational and microspace approach to trusts, rationalities, networks, and change in collaborative workplaces. *Journal of economic geography*, 3(2), 145-171.

- Evans, G., & Shaw, P. (2004). The contribution of culture to regeneration in the UK: a review of evidence: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Evren, Y., & Enlil, Z. (2012). Towards a creative city? Problems and prospects of Istanbul's creative sectors. *Pioneering Minds Worldwide: On the Entrepreneurial Principles of the Cultural and Creative Industries*.
- Faggian, A., & McCann, P. (2006). Human capital flows and regional knowledge assets: A simultaneous equation approach. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 58(3), 475-500.
- Faggian, A., & McCann, P. (2009). Human capital, graduate migration and innovation in british regions. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 33, 317-333.
- Fast, K., Örnebring, H. and Karlsson, M. (2016) Metaphors of free labor: A typology of unpaid work in the media sector. *Media, Culture & Society* 38(7): 963–978.
- Felstead, A. (2012). Rapid change or slow evolution? Changing places of work and their consequences in the UK. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 21, 31-38.
- Fields, D., & Uffer, S. (2016). The financialisation of rental housing: A comparative analysis of New York City and Berlin. *Urban Studies*, 53(7), 1486-1502.
- Florida, R. (2002a). Bohemia and economic geography, *Journal of Economic Geography*, 2, 55–71.
- Florida, R. (2002b). The rise of the creative class. Revisited. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Florida & Tinagli (2004). Europe in the creative age. Demos. February 2004.

Florida, R. (2005). *Cities and the creative class*. Routledge.

Florida, R. (2014). The creative class and economic development. *Economic development quarterly*, 28(3), 196-205.

Fuzi, A., Clifton, N., & Loudon, G. (2015, June). New spaces for supporting entrepreneurship? Co-working spaces in the Welsh entrepreneurial landscape. International Conference for Entrepreneurship, Innovation and Regional Development.

Gandini, A., & Cossu, A. (2021). The third wave of coworking: 'Neo-corporate' model versus 'resilient' practice. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 24(2), 430-447.

Gertler, M.S. & Vinodrai, T. (2004), Anchors Of Creativity: How Do Public Universities Create Competitive and Cohesive Communities? Paper presented at "Building Excellence: Graduate Education and Research", A conference sponsored by the University of Toronto, 4 December 2004, [http://www.utoronto.ca/progris/pdf_files/Anchors of creativity - Dec 4 2004.doc](http://www.utoronto.ca/progris/pdf_files/Anchors%20of%20creativity%20-%20Dec%204%202004.doc)

Gertler, M. S., & Levitte, Y. M. (2005). Local nodes in global networks: the geography of knowledge flows in biotechnology innovation. *Industry and Innovation*, 12(4), 487-507.

Gertler, M. (2008). The invention of regional culture. In *The Cultural Geography Reader* (pp. 451-459). Routledge.

Gill, R. (2002) Cool, creative and egalitarian? : exploring gender in project-based new media work in Europe, *Information, Communication and Society*, 5 (1) 70-89.

- Gill, R. (2014). Unspeakable inequalities: Post feminism, entrepreneurial subjectivity, and the repudiation of sexism among cultural workers. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 21(4), 509-528.
- Glaeser, E. L, Kallal, H. D., Scheinkman, J. A., and Shleifer, A. (1992) 'Growth of cities', *Journal of Political Economy*, 100, 1126–1152.
- Grabher, G. (2001). Ecologies of creativity: the Village, the Group, and the heterarchic organisation of the British advertising industry. *Environment and planning A*, 33(2), 351-374.
- Graphcommons. (2017). ATÖLYE Community. Retrieved August, 8, 2021 from <https://graphcommons.com/stories/ad9f0cf2-a529-457e-9ac2-bb59d09917c8>
- Greater London Authority . (2019). (publication). *Creative Supply Chains Study*. London, UK.
- Grodach, C. (2013). Cultural economy planning in creative cities: Discourse and practice. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(5), 1747-1765.
- Grugulis, I., & Stoyanova, D. (2012). Social capital and networks in film and TV: Jobs for the boys?. *Organization studies*, 33(10), 1311-1331.
- Hall, P. (2000). Creative Cities and Economic Development. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 37, No.4, pp.639-649.
- Hanson, S., & Pratt, G. (1988). Reconceptualizing the links between home and work in urban geography. *Economic geography*, 64(4), 299-321.
- Hanson, S., & Pratt, G. (1992). Dynamic dependencies: A geographic investigation of local labor markets. *Economic Geography*, 68(4), 373-405.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A. (2001). *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harvey, D. (2002). The art of rent: Globalization, monopoly and the commodification of culture. *Socialist Register*, 93-110.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2012). *The cultural industries*. London, England: SAGE.

Horkheimer, M., & Adorno, T. W. (1972). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*: Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno. Seabury Press.

Howkins, J. (2007). *The creative economy: How people make money from ideas*/howkins J.

Hutton T (2016) *Cities and the Cultural Economy*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire, and New York: Routledge.

Insch, A., & Florek, M. (2008). A great place to live, work and play: Conceptualising place satisfaction in the case of a city's residents. *Journal of place management and development*.

Kerimoglu, E. & Gezici, F. (2011). CREATIVITY, CULTURE AND TOURISM TRIANGLE; AN EVALUATION OF TWO CITIES: BARCELONA AND ISTANBUL.

Kerimoğlu, E. & Güven - Güney, B. (2018), 'İstanbul'da Yaratıcı İşgücünün Eğitimi ve Endüstri Pratikleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme', *Sosyoekonomi*, 26 (37), pp. 57–80. <https://doi.org/10.17233/sosyoekonomi.2018.03.03>

Koutsari, M., Antonopoulou, E., & Chondros, C. (2019). The urban creative factory-creative ecosystems and (im) material design practices. *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts*.

- Rausell Köster, P., & Abeledo Sanchis, R. (2020) MAIN CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CULTURAL AND CREATIVE ACTIVITIES AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SPACE.
- Landry, C., & Bianchini, F. (1995). The creative city Demos. *Comedia, London*.
- Landry, C. (2000) The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators. Comedia, London.
- Landry, C. (2012). *The creative city: A toolkit for urban innovators*. Earthscan.
- Lazzeretti, L., Boix, R. and Capone, F. (2008). Do Creative Industries Cluster? Mapping Creative Local Production Systems in Italy and Spain. *Industry and Innovation*. Vol. 15, No. 5, pp.549-567.
- Lazzeretti, L., Capone, F. and Seçilmiş, İ.E. (2014), ‘Türkiye’ de Yaratıcı ve Kültürel Sektörlerin Yapısı’, *Maliye Dergisi*, 1 (116), pp. 195–220.
- Liegl, M. (2014). Nomadicity and the care of place—on the aesthetic and affective organization of space in freelance creative work. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)*, 23(2), 163-183.
- Lloyd, R. (2004). The neighborhood in cultural production: Material and symbolic resources in the new bohemia. *City & Community*, 3(4), 343-372.
- Lysgård, H. K. (2012). Creativity, culture and urban strategies: A fallacy in cultural urban strategies. *European Planning Studies*, 20(8), 1281-1300.
- Malizia, E. (2014). Point of View: Office Property Performance in Live-Work-Play Places. *Journal of Real Estate Portfolio Management*, 20(1), 79-84.
- Marshall, A. (1922). *Principles of Economics*, Mac Millan.

- Marshall, A. (1919). *Industry and Trade. A study of industrial technique and business organization; and of their influences on the conditions of various classes and nations.* London, Macmillan, First Edition.
- Martins, J. (2015). The extended workplace in a creative cluster: Exploring space (s) of digital work in silicon roundabout. *Journal of Urban Design*, 20(1), 125-145.
- Mason, C.M., Carter, S. and Tagg, S. (2011), 'Invisible businesses: the characteristics of home-based businesses in the United Kingdom', *Regional Studies*, 45, 625–639.
- Mathur, V. K. (1999). Human capital-based strategy for regional economic development. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 13(3), 203-216. doi: 10.1177/089124249901300301
- McKinlay, A. (2009). Creative labour: Content, contract and control. In *Creative labour: working in the creative industries*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- McNulty, R. H., Jacobson, D. R., & Penne, R. L. (1985). The economics of amenity: A policy guide to urban economic development. *Washington DC, Partners for Livable Places*.
- McRobbie, A. (2011). Reflections on feminism, immaterial labour and the post-Fordist regime. *New formations*, 70(70), 60-76.
- Merkel, J. (2015). Coworking in the city. *Ephemera*, 15 (2), 121-139. *Récupéré de* <http://www.ephemerajournal.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/contribution/15-1merkel.pdf>.
- Merkel, J. (2019). 'Freelance isn't free.' Co-working as a critical urban practice to cope with informality in creative labour markets. *Urban Studies*, 56(3), 526-547.

- Miles, I. (2009). Innovation, convergence and creative (service) industries. Paper presented at MOSTI – Service innovation seminar in Manchester Institute of Innovation Research. Retrieved from <http://www.slideshare.net/IanMiles/creativeindustries-innovation-and-digital-convergence>
- Molotch, H. (1996) LA as product: how design works in a regional economy. In A.J. Scott, and E. Soja (eds.), *The city: Los Angeles and urban theory at the end of the twentieth century*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 225–75.
- Mommaas, H. (2009). Spaces of culture and economy: Mapping the cultural-creative cluster landscape. In *Creative economies, creative cities* (pp. 45-59). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Montalto, Valentina & Moura, Carlos & Langedijk, Sven & Saisana, Michaela. (2017). The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor - 2017 Edition. 10.2760/58643.
- Montalto, Valentina & Moura, Carlos & Panella, Francesco & Alberti, Valentina & Saisana, Michaela. (2019). The Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor - 2019 Edition. 10.2760/257371.
- Montgomery, J. R. (1994). Planning for the night-time economy of cities. *Regenerating Cities*, 7(December), 32-39.
- Montgomery, J. (2003). Cultural quarters as mechanisms for urban regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising cultural quarters. *Planning, practice & research*, 18(4), 293-306.
- Moriset, B. (2013). Building new places of the creative economy. The rise of coworking spaces.
- Mould, O., Vorley, T., & Liu, K. (2014). Invisible creativity? Highlighting the hidden impact of freelancing in London's creative industries. *European Planning Studies*, 22(12), 2436-2455.

- Mould, O., & Comunian, R. (2015). Hung, drawn and cultural quartered: Rethinking cultural quarter development policy in the UK. *European planning studies*, 23(12), 2356-2369.
- Murphy, E., & Redmond, D. (2009). The role of 'hard' and 'soft' factors for accommodating creative knowledge: insights from Dublin's 'creative class'. *Irish Geography*, 42(1), 69-84.
- Neff, G. (2005). The changing place of cultural production: The location of social networks in a digital media industry. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 597(1): 134–152.
- Neff, G. (2013). *Venture labor: Work and the burden of risk in innovative industries*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Oakley, K., & O'Connor, J. (2015). The cultural industries: An introduction from culture to creativity—and back again?.
- O'Connor, J. (2000). The definition of the 'cultural industries'. *The European Journal of Arts Education*, 2(3), 15-27.
- OECD. (2005). *Culture and Local Development*. OECD Publications, Paris.
- Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The great good place. Cafés, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts, and how they get you through the day*. Paragon House, New York.
- ÖLGEN, B., & ÖZKER, S. (2020). HIGH-RISE BUILDINGS IN CULTURAL CODE OF ISTANBUL: BÜYÜKDERE AVENUE EXAMPLE.
- Oort, F. (2008). Philip Cooke and Luciana Lazzeretti (eds): *Creative Cities, Cultural Clusters and Local Economic Development* Edward Elgar. *J Cult Econ*, 32, pp.237-240.

- Ozimek, A. & Florida, R. (2021). How Remote Work Is Reshaping America's Urban Geography. Retrieved July 17, 2021, from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/how-remote-work-is-reshaping-americas-urban-geography-11614960100>
- Parlak, M., & Baycan, T. . (2020). The Rise of Creative Hubs in Istanbul. *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 27(1), 127-147. <https://doi.org/10.18778/1231-1952.27.1.06>
- Parrino, L. (2015). Coworking: assessing the role of proximity in knowledge exchange. *Knowledge Management Research & Practice*, 13(3), 261-271.
- Pessoa, J., Deloumeaux, L., & Ellis, S. (2009). *The 2009 Unesco Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS)*. UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- Porter. M. (1990). *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. Macmillan, London.
- Porter, M. (1998). Clusters and the New Economics of Competition. *Harvard Business Review*, 76, no. 6, pp.77-90.
- Pratt, A. C. (2002). "Hot Jobs in Cool Places. The Material Cultures of New Media Product Spaces: The Case of South of the Market, San Francisco." *Information, Communication & Society* 5 (1): 27–50.
- Pratt, A. C. (2011). An economic geography of the cultural industries. *The SAGE Handbook of Economic Geography*, 322-337.
- Pratt, A. C., & Hutton, T. A. (2013). Reconceptualising the relationship between the creative economy and the city: Learning from the financial crisis. *Cities*, 33, 86-95.
- Ramos, R. & Fonseca, F. (2010). An overview of the clusters policies in the North region of Portugal. EUNIP Conference. June 11, 2010.

Regional Development Plan. (2015). Istanbul : Istanbul Development Agency.

Reuschke, D., & Mason, C. (2015). Urban home-based businesses: how distinct are the businesses and their owners?. In *Entrepreneurship in Cities*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ross, A. (2009). Nice work if you can get it: Life and Labor in precarious times, New York: New York University Press.

Sassen, S. (1991). *Global city* (Vol. 2). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (2009). Cities today: A new frontier for major developments. ANNALS, AAPSS, 626, November 2009.

Scott, A. J. (1997). The cultural economy of cities. International journal of urban and regional research, 21(2), 323-339.

Scott, A. J. (2004). Cultural-Products Industries and Urban Economic Development: Prospects for Growth and Market Contestation in Global Context. Urban Affairs Review. Vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 461-490.

Selada, C., Cunha, I., Tomaz, E. (2012). Creative-Based Strategies in Small and Medium-Sized Cities: Key Dimensions of Analysis. Quaestiones Geographicae 31(4), pp.43-51.

Sennett, R. (2006). The culture of the new capitalism. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Siebert, S., & Wilson, F. (2013). All work and no pay: consequences of unpaid work in the creative industries. *Work, employment and society*, 27(4), 711-721.

- Sihvonen, T., & Cnossen, B. (2015). Not only a workplace. Reshaping creative work and urban space. *Observatorio*, 9, 47-69.
- Skillset, C. (2012). Employment census of the creative media industries. *London: Creative Skillset*.
- Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, C., & McKinlay, A. (2009). Creative industries and labour process analysis. *Creative labour: Working in the creative industries*, 3-28.
- Smith, J. (2012). Outsourcing, Financialisation and the Crisis. *International Journal of Management Concepts and Philosophy*, volume 6, numbers 1/2.
- Soja, E. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, Verso, London.
- Souliotis, N. (2013). Symbolic economy in the historic centre of Athens: Assessment and perspectives for new urban policies. In T. Maloutas, G. Kandilis, M. Petrou, N. Souliotis, (Eds.). *The centre of Athens as political stake*, 91-117. Athens: National Centre for Social Research.
- Spinuzzi, C. (2012). Working alone together: Coworking as emergent collaborative activity. *Journal of business and technical communication*, 26(4), 399-441.
- Storper, M. and Scott, A.J. (2009). Rethinking human capital, creativity and urban growth. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 9 (2), pp.147-167.
- Taylor, S. (2015). A new mystique? Working for yourself in the neoliberal economy. *The Sociological Review*, 63, 174-187.
- Throsby, D. (2001) *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge University Press.

- Throsby, D. (2008). The concentric circles model of the cultural industries. *Cultural trends*, 17(3), 147-164.
- Tokumitsu, M. (2015). Do what you love: and other lies about success & happiness. Simon and Schuster.
- UN. (2019) International Year of Creative Economy for Sustainable Development, 2021 : revised draft resolution. Retrieved April 27, 2021, from <http://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3835223>
- UNCTAD. (2004). Creative Industries and Development, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 11th session, Sao Paolo, 13–18 June. Retrieved April 20, 2021, from https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/tdxibpd13_en.pdf.
- UNCTAD. (2008). Creative Economy Report 2008. New York and Geneva: UNCTAD. Retrieved May 10, 2021, from https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditc20082cer_en.pdf.
- UNCTAD. (2010). Creative Economy Report 2010. Creative Economy: A Feasible Development Option. Retrieved May 10, 2021, from <http://unctad.org/en/pages/PublicationArchive.aspx?publicationid=946>
- UNESCO. (2006). Understanding creative industries. Retrieved May 10, 2021, from <https://www.icod.org/connect/features/post229.php#:~:text=The%20term%20cultural%20industries%20refers,a%20good%20or%20a%20service.>
- UNESCO. (2015). Cultural times: The first global map of cultural and creative industries (Publication). UNESCO. Retrieved April 27, 2021, from https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/cultural_times_the_first_global_map_of_cultural_and_creative_industries.pdf.
- Vorley, T. and Rodgers, P. (2014), ‘Home is where the business is: incidents in everyday life and the formation of home-based businesses’, *International Small Business Journal*, 32(4), 428–448.

- Waters-Lynch, J., Potts, J., Butcher, T., Dodson, J., & Hurley, J. (2016). Coworking: A transdisciplinary overview. *Available at SSRN 2712217*.
- Wheatley, D. (2020). Workplace location and the quality of work: The case of urban-based workers in the UK. *Urban Studies*, 0042098020911887.
- Wreyford, N. (2015) Birds of a feather: Informal recruitment practices and gendered outcomes for screenwriting work in the UK film industry. *The Sociological Review* 63(S1): 84–96.
- YEKON. (2015). İstanbul Yaratıcı Ekonomi Atölyesi Raporu. (Date Accessed: June 2021) <http://www.yekon.org/public/yaratıcı-ekonomi-atölyesi-raporu.pdf>
- Yigitcanlar, T., Baum, S., & Horton, S. (2007). Attracting and retaining knowledge workers in knowledge cities. *Journal of knowledge management*, 11(5), 6-17.
- Zukin, S. (1995). *The Culture of Cities*. London: Blackwell.
- Zukin, S. (2010). *Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban places*. Oxford, England & New York, NY: New York University Press.