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## Accessibility of privately owned industrial heritage sites: A multidimensional analysis of the Beykoz Kundura in Istanbul and the BaumwollSpinnerei in Leipzig

### Accessibilità degli spazi culturali di proprietà privata. Un'analisi multidimensionale del Beykoz Kundura a Istanbul e del BaumwollSpinnerei a Lipsia

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**Abstract.** The time-based characteristics of industrial heritage sites that are no longer useful for their original purposes make them important subjects of conflicting values through complex transformation processes. This complexity is further compounded when property ownership poses a challenge, as heritage ownership is often shared among various groups in society. People can experience and engage with shared ownership in several ways, including acquiring knowledge, visiting, enjoying, and inspiring. This research focuses on the concept of shared heritage ownership, specifically accessibility, and examines three subcategories: free access for wider public, semi-private, or semi-public uses for cultural visitors with admission charges, and private uses for tenants as new locals. This study examines two privately owned industrial heritage sites: the Beykoz Kundura in Istanbul, which was formerly a tannery, and the BaumwollSpinnerei in Leipzig, which was previously a cotton mill. Both sites have been transformed into cultural hubs and are recognised as exemplary models.

**Keywords:** Accessibility, Cultural property ownership, Public use, Private use, Semi-public use, Privately owned industrial heritage.

**Riassunto.** Le peculiarità intrinseche dei siti del patrimonio industriale li rendono suscettibili a dinamiche conflittuali durante i processi di trasformazione. Questi processi risultano ulteriormente complicati dalla complessa struttura della proprietà, che spesso coinvolge una pluralità di attori sociali. La partecipazione nella gestione condivisa dei beni culturali si manifesta in varie forme, tra cui l'acquisizione di conoscenze, la visita, il godimento e l'ispirazione. La presente ricerca si focalizza sul concetto di proprietà condivisa del patrimonio, con particolare attenzione all'accessibilità, distinguendo tra tre principali categorie: l'accesso gratuito per il pubblico, gli usi semiprivati o semipubblici con tariffe d'ingresso per i visitatori culturali e gli usi privati destinati ai nuovi residenti. La ricerca analizza due ex spazi industriali di proprietà privata: il Beykoz Kundura a Istanbul, precedentemente una conceria, e il BaumwollSpinnerei a Lipsia, un tempo cotonificio. Questi luoghi oggi operano come poli culturali e sono riconosciuti come modelli esemplari.

**Parole chiave:** accessibilità, fruizione, proprietà dei beni culturali, uso pubblico, uso privato, uso semi-pubblico.

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## 1. Introduction

The values of culture and heritage are typically framed in political terms in many cultural geographies. Over the course of the late 1980s and the 2000s, most cultural value definitions centred on two distinct themes. The first pertains to the instrumental aspect of culture, where culture is valued for its social and economic advantages, such as in urban renewal schemes and privatisation initiatives. The second theme revolves around the inherent characteristics of culture, including concepts such as *genius loci*, authenticity, and collective memory. After investigating these aspects of culture, the third dimension, namely the institutional nature of culture, is introduced, which deals with the management of values provided for public benefit (Holden, Hewison 2004; Holden 2004; Holden, Baltà 2012). Scholars have interpreted this dimension as the complex social value approach, which presents a multidimensional method for evaluating cultural values from the perspective of multiple actors (Coscia, Lazzari, Rubino 2018).

The significance of cultural heritage and tradition encompasses both mental and emotional aspects, such as preferences, which are analogous to evaluative processes, emotions, and sociocultural viewpoints that are often rooted in cultural interactions, the inherent nature of culture, and individual interpretations of culture (Tanaka 1972). It is also intimately connected to the concept of “sense of place”, which encompasses emotions, people, and the physical environment (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Eisenhauer et al., 2000; Jorgensen, Stedman 2011). Consumer preferences, in terms of engaging with or profiting from intrinsic values, play a crucial role in shaping the institutional nature of a culture that encompasses norms, regulations, and stakeholders with differing expectations. This extensive concept places greater emphasis on the intangible aspects of cultural assets rather than their material worth. It is considered a symbol of civilisation and a driving force behind cultural development. As a result, the cultural asset is regarded as a public entity, differentiating it from personal possession and promoting it as a means of shared enjoyment (Giannini 1976). Based on the human rights approach to cultural heritage (United Nations 2011), communities have the right to know, understand, enter, visit, make use of, maintain, exchange, develop, and benefit from cultural heritage as right holders. The question of how far accessibility in

cultural spaces can be extended and managed, particularly in cases where ownership issues pose a challenge, requires a thoughtful examination and assessment that focuses on the institutional nature of culture.

In this regard, there is a growing need to reconsider accessibility at various levels in cultural spaces, as individuals seek ways to interact with cultural heritage as a human right for various purposes. The notion of accessibility in urban studies was initially introduced by Hansen (1959), who defined it as the opportunity for an individual or group at a specific location to engage in a particular activity or set of activities. This article investigates the concept of accessibility in relation to cultural spaces as an essential human right, with a specific focus on privately owned industrial heritage sites that have been transformed as cultural hubs. The article delves into three sub-dimensions of accessibility, which are categorised based on user profiles, encompassing free access to the public (public uses), access for cultural enthusiasts with admission fees (semi-public or semi-private uses), and access for tenants as new locals (private uses).

This research evaluated these accessibility dimensions by employing two well-known best practices: the Beykoz Kundura in Istanbul, which was formerly a tannery and has since been expanded for shoe and leather production, and the Leipzig Spinnerei, which was previously a cotton mill. While these sites have been appreciated for their inclusive transformation, an examination of their accessibility based on visitors or users has revealed both strengths and weaknesses in specific sub-categories which provide invaluable insights for future initiatives. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First, accessibility is conceptualised in the context of heritage, particularly focusing on privately owned industrial heritage properties. This is preceded by the sources and methodology section, which is followed by the presentation of contexts and projects that aid in the interpretation of their narratives. Finally, the outcomes and results of the pair analyses are given, highlighting how accessibility is measured through these projects, and the limitations and issues are also provided for further framing the discussions and conclusions around accessibility to privately owned industrial heritage sites.

## 2. Multiple meanings of accessibility in the context of privately owned heritage sites

The decline in the global geographical landscape of production has led to an unparalleled crisis in worldwide industrial cities. The sudden de-industrialisation that

occurred dismantled the community networks of former working-class neighbourhoods and significantly transformed the local landscape (Tovar et al. 2011). In several cities, the process of recovering from the loss of major industries and transitioning to new urban economic models has been hindered or stagnant (Doucet 2010; Humphris, Rauws 2021). Cities and regions have diverse strategies for dealing with their industrial legacies and post-industrial landscapes. While some, like the Ruhr area in Germany, embrace them as part of their identity through heritagisation, others, such as Glasgow, erase their industrial past in favour of place branding and privatisation operations under the guise of heritagisation. The disparities between these geographical approaches are closely linked to their distinct public heritage policies, which are influenced by societal heritage perceptions and the policies of prominent actors (Richter 2017; Berger, Wicke 2017). The process of regenerating abandoned post-industrial spaces has been a topic of interest for several scholars, such as Bourne (1991) and Loures (2015), who contend that the transformation of these landscapes is an integral component of sustainability.

However, the practical application of these regeneration examples in real-world scenarios remains intricate and contentious, particularly for privately owned post-industrial landscapes. In their 2021 study, Humphris and Rauws explored the post-industrial landscapes through the lens of “edgelands”, adopted from Shoard (2000). They highlighted the disconnected and often overlooked characteristics of these areas within the city, as well as their unregulated and unplanned nature due to property ownership issues. The topic of cultural property ownership remains a subject of ongoing debate, with the 1954 Hague Convention first addressing it in the international legal sphere, particularly about illegally obtained or stolen cultural objects (Frigo 2004). The international legal framework acknowledges heritage as a human right. This recognition emphasises the significance of cultural heritage as a core element of human values and community-based relationships. In 2011, a report by an independent expert in cultural rights highlighted the importance of accessibility to cultural heritage in various forms, such as accessing, understanding, visiting, utilising, maintaining, exchanging, and developing it. Access to cultural heritage enables individuals to acquire knowledge and comprehend their culture and that of others through education, information, and entertainment. This right applies to the entire community and can be exercised independently or in collaboration with others by contributing to contemporary cultural values. (Report on the Right of Access to Cultural Heritage, UN Doc. A/HRC/17/38, par. 50; D'Addetta 2017).

This study aims to investigate privately owned industrial heritage sites, primarily by examining their accessibility for visitors and users. Privatisation was a key factor in the sustainable reuse of former industrial sites, and it was closely connected to the urban regeneration efforts that gained attention in the 1980s by utilising post-industrial landscapes as a source of contemporary economic development. In addition, the strategic position of the post-industrial landscapes that were constructed along the water and developed as waterfront settlements made them the main actors of these urban and waterfront regeneration and economic development implementations. Thus, privatisation was first applied in these places by involving a vast number of interests due to their high economic profits. Following this, post-industrial landscapes which were previously excluded from the definition of the culture due to their “dirty” association in people’s mindscapes, started to be reevaluated, privatised, and were presented as a part of local culture from the active industrial places to the industrial heritage places (Boyle, Hughs 1991; Richards, Wilson 2004; Berger, Wicke 2017).

During the 1980s, a significant portion of these cultural spaces was privatised, while some post-industrial landscapes were managed privately from the outset, such as family operated industrial sites. Accessibility plays a crucial role in these landscapes, as their accessibility levels can vary based on their new uses and management methods. In certain instances, when these properties are privatised through national laws, the transfer of ownership may include provisions for conservation and regeneration, as well as public access arrangements. However, one of the main challenges with these transfers is the lack of effective supervision of imposed conditions, which can result in conflicts between institutional or instrumental projects, potentially damaging the intrinsic values of cultural heritage. This difficulty is exacerbated by the subjective and complex nature of cultural values, as highlighted by Hooper et al. (2005), and constitutes a barrier to the broader public exercising their rights to heritage.

The valorisation of these heritage places and related regeneration projects had their earliest examples in Britain and the USA starting from the 1970s. Subsequently, heritage and cultural commodification have emerged as essential elements in the valorisation of post-industrial landscapes, often described as the “just add culture and stir” method (Gibson, Stevenson 2004). This approach seeks to establish connections between the individual and collective experiences of the past and a particular location, thereby fostering a sense of sociocultural identity within local communities (Mommaas 2002; Evans 2003). Additionally, it is beneficial to organise different

land-use areas for specific user groups depending on the dimensions of these cultural landscapes, offering different levels of accessibility. Despite this interest in the placemaking of former industrial sites where individuals experience their right to these cultural spaces through art and culture, the results and outcomes of these projects depend on their owners, experts, and actors of image creators, as well as policymakers during their realisation phases. Privately owned industrial heritage transformation projects provide an ideal context for exploring the concept of accessibility to cultural heritage in relation to human rights. These projects are often contested because of the discourse surrounding the right to heritage, which requires them to serve public benefits and incorporate new local tenants as newcomers.

Public value is often understood as the availability of objects or services to individuals in society. This study specifically refers to heritage as a collective identity asset that should benefit everyone equally, regardless of ownership status. This research examines ways to increase accessibility and benefit from privately owned properties, considering the challenges associated with private ownership. Accessibility to cultural heritage has been studied using various terms, such as physical, economic, sociocultural, digital, and information accessibility (D'Addetta 2017), as well as perceptual and appropriational accessibility (Deffner et al., 2015). Some researchers have focused on accessibility in socially disadvantaged areas, while others have considered users as socially disadvantaged individuals (Ashik et al., 2024). However, there is no clear information on how to track accessibility because the concept has multiple meanings. Based on this gap, this study redefines accessibility based on "land and user profile" and explores it in terms of public zones, which offer free access to all; semi-public or semi-private zones with admission fees; and private access for tenants or newcomers of privately owned industrial heritage sites.

### 3. Sources and methodology

Urban planning and heritage initiatives involve persuasive storytelling to shape the future (Ameel et al., 2023). By adopting a narrative approach as a sense-making tool (Weick, 1995), this study holistically employs various forms of narratives and stories to explore the transformation realities of the Beykoz Kundura and the Leipzig Spinnerei. These narratives, which relate to events, people, and heritage, help us understand the transformation process from one phase to another (Kaplan 1993; Walter 2013; Li 2014). In this research, the primary sources are

the narratives that are salient to the episodes in-itinere and post-privatisation of the selected cases. Fisher (1984) asserted that the meaning of a narrative is generated by the reader's standpoint. Thus, the narrative framework provided by the author serves as a subjective analytical roadmap for structuring the research methodology, definition of complex cultural values, and accessibility parameters to measure for a pair of cases.

Narrative sources were gathered from archival and desk research conducted from 2019 to 2021, aiming to uncover past institutional stories and selected values through governmental and local correspondence, as well as published and unpublished research. The author used these narratives to construct accessibility frameworks for heritage sites in the context of in-itinere and post-privatisation atmospheres. The second part of the narrative was based on the first part and was developed through extensive semi-structured interviews conducted in two phases between 2019 and 2020. Eleven interviews were conducted with specialists from diverse fields to gain a deeper understanding of the accessibility framework developed by the author for each project. The interviewees comprised two cultural and art directors from cultural hubs, a conservation expert specialising in industrial heritage, an architect operating in the private sector, two architects from the Chamber of Architects, an urban planner from the Chamber of Urban Planners, an academic involved in the conservation of cultural heritage, and a cultural policy developer from a cultural organisation, as well as two artists actively engaged in similar cultural hub initiatives. The interviewees were chosen based on their extensive knowledge of similar realities and their professional expertise, with the aim of gaining objective insights into the case studies. The integration of expert interviews revealed how the pre-

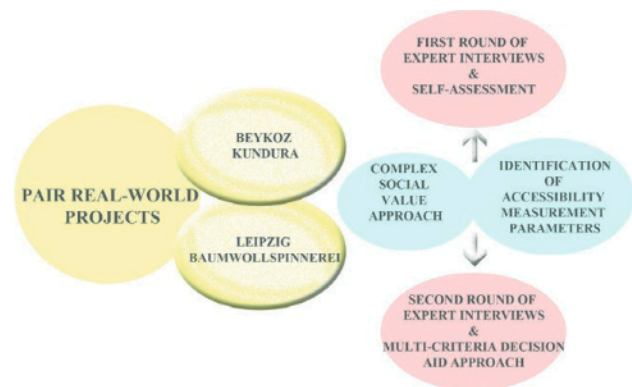


Figure 1. Proposed multi-methodological approach. Elaborated by Author.

existing “institutional” narratives influenced and shaped the management of accessibility to these heritage sites in various ways over several years.

To evaluate heterogeneous accessibility categories on pair examples, the Preference Ranking Organisation Method for Enrichment of Evaluations (PROMETHEE II) application, a widely used tool in multi-criteria decision aid (MCDA) (Brans 1982; Bottero et al., 2018), was utilised. This semi-quantitative method allows for mathematical pairwise comparisons of heterogeneous criteria, which can be assigned either quantitatively with weighted edges ranging from 1 to -1 or qualitatively with categories such as very low, low, medium, and high (Bottero et al., 2019). This feature enables a comprehensive assessment of complex systems with diverse attributes and multiple agents. This method can be utilised by both individual researchers and groups of experts to develop strategies based on contrasting chosen variables. In this study, the author employed this as a self-understanding method, weighting multiple chosen variables according to the second round of semi-structured expert interviews.

#### 4. Contexts: Making sense of the past episodes

##### 4.1. From Kundura to Cinema: The Beykoz Kundura in Istanbul

The Beykoz Kundura<sup>1</sup>, also known as the Beykoz Sümerbank<sup>2</sup> Industrial Campus, is a significant cultural representative in Turkey that has undergone various stages of industrialisation, modernisation, and globalisation. It was constructed as a tannery in 1810 and later reorganised in 1882 with the addition of shoe production facilities. The site was shaped by cross-cultural and cross-technological flows from other geographies to Istanbul, resulting in a series of handovers for different owners who managed the site. The industrial campus has a strategic location in the Bosphorus conservation area, making it a prime location for redevelopment. The campus has undergone an urban transformation process that began with privatisation and heritage preservation and continued with reindustrialisation phases (Yildiz 2022; Yildiz 2023).

Istanbul stands out as a unique entity among other industrial cities, unlike the German examples, where

industrial heritage has been integrated into the contemporary image. The most prominent institutional actors in Istanbul have never regarded the city's industrial layer as a crucial aspect of embracing its contemporary identity. Instead, they consistently prioritised the city's other qualities stemming from its multicultural and competitive past, interpreted and selected politically (see, for example, the concept of “Ottomentality” discussed by Erdem, 2017). This perspective has also influenced the city's industrial heritage, cultural heritage tourism policies, and the discourse surrounding the place narratives of post-industrial landscapes.

In Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, no specific policy has been implemented regarding post-industrial heritage sites. The definition of former cultural landscapes as tourism development zones or green designations is the only aspect highlighted in the master plans which also guides branding initiatives and thus place narratives. The Turkish cultural context encompasses a diverse array of heritagisation narratives regarding post-industrial landscapes, such as removal stories, transformation into museum-like spaces, and new cultural locales. In the 1980s, when branding was not yet widely recognised, the cleanup of the Golden Horn industrial zone on the European side of the Bosphorus had a significant place narrative that went beyond the area. After the Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Bureau designated the area as a green space between 1980 and 1986, various industrial heritage buildings were destroyed to create “green” imaginaries based on political rhetoric (Oc and Tiesdell 1994). In the years following these negative place narratives that operated behind the scenes with a bad representation of the concept of cultural tourism, there were numerous media expressions about former industrial areas, portraying them as massive holiday resorts and sites for tourism-related use.

From 1 January 1995 to 11 October 1999 certain industrial assets owned by Sümerbank were included in the government's privatisation program pursuant to the privatisation law. In two stages, in 1995 and 1999, council meetings were held, resulting in the decision to transfer all the Beykoz Kundura's immovable assets, covering a total area of 162,000 m<sup>2</sup> and 182,000 m<sup>2</sup> in two different lots, to Istanbul Technical University for the purpose of establishing a research centre for doctoral studies with specific research units that could be remotely controlled and synchronised with high-tech equipment. The initial step taken by the privatisation council, comprising the era's six ministers with their consent, was the first assize regarding the exemplar's privatisation process, which lasted until 2005, when the site achieved its current privatised status with its owner. This initial

<sup>1</sup> Kundura is the Turkish term for “shoe”.

<sup>2</sup> Sümerbank was founded in June 1933 as a state-centered Public Economic Enterprise which was considered one of the biggest Turkish state policies of the 1930s, prepared by Soviet and American experts (Okyar 1965, 101), aiming to look after the financing, construction, and operation of various industrial branches and to construct huge facilities for them in the whole of the country by incorporating them with the factories remained from the Ottoman era (Himam, Pasin 2012).

transfer decision marked the institutional transitional stage and aimed to fulfil the main intention of privatisation during that period to prevent social reactions. Certainly, as per the ruling made by the conservation board, there existed a legal pre-condition that mandated the creation of a “museum” and stipulated that one of the structures ought to be open to the public free of charge. The Beykoz Kundura offers an illuminating illustration of how this procedure was not effectively managed over an extended period until 2021.

These events stimulated the growth of numerous individual stories that were crucial in illustrating how outsiders perceived previous narratives and how these stories guided the accessibility of this heritage site. From the 2000s onwards, new industrial culture or new cultural industries have manifested within the post-industrial landscapes in Turkey, and the Beykoz Kundura is one of the prominent ones through its new life as a film plateau. The 2000s were a pivotal decade, as it was during this time that the former industrial site was privatised. This transfer brought together heritage activists dedicated to preserving and defending the area’s industrial heritage in response to the negative stories of removal that had occurred in Istanbul in the 1980s. Meanwhile, the film industry<sup>3</sup> faced challenges in producing new cultural products in Istanbul, owing to obstacles related to cultural tourism<sup>4</sup>, community issues, social and cultural factors, and urban challenges. In response, two important self-organised community initiatives emerged: the Istanbul Filmmaking Collective and the Kundura Memory Initiative.

<sup>3</sup> Filmmaking and film plateaus have become popular place making tools and effective cultural tourism strategies which necessitate the establishment of numerous conceptualised studios and extensive open spaces. These spaces must have the necessary artistic production equipment, ample storage for costumes, technical equipment, and catering areas, and accommodation for actors and workers in the industry. In addition, places for filmmaking should have a different and specific atmosphere integrated with greenscape, waterscape, urban, and architectural elements because of their strong relationship with visual preoccupation. Peri-urban regions, often referred to as fringe areas or post-industrial landscapes provide creative spaces that meet the evolving needs of filmmaking or other cultural quarters. They are generally positioned outside city centres within a transition area that includes both urban and rural forms to provide the necessary production process.

<sup>4</sup> Cultural heritage tourism, which may involve activities such as filmmaking or other forms of cultural intervention, encompasses not only visiting heritage sites, but also actively engaging in the day-to-day cultural and creative experiences of the local community (Richards 2019), resulting in cultural visitors benefiting from heritage through various means. Cultural visitors also include heritage and art enthusiasts (Smith, 2016); films, festivals, and event followers; and film-location enthusiasts who want to see famous film characters and landscapes in real life (Roesch 2009). In addition, there are not only tourists as consumers of a branded heritage place, but also previous communities, residents, investors, and businesses (Richards 2019).

The Istanbul Filmmaking Collective was born during “The Suskunlar” project, which was realised in the Fener, Balat districts in 2012. However, because of the various challenges faced in real urban settings, such as inner-city branding issues and additional illegal payment requests for cultural production, as well as difficulties in positioning filming equipment and the high level of interest of both locals and tourists in seeing film characters, the Suskunlar project was relocated to the Beykoz Kundura. These challenges led to the emergence of the Istanbul Filmmaking Collective, comprising film producers, actors, actresses, and film industry workers, who started to collect petitions for a change in inner-city filmmaking places. In addition, the Beykoz Kundura was recognised by several film producers, including Karadayi (2013), who showcased Istanbul in the 1970s. The project’s producer emphasised that the Beykoz Kundura provided valuable resources, such as the waterscape, urbanscape, and greenscape, which were essential for visualising the non-urbanised and rural aspects of contemporary Istanbul. Additionally, “Oyle Bir Gecer Zaman Ki” was a project animated in the 1960s in Istanbul, and the Beykoz Kundura was able to meet the project’s requirements, as inner-city areas were challenging with controlling the factors of real urban settings. The project’s producer highlighted the importance of the Beykoz Kundura as a logistical means of artificially designing and reconstructing the atmosphere of the inner city in the 1960s by engaging with the artists and designers of the region. Additionally, from the perspective of film producers, it is more practical and feasible to conduct the filmmaking profession in the Beykoz Kundura. These developments awakened the curiosity of the people to see the site by bringing the dimension of “public value” into the process. The site gained fame by attracting the attention of film producers and the filmmaking community of Istanbul.

Meanwhile, the organizational team of this private property was seeking to develop new activities that would prevent conflicts between public and private uses in the newly established life. In 2017, the first open-air cinema festival was held with the objective of utilising ‘cinema’ as a means of connecting with both the past and present, as well as fostering collective memory, in response to the growing interest in visiting the site from the wider public due to media and film communication. This event marked a significant development in the use of cinema as a tool for historical recall and social cohesion. This takes its motivation and background from the oral history project about the Sümerbank community that was conducted in 2015, the “cinema” was highlighted as one of the central activities for the former workers where their social life and working life were integrated.

Although the previous developments were positive steps for privately owned cultural property and its accessibility, new speculation arose focusing on free access to culture and heritage. This led to the establishment of the “Kundura Hafıza” - Kundura Memory as a non-profit cultural association, which was founded as a social media platform where members of the Sümerbank community could communicate and share their memories in the 2000s on a digital platform. Initially, the Kundura Memory's objective was to focus on the memory of the industrial site, aiming to disseminate cultural information through social media, allowing people to access it easily. However, the digital accessibility of the heritage site was not sufficient for the public. The rising prominence of the Beykoz Kundura led to its development of the Kundura Hafıza as a research centre, which subsequently expanded its membership to include curators, industrial heritage specialists, sociologists, pedagogues, and artists. Finally, one of the former buildings was transformed into a multifunctional exhibition space, which allowed visitors to explore the site without paying an admission fee. The space showcased a collection of industrial archaeological remains, machines, equipment, information, letters, objects, and photos that were either preserved or donated by the Sümerbank community. The exhibition was staffed by volunteer members of the community who provided guided tours to visitors. In addition, the exhibition unit also serves as an infrastructure for artists and different members of GLAM users for creative content. All these previous advancements resulted in a new cultural program, such as Vardiya sessions for artists to draw inspiration from the cultural values of the Beykoz Kundura and create artworks, and educational sessions for children to explore historic sites. Additionally, the cultural programme includes guided tours led by Sümerbank community volunteers, which enable visitors to learn about history through personal stories and firsthand experiences.

#### 4.2. From cotton to culture: The Leipzig Spinnerei

The Spinnerei is a former cotton mill located in the Plagwitz district of Leipzig. It was constructed in 1884 and developed gradually over time, reflecting the “industrial”, “modern”, and socialist cultures of different eras until the early 2000s<sup>5</sup>. The site not only comprises

production facilities but also incorporates other social infrastructure, such as kindergartens, recreational areas, and worker accommodations, into its physical layout. Spanning an area of approximately 10 hectares (approximately 90,000 m<sup>2</sup>), the industrial campus includes 23 separate production buildings alongside its various social facilities and recreational areas (Chiligaryan 2014; Power, Herden 2016).

In Leipzig, post-industrial sites and landscapes were used as political tools and potential hotspots in the 2000s for recreating the new image of the city against “the industrial dirty past”. The creative and knowledge-based city concept was taken as a national and local cultural policy for image re-branding, and it was amalgamated by modernising the administrative framework with new cultural and planning policies and regulations. The Spinnerei's new life was defined by labelling the cultural past of Leipzig rather than focusing on the Spinnerei's pure industrial past which also creates a multiplier impact from the larger scale (Lange et al., 2007) in terms of its fame and accessibility.

During the early 1990s, the Spinnerei began its transformation into a cultural centre, hosting artists who were displaced due to political biases in the late 1980s. These artists discovered and utilised empty halls and buildings on the industrial campus, contributing to the site's transformation and the city of Leipzig's heritage. The campus was sold to Heintz, Co., Tilmann Sauer-Morhard, Bertram Schultze, and Karsten Schmitz in 2001 and 2002, who became the main drivers of the site's transformation into an artist community. The new life of the heritage site includes a diverse range of cultural functions, such as galleries, ateliers, workspaces, and related service spaces. Additionally, larger halls and buildings are dedicated to significant film production or call centres, fostering economic bonds with the project (Jacobi 2014; <https://www.spinnerei.de/>).

The Spinnerei's integrated transformation process, supported by both local and national efforts, has greatly improved urban life in both the neighbourhood and the city of Leipzig. Despite its national and international recognition as a cultural hub and “culture factory”, the project has faced criticism from both cultural outsiders and members of the public due to its inaccessibility in the early stages. Critics from outside the cultural sector, such as visitors, expressed hesitation about visiting or using the site. This conflict in accessibility was resolved through the conversion of one of the pre-existing pro-

<sup>5</sup> After the establishment of the State Chamber and People's Chamber, namely Volkskammer, in 1949, VEB – Volkseigene Betrieb – “People's Enterprises” was founded in 1950, which was the main legal form of industrial enterprise in East Germany. It was a very similar institution to Sümerbank in the Turkish context, even though most of the dynam-

ics were different. Leipzig and the Spinnerei have played an important role of VEB culture in the German context, which made Leipzig and the industrial campus the symbol of industrial culture (Lange et al., 2007).

duction buildings (a hangar, known as the HALLE 14) into a social hub that ordinary people might also visit through non-commercial artistic and cultural exhibits extended beyond industrial culture. The HALLE 14 is a spacious 600 m<sup>2</sup> visitor centre with a library open to those seeking information and an opportunity to indulge in reading and relaxing. This art library boasts a collection of 25,000 publications, providing an extensive resource for art and book enthusiasts without the need for prior registration. Dedicating a multi-purpose exhibition space for non-profit purposes and opening it up to the public created a more inclusive atmosphere and reduced criticism between the public and private sectors. Adding new activities, such as exhibitions and workshops, to the site's functional program helped balance the mono-user profile. The conversion of the HALLE 14 into a sustainable heritage site for public use demonstrated how to provide long-term sustainability for new functions. The agreement to rent the building to a cultural foundation for 40 years, with the condition that it be used solely for nonprofit activities, ensured its public use (Chiligaryan 2014).

This is followed by the establishment of the "Archiv Massiv" as a museum, exhibition, and research centre open to the public, which was dedicated to the industrial past of the site through the records, objects, and documents, is another positive approach of the Spinnerei. Finally, abandoned dwellings within the historic area have been refurbished and sold to new owners by improving the Spinnerei and close environment. The Karl-Heine Canal and adjoining green spaces have been regenerated as pedestrian walkways, while public transportation connections to the central district have been enhanced. This new image of West Leipzig as a pedestrian-centric area has stimulated infrastructure and public space investment in the region, creating opportunities not just for the Spinnerei to flourish but also for other neighbouring sites to evolve into their own cultural hubs (Bain, Landau 2019).

##### **5. Reformulation of the narratives to interpret accessibility**

To gain a deeper comprehension of the accessibility of privately owned cultural heritage sites, key themes pertaining to visitor-user profiles were pinpointed by the author based on the first round of expert interviews and case studies research on past episodes (Tab. 1). These include the general public and free access to heritage sites, as well as cultural enthusiasts who contribute to admission fees. Moreover, local inhabitants who

were tenants of these locations were considered, as they offer essential services and accessibility measures. These themes cover various criteria that can be measured for the chosen projects, enabling a comprehensive understanding of accessibility to these venues. Providing free access to heritage sites is crucial for encouraging people to value and appreciate their own heritage. Many cultural sector professionals believe that it is their moral duty to support people in accessing heritage by establishing long-term partnerships between communities and institutions and implementing local policies that prioritise access to heritage and promote diverse participation. Although free access to heritage sites is considered the ideal scenario, it is not always feasible or possible owing to property issues, owner/user demands, and the challenges of maintenance and interpretation (BIICL 2018). The free access to privately owned heritage sites extends to the physical means of visiting or entering these locations, as well as transportation opportunities to remote cultural sites. It includes information and educational activities about heritage for the wider public, visiting heritage sites for emotional purposes associated with individuals such as former workers or their families, and visitors seeking free cultural activities. Free access to heritage sites also encompasses social and cultural interactions and personal sensory experiences, including sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch (Deffner et al. 2015).

When attempting to revitalise heritage sites, it is equally important to evaluate the cultural significance produced. This entails examining the extent to which the updated purpose satisfies modern society's expectations. To evaluate this aspect, this research also focuses on the semi-private or semi-public uses generated through these projects, which are important for responding to the preferences of users who enjoy culture at heritage sites. The evaluation of public, semi-public, and private uses within the projects is based on the proportion of surface area allocated to each use, with weighting ranging from 1 to 5 points according to the percentage of allocation. To measure this, the opinions of experts were sought through interviews and analysed comprehensively by the researcher, who then translated these judgments into a rating of 1-5 to determine the preferability or equivalence of the options.

Furthermore, the versatility of new cultural activities within the specified function was also considered, as this relates to the capacity for additional public, semi-public, or private activities that could enhance existing ones, including pedagogical or cultural purposes that provide free access to heritage sites. To assess this, the projects were evaluated by considering the number of concurrent events taking place in conjunction with other cul-



**Table 1.** Accessibility measurement themes, criteria and weighted methodologies. Elaborated by the Author.

Accessibility Themes	Spatial Definitions	Measurement Criteria	Methodology Value-weights
Free access for public	Public uses	-Number of ways to arrive to the heritage sites.  -free public uses	-proportioned between 1-5 points based on the research narratives  -number of non-profit area (m2 proportion in total area)  -number of (reservation) visitors (average)
Accessibility for enjoying culture at heritage sites with admission to pay	Semi-public uses	-free public activities for industrial heritage  -integration to other cultural points within the city -Number of ways to arrive to the heritage sites.	-number of events,non-profit collaborations   -proportioned between 1-5 points based on the research narratives
Accessibility for tenants	Private uses	-semi-public uses  -cultural activities with admission to pay  -integration to other cultural points within the city -Number of ways to arrive to the heritage sites.	-number of semi-public area (m2 proportion in total area)  -number of events (average)  -number of cultural collaborations with admission to pay -proportioned between 1-5 points based on the research narratives
		-private uses  -private services for tenants such as café and restaurants	-number of private area (m2 proportion in total area)  -number of private functional units

tural attractions in the city that are significant for creating proximities. This evaluation criterion pertains to the urban and cultural redevelopment of peri-urban areas, as both projects are situated relatively far from city centres, offering alternative locations to inner-city cultural clusters. This investigation also highlights the acquisition of state support for private initiatives encompassing infrastructural improvements and remediation of existing transportation solutions. It is evaluated based on the number and ease of accessibility of the project sites.

### 5.1. Pair examples: Public, semi-public or semi-private and private access

The Spinnerei currently accommodates more than 120 private and shared studios, catering to over 150 emerging and established artists, as well as 11 com-

mercial galleries and 5 non-profit art spaces, spread across nearly 6 hectares of its total area of 10 hectares. Meanwhile, the Beykoz Kundura provides more than 100 film studios, dehors, and street facades, one hotel, restaurants, bars, one cinema, one concert and performance hall, and one non-profit art space, as well as over three hectares of recreational areas open to the public, all within an area of nearly 18 hectares. During peak seasonal periods, the Spinnerei attracts a substantial number of visitors, mostly because of its open studio and gallery events, which draw between 20,000 and 30,000 people (Bain, Landau 2019). This can be attributed to their international recognition and reputation. The Beykoz Kundura has experienced a consistent rise in annual visitor numbers, either through the addition of parallel events or because of famous film projects. The number of visitors varies between 10,000 and 20,000 by 2022. Alternative modes of public transportation for the

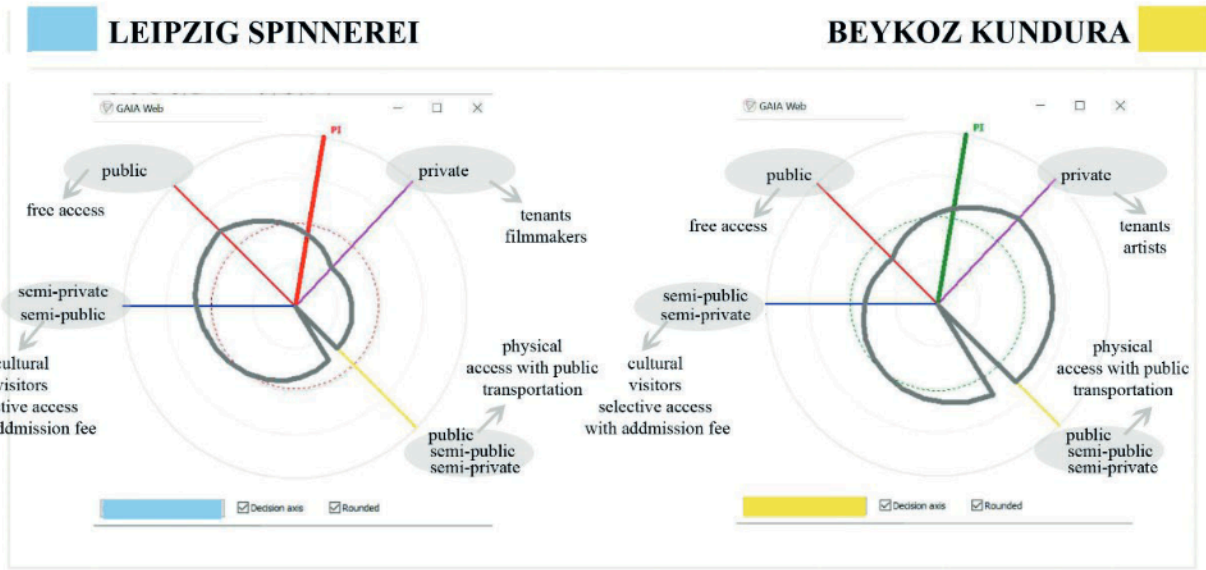


Figure 2. Pair examples on GAIA web. Produced via PROMETHEE II by the Author based on the identified indicators.

Beykoz Kundura comprise either public buses or ferries; however, the limited availability and frequency of these options pose challenges for the site. The Spinnerei is a notable destination along Leipzig's cultural route, offering a range of transportation options in various parts of the city. This accessibility is largely due to its strong association with public support. Utilising the evaluation methods previously discussed, the identified accessibility themes, criteria, and weighted methodology were applied in PROMETHEE II and assessed based on the evaluation matrix and expert interviews to determine the positive and negative aspects of each project's performance (Fig. 2).

Although both projects met the preference threshold for good practices, they exhibited different advantages in specific situations, as indicated by the pair-comparison outcomes. The Beykoz Kundura's new life (Fig. 3) has been enhanced over time by a variety of events inspired by popular culture, which have resulted in the introduction of more diverse and versatile activities based on the cultural consumption in the analysed context. This has also helped create a more dynamic user profile. The fact that the owner has free transportation alternatives has attracted a larger audience and earned their praise. The Spinnerei (Fig. 4) has been improved and enhanced over time through the establishment of a range of art ateliers, as well as painting, call centres, and film studios which has contributed to the site's ability to attract the attention and appreciation of artists from a variety of backgrounds as well as another user group.

According to expert interviews, both examples show the appropriateness of industrial heritage value in different ways. The Beykoz Kundura reflects one of the heritage's past layers as collective memory and reindustrialises it as a tool for the new identified popular culture under the title of "cinema". The Spinnerei is not only significant for its historical industrial heritage value but also represents an additional layer of the city's past, which enhances the project's outcome through state support and integration with other cultural clusters within the city. This integration increases accessibility for both public and cultural visitors without causing any disturbance to the tenants or residents. Both projects received favourable comments from experts regarding their accessibility to the public, with the Beykoz Kundura being more prominent due to a larger portion of its surface area being designated for public activities in contrast to the Spinnerei. This is additionally tied to the characteristics of the analysed projects and other factors, for instance, the Beykoz Kundura's position on the Bosphorus coastline, which is a protected conservation sit area in the first degree. It is crucial to allocate a suitable space for non-profit public events with and without admission fees to balance private, semi-private, semi-public, and public uses in these areas and prevent conflicts between public and private interests. Although the successful parameter for best practices of privately owned industrial heritage sites centres around their public zones and free access, it is a paradox that this is also a mandatory requirement for the transfer of cultural properties in many regions during their privatisation.

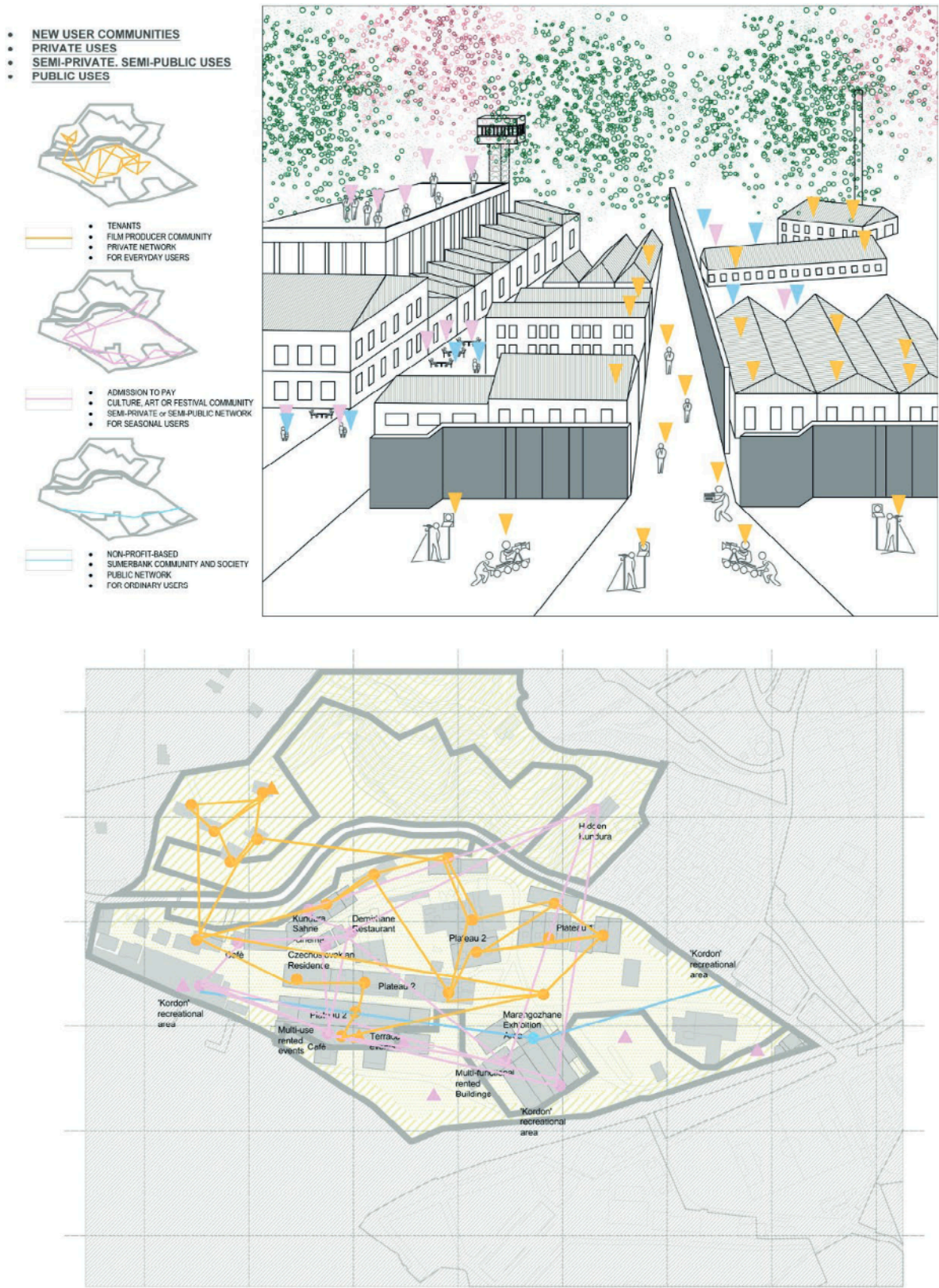


Figure 3. The Beykoz Kundura cognitive map to evaluate accessibility. Elaborated by the Author.

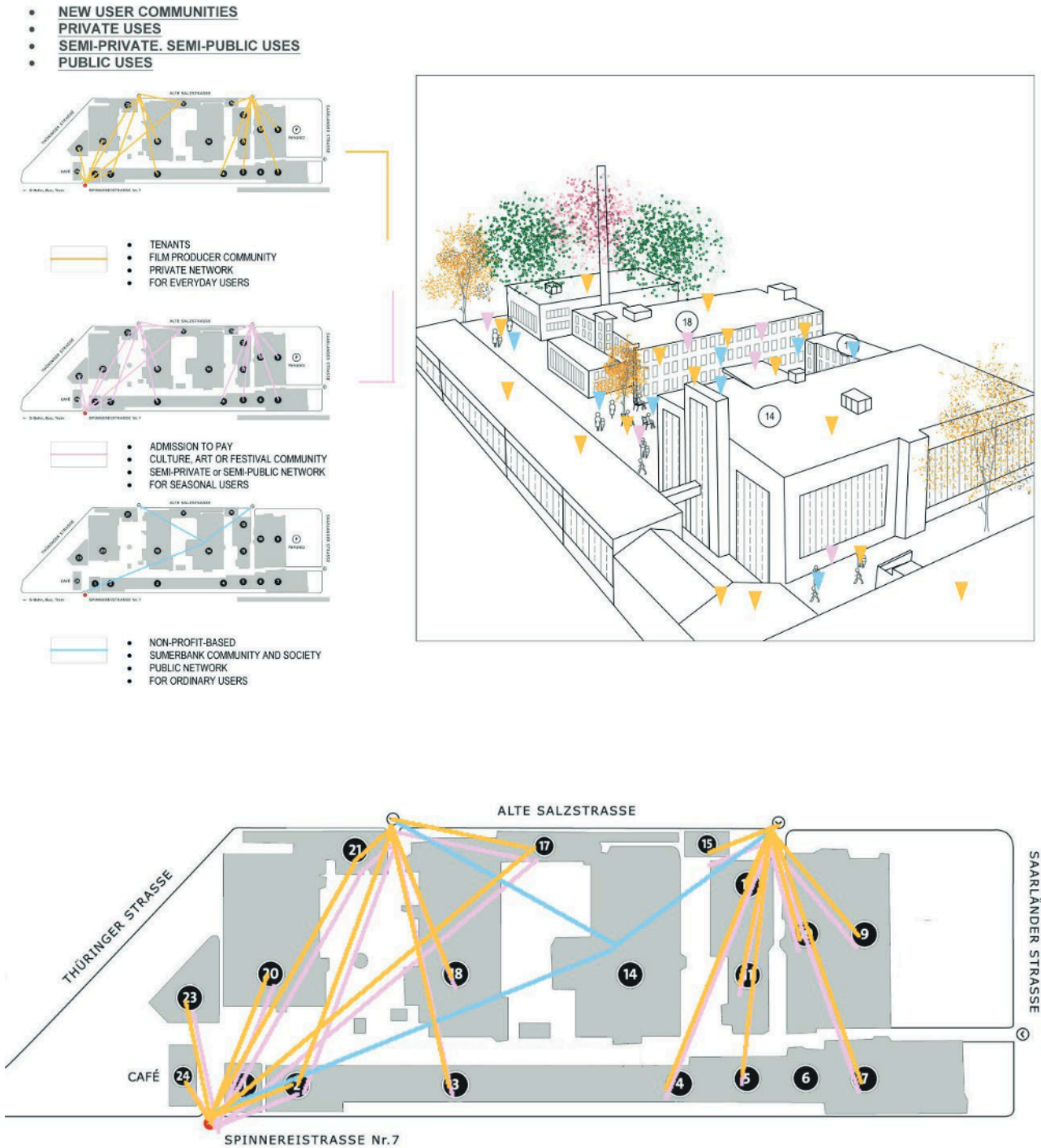


Figure 4. The Leipzig Spinnerei cognitive map to evaluate accessibility. Elaborated by the Author.

6. Conclusion

This study presents a range of reusable, alternative solutions to enhance the accessibility of privately

owned cultural heritage properties, despite the accessibility measurements on pair examples seeming self-evident with regards to their accessibility conditions. The use of the multi-criteria decision-aid approach and

PROMETHEE II methodology in this study allowed for the re-evaluation of several issues related to the accessibility of privately owned cultural properties. This study has uncovered several significant drawbacks and issues. One of these pertains to the conservation viewpoint of heritage assets and raises questions such as whether increased public use implies that heritage is more accessible. To conclude this study, I suggest further enquiries that could direct future research in various fields related to the accessibility of privately owned cultural assets. Furthermore, the concept of ‘artwashing’ or “culture-washing” has recently come to light, opening up new avenues for discussion on different forms, ranging from corporate artwashing where sponsorship or public relations utilise culture and heritage as an economic value, to developer-led artwashing where owners or developers create cultural districts, such as the Beykoz Kundura and the Leipzig Spinnerei, to market these cultural lands as trendy destinations. Additionally, there is community art-washing, where a particular group of communities, such as artists or filmmakers, as we have seen in our pair of examples, occupy certain cultural areas and influence the values of these cultural places. These empirical examples contribute to the discourse on urban commons and the commoning of privately owned cultural venues.

More specifically, drawing on the evaluation of the pair examples, which are deemed as best practices, it is evident that blending various groups of interested parties through a new culture and categorising and formulating their user-based preferences and expectations in functional attributes is considered the key aspect of both examples. A significant portion of the privately owned cultural heritage sites that have been transformed are primarily measured through their accessibility indexes in terms of an integrated regeneration approach that considers urban, environmental, social, and cultural aspects. The role of cultural and creative industries in integrated regeneration is undeniable, as numerous scholars have studied this phenomenon from diverse perspectives such as inclusion, economic growth, sustainability, and resilience (Scott 1999; Pratt 2012; Lazzaretti, Cooke 2017). The Beykoz Kundura and the Leipzig Spinnerei illustrate that the transformation process should occur through collaborative and participatory methods, involving partnerships among various helix systems, including public administration, cultural sectors, academia, third sector organizations, and civil society. This approach helps balance the public-private dilemma and encourages the implementation of best practices. It is vital to consider the planning and regulatory aspects of post-industrial landscapes, includ-

ing the legal norms and authorised activities associated with their public accessibility. In addition, collaboration agreements, such as those exemplified by the Leipzig Spinnerei, are crucial for achieving the long-term success of public-private partnerships in these contexts. The lack of regulation for accessibility and benefits of cultural heritage, or the absence of collaboration agreements in specific situations, can render projects vulnerable. Examples of Italian literature regarding urban commons are informative (Foster, Iaione 2016), and this paper intends to add to these discussions by providing empirical instances of privately owned industrial heritage sites where the main image creators are private entities, and their visions are of paramount importance.

This research provides useful information on how to effectively incorporate privately owned cultural assets into new settings, considering the diverse requirements and preferences of various user groups or visitors. This can be beneficial for image creators or user groups seeking practical and feasible solutions for organising new activities while acknowledging the potential risks or challenges that may arise during the process, particularly in relation to the public benefits that may be impacted. Furthermore, the proposed multi-methodological approach, which is based on expert interviews and multi-criteria decision aid methodologies, offers valuable outputs for applicability in similar projects. Although the measurement parameters are specifically designed for the selected pair of examples based on the authors’ research interests, which can be considered limitations, they also provide flexibility for the application of the methodology to different case studies reformulated by different researchers. Similarly, although expert interviews represent an important methodology for evaluating a pair of examples, they can also be criticised, as the interviews are structured by the researcher and based on the identified parameters. However, the proposed multi-methodology offers flexibility in terms of its application to different cases to investigate different research questions.

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