

A STUDY ON GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOCUSING ON URBAN
DIVERSITY: THE CASE OF BEYOGLU – ISTANBUL

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

BY

ÖZGE YERSEN

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

JUNE 2015

Approval of the thesis:

**A STUDY ON GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOCUSING ON URBAN
DIVERSITY: THE CASE OF BEYOGLU – ISTANBUL**

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

Prof. Dr. Gülbin Dural
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences** _____

Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok
Head of the Department, **City and Regional Planning** _____

Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın
Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning Dept., METU** _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU _____

Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serap Kayaşü
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Varol
City and Regional Planning Dept., Gazi University _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Altay Kaya
City and Regional Planning Dept., Çankaya University _____

Date: 18.06.2015

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.

Name, Last Name: Özge Yersen

Signature:

ABSTRACT

A STUDY ON GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOCUSING ON URBAN DIVERSITY: THE CASE OF BEYOGLU – ISTANBUL

Yersen, Özge

M.S., Regional Planning, City and Regional Planning Department

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın

June 2015, 275 pages

Socio-economic, cultural, ethnic and socio-demographic diversity in contemporary cities has been one of the most featured topics in urban policy and planning, since the impacts of globalization, growing internal and international migration dynamics, and neoliberal policies have changed the traditional definition of diversity based on ethnicity, and introduced new forms of diversity with respect to new identities, lifestyles, values and activities.

Within the neoliberal period characterized by state rescaling, decreasing role and responsibilities of the state in various fields, including the empowerment of disadvantaged groups and the representation of diverse identities, has been highly questioned. Besides, increasing social exclusion, socio-spatial segregation and inequalities in cities have revealed the importance of the governance of urban diversity.

This study analyzes the approaches, policies and planning practices towards urban diversity in existing governance structure in Turkey, and presents the inefficiencies of the central and local governments in governing urban diversity. Based on a case study conducted in Istanbul-Beyoğlu, the study investigates how different governance arrangements perceive urban diversity, which factors influence their

success and/or failure in dealing with diversity, and how they engage in diversity through their activities.

This research indicates that contemporary urban policies and planning in Turkey are yet incapable of promoting urban diversity and benefiting from its advantages. Based on this outcome, the study suggests that in collaboration with different governance actors, the central and local governments in Turkey need to reconstruct the existing governance mechanism, and redefine their planning principles to support and sustain urban diversity.

Keywords: Urban Diversity, Governance, Governance Arrangements, Beyoglu.

ÖZ

KENTSEL ÇEŞİTLİLİĞE ODAKLANAN YÖNETİŞİM UYGULAMALARI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA: BEYOĞLU – İSTANBUL ÖRNEĞİ

Yersen, Özge

Yüksek Lisans, Bölge Planlama, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın

Haziran 2015, 275 sayfa

Günümüz kentlerindeki sosyo-ekonomik, kültürel, etnik ve sosyo-demografik çeşitlilik kentsel politika ve planlama alanında her dönem öne çıkan konulardan biri olmuştur. Öte yandan, küreselleşme sürecinin etkileri, artan ulusal ve uluslararası göç hareketleri ve neoliberal politikalar ile birlikte kentsel çeşitlilik kavramı yeni boyutlar kazanmış, kentsel çeşitliliğin etnik farklılıklara dayanan geleneksel tanımı günümüzde yeni yaşam biçimleri, farklı kimlikleri, değerleri ve kişilerin farklı etkinliklerini kapsayacak şekilde genişlemiştir.

Neoliberal dönem ile birlikte, devletin yeniden ölçeklendirilmesi süreci içinde devletin dezavantajlı grupların desteklenmesi ve farklı kimliklerin temsiliyeti gibi alanlardaki azalan rolü ve sorumlulukları sorgulanmıştır. Bunun beraberinde gelen, günümüz kentlerindeki sosyal dışlanma, ötekileştirme, sosyo-mekansal ayrışma ve toplumsal eşitsizliğin artması gibi olumsuzluklar kentsel çeşitliliğin yönetişimi konusunu ön plana çıkarmıştır.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’de mevcut yönetim yapısı içinde kentsel çeşitlilik konusuna yönelik bakış açısının, geliştirilen politikaların ve planlama pratiklerinin nasıl şekillendiği üzerinde durulmuş, merkezi ve yerel yönetimlerin bu konudaki eksiklikleri ortaya konmuştur. Farklı yönetim uygulamalarının kentsel çeşitliliği ele

alış biçimleri ve bu bağlamda gerçekleştirdikleri çalışmalar ile bu çalışmalarındaki başarıları ve/veya başarısızlıkları tanımlayan faktörler İstanbul-Beyoğlu örneği üzerinden incelenmiştir.

Yapılan çalışma, Türkiye’deki kentsel politikaların ve mekansal planlamanın kentsel çeşitliliğin desteklenmesi ve farklılıkların sağladığı faydalardan yararlanma aşamasına gelmediğini göstermiştir. Buna dayanarak, devletin ve yerel yönetimlerin, farklı aktörlerle işbirliği içinde, kentsel çeşitliliğin desteklenmesi ve sürdürülebilmesi ile çeşitliliğin katkılarından yararlanılabilmesi konusunda yönetim yapısını yeniden kurgulaması ve planlama prensiplerini bu çerçevede yeniden tanımlanması gerektiği sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Çeşitlilik, Yönetişim, Yönetişim Uygulamaları, Beyoğlu.

To My Dear Family and My Beloved Fiancé

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been completed with the guidance, support and the help of several people who have contributed and extended their valuable assistance.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın, whose profound knowledge, support and encouragement thoroughly guided my study. I appreciate all her contribution and assistance. Her support and guidance helped me all the time in writing this thesis. I also would like to thank to the members of the Examining Committee, Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serap Kayasü, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Varol, and Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Altay Kaya for their valuable suggestions, contributions and insightful comments.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my friends, and the Young Researchers of the DIVERCITIES Project Team at METU, İsmail Demirdağ and Nazda Güngördü, with whom I have made all the fieldwork of this research with great motivation and collaboration.

I owe my special and innermost thanks to Çağrı Yenigün, my fiancé, for his endless tolerance, patience, sincere help and support during every stage of this thesis. His ideas, insights and comments have been enlightening, and his technical and emotional support have been priceless. I appreciate him for all of his love and support.

Special appreciation and gratitude are also for my family, my beloved parents and my brother, for their support and understanding, encouragement and endless love throughout my life.

This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under Grant Agreement No 319970 - DIVERCITIES. The views expressed in this publication are the sole responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xvii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xxi
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Overview of the Study	1
1.2. Problem Definition and the Main Objectives of the Study	5
1.3. Methodology of the Study	9
1.4. Structure of the Study	11
2. DOMINANT TRENDS IN THINKING ABOUT URBAN DIVERSITY: MAIN POLICIES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	13
2.1. Introduction	13
2.2. From Empires to Nation-State.....	16
2.3. Nationalism and the Nation-States Period.....	17
2.4. Multiculturalism	21
2.5. ‘Backlash’ against Multiculturalism.....	26
2.6. Impact of 2008 Economic Crisis, Austerity Policies and the Changing Context of Diversity	36
2.7. Conclusive Remarks	40

3. GOVERNANCE OF URBAN DIVERSITY	45
3.1. Introduction.....	45
3.2. Governance Concept.....	46
3.3. Governance and the Changing Role of the State	51
3.4. Governance of Urban Diversity: Where Do the Central and Local Governments Fail?	52
3.5. Assessment of Urban Planning Practices in Governance of Diversity	55
3.6. Conclusion	59
4. GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOCUSING ON URBAN DIVERSITY	63
4.1. Introduction.....	63
4.2. Governance Arrangements of Urban Diversity	64
4.2.1. The Role of Local Governments	66
4.2.2. The Role of Private Sector	67
4.2.3. The Role of Civil Society and Communities.....	69
4.3. ‘Diversification’ of Governance Arrangements	71
4.4. Governance Arrangements According to Their Focus	75
4.4.1. Governance Arrangements for Fostering Social Cohesion	76
4.4.2. Governance Arrangements for Enhancing Upward Social Mobility ..	79
4.4.3. Governance Arrangements for Promoting Economic Performance and Entrepreneurship	79
4.5. Governance Arrangements and Perception of Diversity	81
4.6. Concluding Remarks	83
5. GOVERNANCE OF URBAN DIVERSITY IN TURKEY AND ISTANBUL..	87
5.1. Introduction.....	87

5.2.	An Overview of Changing Approaches, Policy Discourses and Practices of Diversity in Turkey	88
5.3.	Existing Governance Structure and the Main Actors in the Governance of Diversity in Turkey and Istanbul.....	95
5.3.2.	Main Governance Actors in Turkey.....	95
5.3.3.	Urban Governance in Istanbul	96
5.4.	Main Actors in the Governance of Diversity in Turkey and Istanbul	99
5.4.1.	Central Government	99
5.4.2.	Local Governments	102
5.4.3.	Non-Governmental Actors	105
5.5.	The Recent Discourses and Policies of the Central and Local Governments Regarding Diversity: Where Do The Governments Fail?.....	106
5.5.1.	Migration.....	108
5.5.2.	Empowerment of Disadvantaged Groups	111
5.5.3.	Representation of Ethnic, Cultural, Linguistic and Religious Groups	114
5.5.4.	Representation of Different Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities	117
5.6.	Concluding Remarks	118
6.	CASE STUDY RESEARCH: BEYOGLU.....	121
6.1.	The Main Aim of the Research	121
6.2.	The Main Hypothesis and the Main Research Questions.....	123
6.3.	Selection of the Case	125
6.4.	Methodology of the Research.....	129
6.4.1.	Methodological Approach to the Research	129
6.4.2.	Research Design and the Data.....	129

7. DIVERSE CHARACTERISTICS OF BEYOGLU	141
7.1. Introduction.....	141
7.2. Changing Policies and Practices on Diversity in Beyoglu	142
7.2.1. The Socio-Spatial Development in Beyoglu before the 1980s	142
7.2.2. The Socio-Spatial Development in Beyoglu between 1980s and 2000s.....	146
7.2.3. The Socio-Spatial Development in Beyoglu after 2000s	150
7.3. Existing Spatial, Socio-Economic, Cultural, Ethnic and Demographic Landscape of Beyoglu	154
7.3.1. Location of Beyoglu.....	154
7.3.2. Urban Layout and Land Use	155
7.3.3. Population Density	157
7.3.4. Demographic Trends	158
7.3.5. Socio-Economic Characteristics.....	162
7.3.6. Educational Level.....	163
7.3.7. Migration Trends.....	166
7.3.8. Employment	167
7.3.9. Revitalization and Urban Renewal Areas	170
7.4. Diverse Groups in Beyoglu	173
7.4.1. Newcomers as ‘Diversifiers’	174
7.4.2. Diverse Groups Already Living in the District	180
8. RESEARCH FINDINGS	185
8.1. Introduction.....	185
8.2. The Recent Governmental and Non-Governmental Discourses and Policies Regarding Urban Diversity in Turkey, Istanbul and Beyoglu.....	186

8.2.1.	Central Government	187
8.2.2.	Local Governments	189
8.2.3.	Non-Governmental Organizations	194
8.3.	Diversity Related Fields of Governance Arrangements	199
8.3.1.	Migration	200
8.3.2.	Empowerment of Disadvantaged Groups	203
8.3.3.	Representation of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and Cultural Groups	209
8.3.4.	Representation of Different Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities	211
8.3.5.	Promotion of Human Rights	213
8.3.6.	Neighborhood-Based Initiatives.....	215
8.3.7.	Support of Compatriot Groups.....	218
8.3.8.	Improvement of the Physical Image of the District	220
8.3.9.	Summary	221
8.4.	Focus of Governance Arrangements	224
8.4.1.	Social Cohesion.....	224
8.4.2.	Social Mobility.....	226
8.4.3.	Economic Performance	226
8.5.	Perception of Diversity	227
8.6.	Factors Influencing Success and Failure	228
8.6.1.	Factors Influencing Success	228
8.6.2.	Factors Influencing Failure	229
8.7.	Evaluation and Concluding Remarks	230

9. CONCLUSION: LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM GOVERNANCE	
ARRANGEMENTS FOR URBAN POLICY AND PLANNING.....	235
REFERENCES	253
APPENDICES	
A. INTERVIEW FORMS.....	267

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 4.1 Focus of governance arrangements	78
Table 5.1 Summary of discourses, policies and main legislation on migration, citizenship and diversity.....	93
Table 6.1 Document analysis	131
Table 6.2 Semi-structured interviews with central and local government bodies	133
Table 6.3 Semi-structured interviews with non-governmental bodies	134
Table 6.4 Round-table discussion.....	136
Table 6.5 First fieldwork and interviewed organizations	137
Table 6.6 Second fieldwork and interviewed organizations	138
Table 7.1 Changing urban policies and planning interventions in Beyoğlu and the effects on diversity	153
Table 7.2 Population of Beyoğlu between 2007 and 2014.....	159
Table 7.3 Percentage of population according to the highest level of education attained (+6 age) in Beyoğlu, based on Address-Based Population Registration System.....	164
Table 7.4 Urban renewal and redevelopment projects in Beyoğlu after the 1980s	171
Table 8.1 Local initiatives focusing on migration related fields	201
Table 8.2 Local initiatives focusing on empowerment of diverse and disadvantaged groups	205
Table 8.3 Local initiatives focusing on representation of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups	210
Table 8.4 Local initiatives focusing on representation of different sexual orientations and gender identities.....	212
Table 8.5 Local initiatives focusing on promotion of human rights	214
Table 8.6 Neighborhood-based local initiatives (Area-based support)	217
Table 8.7 Local initiatives focusing on support of compatriot groups.....	219

Table 8.8 Local initiatives focusing on the improvement of the physical image of the district.....	221
Table 8.9 Summary of interest fields.....	222
Table 8.10 Diversity related fields shown in relation with state's interests and responsibilities.....	223
Table 8.11 Contribution of local initiatives with regard to three main focus	225
Table 9.1 Guidelines for urban governance, policy and planning for sustaining urban diversity.....	249

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Main changes and challenges regarding urban diversity	3
Figure 1.2 Relations between the concepts	5
Figure 2.1 Diversity discourses and policies in different periods	15
Figure 3.1 Characteristics of good governance	49
Figure 3.2 Urban governance actors	50
Figure 5.1 Institutional set up regarding urban diversity	98
Figure 6.1 Location of Beyoğlu in Istanbul	126
Figure 6.2 Location of Beyoğlu and surrounding districts.....	127
Figure 7.1 Location of Beyoğlu District in Istanbul	154
Figure 7.2 Beyoğlu and surrounding districts	155
Figure 7.3 Land use of Beyoğlu in 2008.....	156
Figure 7.4 Map of Beyoğlu	157
Figure 7.5 Population density of Beyoğlu in 2008.....	158
Figure 7.6 Population change in Beyoğlu among years 2007 – 2014.....	159
Figure 7.7 Percentage of population by age groups in Beyoğlu, 2014	160
Figure 7.8 Change of population by age groups in Beyoğlu, 2007 – 2014.....	160
Figure 7.9 Population pyramid of Turkey in 2014.....	161
Figure 7.10 Population pyramid of Istanbul in 2014	161
Figure 7.11 Population pyramid of Beyoğlu in 2014.....	162
Figure 7.12 Schematic map of aggregate socio-economic character of neighborhoods in Istanbul and Beyoğlu.....	163
Figure 7.13 Classification of education levels in neighborhood of Beyoğlu	165
Figure 7.14 Percentage distribution of in-migration to Beyoğlu by regions, based on address-based population registration system	166
Figure 7.15 Percentage distribution of out-migration from Beyoğlu by regions, based on address-based population registration system.....	167

Figure 7.16 Sectoral distribution of the workplaces in Beyoğlu according to the percentages of offices	168
Figure 7.17 Beyoğlu workplaces 2009: General economic neighborhood profiles.....	169
Figure 7.18 Urban renewal areas in Beyoğlu declared by Beyoğlu Municipality in 2005.....	173
Figure 7.19 Areas of international immigrants (as newcomers) concentration in Beyoğlu	176
Figure 7.20 Areas of Kurdish population concentration in Beyoğlu.....	177
Figure 7.21 Areas of compatriot groups' concentration in Beyoğlu	178
Figure 7.22 Art and cultural events and their locations in Beyoğlu	179
Figure 7.23 Areas of creative groups' concentration in Beyoğlu.....	180
Figure 7.24 Areas of ethnic, cultural and religious groups' (as long-term residents) concentration in Beyoğlu	181
Figure 7.25 Areas of Romani population concentration in Beyoğlu.....	182
Figure 7.26 A map showing some places of entertainment and leisure-time activities of LGBT population in Beyoğlu	184
Figure 8.1 Interviewed governance actors regarding urban diversity	187

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CoE: Council of Europe

EU: European Union

IMM: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

IPSO: Istanbul Provincial Special Administration

LGBT: Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

TUIK: Turkish Statistical Institute

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP: United Nations Procurement Division

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR: United Nations Refugee Agency

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview of the Study

Cities have been the spaces where different lifestyles, opportunities, and activities are shaped upon diversified cultural, social, socio-economic, ethnic and demographic population structures. Diversity and diverse opportunities, needs and demands of different cultural, socio-economic, ethnic and demographic groups in urban areas have always been one of main subjects in studies of urban policy and planning. Redistribution policies, recognition, and representation of diverse groups, and provision of equal opportunities for all communities, including diverse and disadvantaged groups, through urban policy and planning mechanisms have long been a major topic in the academic literature.

The fact that cities accommodate multiple dimensions of urban diversity, and have the potential to bring diverse identities, lifestyles and attitudes together is not a new phenomenon. Cities have always been diverse, with respect to function, economic activities, urban environment, and population groups. However, within the recent decades, cities have become more diverse than ever, sourced and triggered by the impacts of globalization, increasing immigration and international mobility, and rapid changes in population compositions and dynamics.

Therefore, while the traditional definition of urban diversity is based on ethnic and racial differences, today, this definition has been expanded to cover a variety of lifestyles, opportunities, attitudes, and activities. Identities are more globalized, relational and fluid than ever, which leads urban policy and planning interventions to conceptualize diversity as a more complex and dynamic concept. Today, diversity is evolved into hyper-diversity, which goes beyond its traditional definition shaped around ethnicity and race, but introduces a wider definition of the concept that covers

socio-economic (income, education, occupation, social origin), socio-demographic (age, gender, disability, household composition), ethnic (ethnicity, relationships between ethnic groups, immigrants and host population) and cultural diversity (norms, values, traditions), as well as diversities within groups based on lifestyles, sexual orientation, attitudes, activities, habits, daily and lifetime routines and behaviors (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

At this point, it should also be noted that although diversity within cities is highly nurtured from migration and international migration flows, and most of the literature conceptualizes diversity only through the lenses of migration, urban diversity is not only related to migration and migration-related issues, but also is about the issues of recognition and representation of diverse groups, as well as participation of all communities, including disadvantaged groups, into urban life and into decision-making on urban issues.

On the other hand, impacts of globalization, including increasing immigration and international mobility, and rapid changes in population compositions and dynamics have not only created new forms of diversities, but have also brought about major transformations with regard to the existing roles and capacities of governments. In face of new complexities and challenges driven by the globalization, including economic recessions, competition over the limited resources, and priorities of becoming more globally competitive, governments and their policy and planning mechanisms have failed to respond to the needs of new forms of diversity. Moreover, the institutional tools and capacities of state structures, which already weakened by the effects of globalization and neoliberal deregulation, have been further challenged by the fact that contemporary urbanization has been characterized by growing socio-spatial polarization, segregation and growing inequalities (Figure 1.1).

With regard to the management of diversity, the current literature makes a strong emphasis on the policy shift from multiculturalism towards more restrictive approaches on diversity, namely assimilation and integration (Syrett and Sepulveda,

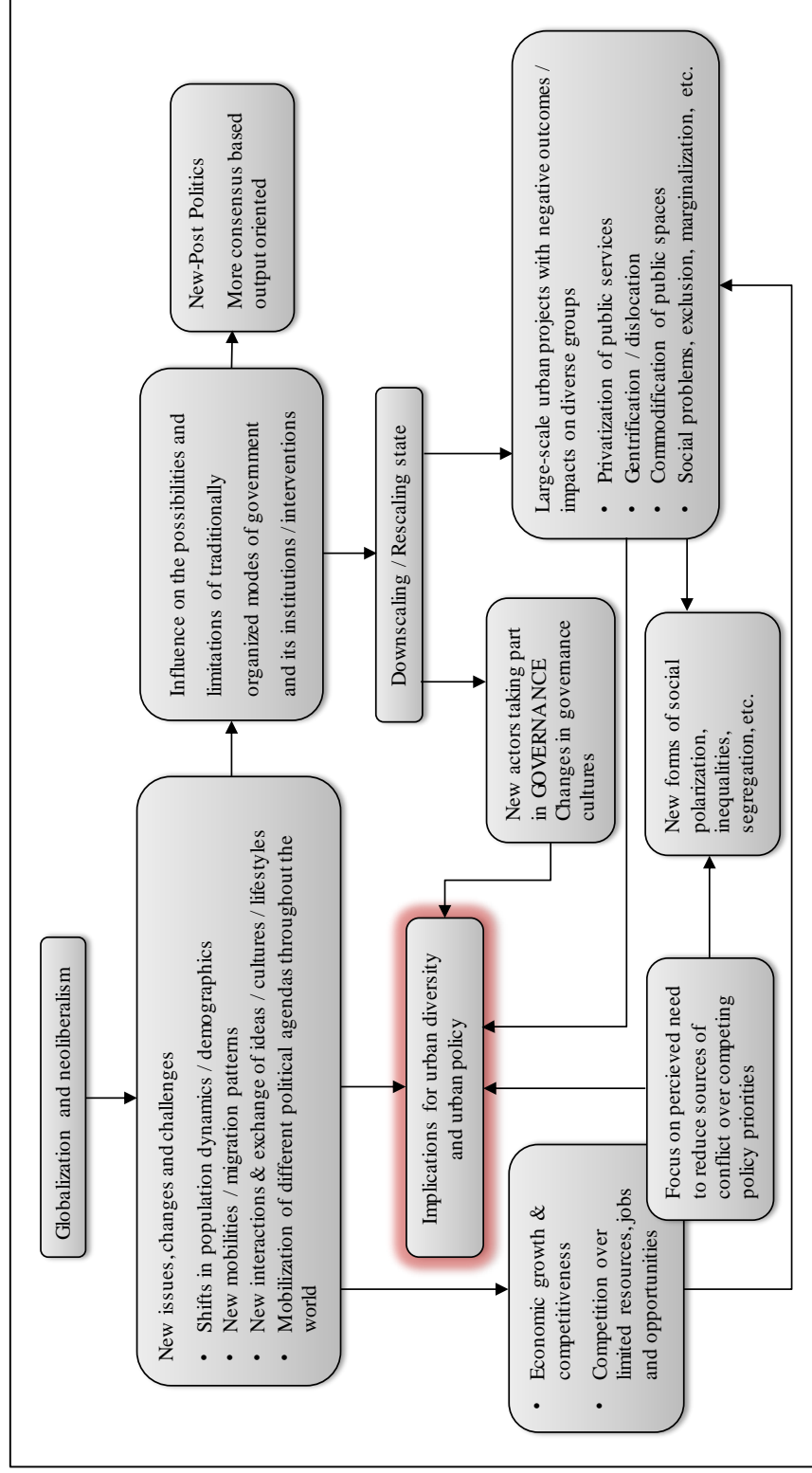


Figure 1.1 Main changes and challenges regarding urban diversity (The Author)

2012; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013), which has been the case in many countries. The underlying causes of this shift differ. While in some instances, the growing diversity of cities has been seen as a threat to social order, collective sense of identity and security, it is sometimes fueled by the concerns on limited and uneven distribution of resources and jobs. Moreover, there is an emphasis that the approach towards diversity in many cities and countries has been highly instrumental, especially after the financial crisis of 2008 and accompanying economic uncertainties. Many national and urban policy agendas, especially in European countries, have become open and tolerant towards diversity to attract high-skilled people, entrepreneurs and investors (Raco et al., 2014), with emphasis on the economic contribution of diverse groups. However, it also raises criticisms that this market-friendly forms of diversity approach has increasingly neglected problems and needs of those whose particular diversities are not associated with new global and competitive image of cities, including low-skilled workers, low income groups, immigrants and other disadvantaged and marginalized groups, who constitute most part of urban diversity mix but faced by growing social exclusion and stigmatization (Valverde, 2012).

These arguments raise the question of how and to what extent the needs and demands of different groups can be responded, and question the competence of existing policy and planning approaches in diversity-related issues. There is little doubt that the current failure of the national and urban policy and planning to develop comprehensive and inclusive policies creates a deficit in governing and managing diversity. Therefore, the neoliberal era, which has already been characterized by neoliberal deregulation and state rescaling, and the current tendency that either ignores or eliminates certain forms of diversity, has witnessed the emergence and proliferation of new actors to be involved in the governance of diversity, playing important roles in both fostering the positive aspects of diversity (enhancing solidarity, upward social mobility, economic performance, creativity, innovation, etc.), and alleviating its negative aspects (fighting against socio-spatial segregation, social exclusion, poverty, inequalities, etc.).

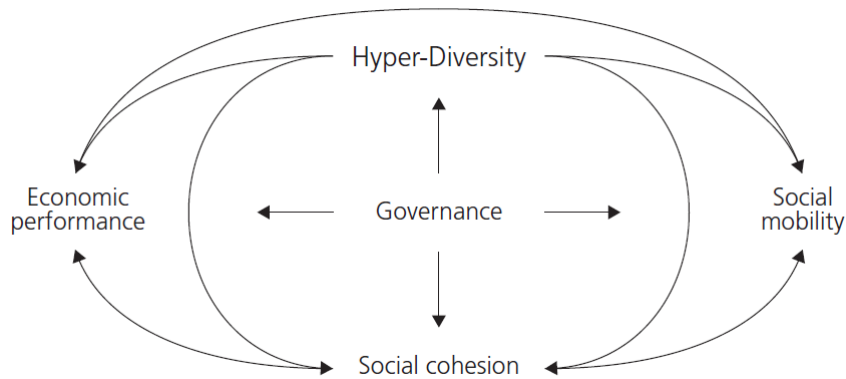


Figure 1.2 Relations between the concepts (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013)

An increasing literature emphasizes that if perceived and used as an asset, urban diversity may contribute to the creation of more cohesive and productive cities, increase possibilities for communities and individuals to foster their upward social mobility and create positive influences on economic performance of individuals and groups (Figure 1.2). Hence, identifying effective ways of working and communicating with today's 'hyper-diverse' cities and communities is an essential issue for urban governance, policy and planning. Therefore, this study concentrates on the practices of governance systems, and urban policy and planning practices in relation to issues of urban diversity.

1.2. Problem Definition and the Main Objectives of the Study

At the contemporary period, policy-makers and urban planners are faced with new complexities and challenges over how to effectively plan, govern and manage the cities that are becoming growingly cosmopolitan and diverse. While in some cases, governmental authorities may develop policy frameworks in favor of diversity, and may support the idea that diversity is a source of knowledge, innovation, and creativity, but mostly in terms of stimulating economic growth and competitiveness of the cities. On the other hand, many national and city-level policy agendas do not

support a greater recognition and encouragement of diversity, in the sense that it may result in emergence and reproduction of social conflicts and social unrests, undermine a sense of place and social order, and create discontents fueled by greater competition for jobs and resources.

The current literature emphasizes that if managed in an effective way through policies and planning practices, urban diversity may positively contribute to the economic performance, social solidarity and harmony, and upward social mobility for communities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). However, today's metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities are challenged by growing social polarization, inequalities, socio-spatial segregation, and social exclusion of certain groups, who are not only diverse, but also disadvantaged and marginalized. This shows that governments have failed so far to provide any comprehensive strategy to deal with a variety of problems.

Within this framework, the main hypothesis is that the failure of central governments to recognize and represent diverse identities, to address specific problems of diverse groups, to support and empower disadvantaged and marginalized communities, and to create spaces of encounter which bring diverse groups together and enable them to interact with each other, leads to a proliferation of different types of governance arrangements in contemporary period to deal with the issues related to urban diversity. In this respect, a variety of governance arrangements may play significant roles in developing and stimulating positive outcomes that emerge from greater urban diversity, especially within contexts where the role of the state has been diminishing in various areas.

These arguments fit well into Turkish context. An examination of the urban governance mechanism in Istanbul shows that the existing urban policies and planning practices have developed in face of increasing concerns and interests of the central government to use the city as an engine of economic development, which has negative impacts on diverse groups within the city. The argument is that while the central and local governments focus on economic growth and competitiveness, they fail to effectively address diversity-related issues.

Beyoğlu is a good example showing how the central and local governments fail to efficiently deal with urban diversity, and how urban governance and planning practices may negatively affect diversity of an area and its population. The district, which is the historical, cultural and commercial center of Istanbul, and characterized by highly diverse population composition in terms of ethnicity, cultures, lifestyles, demographics, and socio-economic characteristics, has been highly affected from urban policies and planning practices undertaken in Istanbul, especially after the 1980s. In this respect, Beyoğlu, which has long been faced with major socio-spatial transformations due to a series of political events, migration flows, and urban transformation projects, has experienced both favorable and unfavorable aspects of urban diversity. While the district has accommodated rapidly changing and highly diverse population groups, characterized by dynamic and diverse social networks and neighborhood relations, it has also experienced major socio-spatial transformations sourced from neoliberal and market-driven policies and planning interventions undertaken in the district, which has brought about negative impacts for diverse and disadvantaged groups, and growing social problems. In this context, Beyoğlu has witnessed the tensions that exist between the urban policies and planning practices, and its diverse communities with varying demands and problems, which necessitates an effective governance mechanism for recognition and management of its diversity.

In response to the failure of the government in dealing with the issues of diversity, a variety of governance arrangements has flourished and developed within the district, most of which are civil society based, but also formed through partnerships of different local actors focusing on different aspects of urban diversity. Therefore, it encourages the researcher, and gives a motivation to investigate the existing actor composition and their roles, and the current policies and practices in response to ever-growing diversity within contemporary cities, especially based on a case in which different interests of governance actors are conflicting and creating certain impacts for diverse groups.

Based on the main theoretical arguments, this study sets out the importance of governance arrangements in the contemporary period, and analyzes their focus and

roles, either they point to problem areas where governmental bodies are not interested in, and/or they are not efficient enough. Understanding the focus of governance actors, and the ways how they are organized are crucial to understand how diversity is understood and practiced in a certain urban setting. Moreover, to understand how urban diversity is perceived and practiced, it is vital to find out the roles and interest areas of different governance actors. It requires a detailed analysis and an evaluation to understand what their focus are, in which diversity-related areas they mostly function, and how they are organized. Understanding how different governance actors engage with and acknowledge diversity through urban policies and planning practices is crucial to understand which urban policies, planning practices and governance arrangements may be useful to use diversity as an asset to promote social cohesion, upward social mobility and economic performances of cities and communities.

While there is a wide literature on the possible outcomes sourced from greater urban diversity within the cities, studies on urban policy and planning relatively less focus on governance systems, policies and planning practices on diversity. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the roles of different governance arrangements in the governance of urban diversity. The research is based on the analysis of how central government bodies, local governments, private and non-governmental actors, including local initiatives and civil society organizations engage in the governance of diversity, in which diversity-related fields they focus on, which factors may influence their activities positively or negatively, and what kinds of partnerships and share of responsibilities exist between different governance actors.

In order to fulfil the main objectives, several research questions have been defined, which are:

- How different governance arrangements perceive and deal with urban diversity?
- On which diversity-related areas do the governance arrangements focus?
- How do governance arrangements organize and what kinds of partnerships exist between different governance actors in dealing with diversity-related issues?

- What are the main factors influencing success and failure of governance arrangements in addressing diversity?

By seeking answers to the defined research questions, it has been attempted to evaluate to what extent the existing governance systems with urban policy and planning practices are effective in the governance of diversity.

1.3. Methodology of the Study

To answer the main research questions, a case study has been conducted to investigate how governance of diversity is practiced in a certain urban setting. The case study area selected within the scope of this study has been experiencing both favorable and unfavorable aspects of governance and urban diversity. It is diverse (in terms of socio-economic characteristics, diverse identities, cultures, and lifestyles), dynamic (with regard to residential and social mobility, migration inflows, commercial, social and cultural activities), and also deprived (in terms of concentration poverty, unemployment, and socio-spatial segregation in inner-city and historical neighborhoods). For this purpose, a qualitative case study comprised of a detailed document analysis, two-part fieldwork composed of in-depth interviews, and a round-table meeting has been conducted in Beyoğlu, Istanbul, to analyze the roles of different actors in the governance of diversity.

In this respect, first, current policies, strategies, and planning practices have been examined through a document analysis. The analysis has been based on a review and evaluation of the policy documents, strategic plans, reports, and action programs of the key actors, including the central government bodies, namely the related ministries, and local government bodies in Istanbul and Beyoğlu, including the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul Development Agency, Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, and several district municipalities, particularly the Beyoğlu Municipality. Moreover, to understand the non-governmental views, strategies and activities in the fields of diversity, activity reports, strategic plans,

articles, websites, leaflets and brochures of the related organizations, including the professional organizations, universities, consultancy companies, and various civil society organizations, have been reviewed.

Second, the fieldwork has been conducted which comprised of in-depth interviews with the selected governmental and non-governmental actors in Beyoğlu and Istanbul, in order to comprehend how urban diversity is perceived and handled by different stakeholders. Semi-structured interviews have been performed with people (state officials, long-time employees, executives, experts, founders of the non-governmental organizations, representatives, and other people) who have the necessary information. The respondents have been asked questions regarding the aim of the organization, organizational structure, target groups, main activities, perceptions over urban diversity, and the main factors fostering or hindering their success. The interviews have provided useful information, and a deeper understanding of how different actors perceive and deal with different dimensions of urban diversity.

Third, a round-table meeting has been organized among people from selected institutions and governance initiatives, in order to create a common platform in which different governmental and non-governmental actors come together and share their knowledge and experiences related to the governance of urban diversity. The round-table meeting has functioned as an overarching forum for validating the results obtained from the documentary research, and the in-depth interviews. With the help of the meeting, preliminary conclusions have been drawn by comparing and assessing the views of the surveyed organizations. Besides the people inside the interviewed organizations, an academician from the Istanbul Technical University, and three planning experts from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality have been participated in the meeting, who have been invited to provide different views from outside perspectives.

The methodology of the research covering the research design, data collection and the fieldwork is introduced in the sixth chapter in detail.

1.4. Structure of the Study

This study consists of nine chapters. The introduction chapter concentrates on the problem definition, the main hypothesis, the main research questions and the objectives of the study. These are followed by the methodology of the research, where the rationale behind the selection of the case and research methods are put forward, and the general outline of the study is introduced.

The second chapter represents dominant trends and key shifts with regard to main discourses, policies and practices regarding diversity. The aim is to indicate how diversity has been involved in policy-making, in relation to the four main periods and the major political, social and economic developments which shape the national and urban policy agendas.

The third chapter clarifies the governance concept and highlights the changing role of state in existing governance structures. The chapter then discusses the role of the central and local governments in the governance of urban diversity, and emphasizes the main fields and the problem areas where governmental authorities have failed within recent decades, by indicating how urban policy and planning practices deal with multiple dimensions of urban diversity.

The following chapter, chapter four, analyzes and highlights the roles that urban policy and urban governance arrangements in any forms of organizations, policies or initiatives may play in governing diversity, and the roles of different governance actors in developing and stimulating positive social and economic outcomes generated from urban diversity.

After providing the main theoretical framework on the governance of urban diversity, in the fifth chapter, an overview of the changing discourses, policies and planning interventions with regard to diversity in Turkey and Istanbul is put forward, focusing on different periods. This brief examination is necessary to understand the recent governmental discourses and attitudes towards diversity, find out the main problem areas, and the underlying causes of the existing problems. Therefore, the main

problem areas, on which the central and local governments in Turkey and in Istanbul do not have concern and interest, and/or lack efficiency, are introduced in this chapter. It explains how governance practices in Turkey and Istanbul, in particular have been developed and shaped in face of attitudes and concerns of the central and local governments regarding diversity. Such analysis sheds light on the main fields in which governance initiatives deal with urban diversity in Turkey, and Istanbul.

The sixth chapter focuses on the case study research carried out in Beyoğlu, Istanbul. The chapter first introduces the main aim of the research, main hypothesis and research questions. Then, the chapter presents the rationale behind the selection of the case by giving a brief information about the location, main characteristics and population structure of Beyoğlu. It is followed by the research design, and the main data collection and evaluation methods used within the scope of this study.

The following chapter, chapter seven, presents the existing spatial, socio-economic, cultural, ethnic and demographic landscape of Beyoğlu. Then it concentrates on the diverse groups living in the district, focusing on their characteristics, specific needs and problems, as well as their places of residence and relationships with the district.

In the eighth chapter, synthesis of the analyses and the key research findings are put forward. Both the governmental and non-governmental views on diversity are assessed, and the roles of key governance actors are discussed with regard to their conceptualization of urban diversity, target groups, main activities, fields of interest, and the factors influencing success and failure of their diversity-related activities.

The conclusion part develops an overall discussion on the basis of the main research findings. It evaluates the effectiveness of the existing governance mechanism and the role of governance arrangements in Turkey that deals with urban diversity, and introduces main challenges and drawbacks. The conclusion chapter also discusses the validity of the main hypothesis, by answering the main research questions. It ends with an attempt to present some general principles for urban policy and urban planning through which an effective governance structure in terms of diversity may be developed.

CHAPTER 2

DOMINANT TRENDS IN THINKING ABOUT URBAN DIVERSITY: MAIN POLICIES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

2.1. Introduction

During the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the world went through an age of the nation-states. The period was characterized by assimilationist policies towards different identities in line with the nationalism strategy, which is based on the ideal that every member of the state, including minorities and immigrants, share the common identity and shared values. In some cases, the nation-states pursued accommodational policies to deal with the conflicts and tensions between ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ groups, where in some cases adopted assimilation policies reflected upon linguistic, religious, economic, cultural and political practices, or in some cases more exclusionary approaches accompanied by violent or oppressive strategies.

Assimilationist, discriminatory and oppressive measures of nationalistic ideology were challenged in the aftermath of the World War II, while international human rights gained great importance accompanied by widespread acceptance of minority rights. Recognition of differences was the concept of the new era: multiculturalism. The concept is characterized by the recognition and mutual respect towards each community and their unique values which make up a society.

In face of new complexities driven by globalization, including political alterations, changing population and migration dynamics, as well as interactions and tensions between different groups, multiculturalist understanding has been seriously challenged. While the policies supporting multiculturalism have given way to community cohesion, integration, neo-assimilation, interculturalism policies, and created new agendas towards diversity, this process has been experienced differently in various countries. Some countries have experienced a smoother transition to

policies that encourage diversity and cultural distinctiveness, but also promote commonality, a sense of belonging and inclusion within communities. However, some countries adopt strict measures to integrate diverse groups into the mainstream society through a set of policies focusing on national identity and citizenship.

The ‘age of austerity’ following the 2008 economic crisis encompasses unprecedented cuts to state welfare services, alongside high unemployment and reductions in public and private sector pay, pensions and conditions. The period has been characterized by greater privatization, including the transfer of public services into private companies. The period coming up with these developments is also combined with long-standing patterns of exclusion, rapid demographic changes, and increasingly restrictive immigration policies as a result of xenophobic approaches, growingly adopted and embodied by key politicians and policy actors in recent years.

The perception of diversity and its reflections into policies and practices have been closely related to the political context, changing discourses and policy agendas. Therefore, it is important to understand how diversity is conceptualized and dealt in different periods shaping the policy contexts. In this chapter, the aim is to present the changing discourses, dominant policies and practices regarding diversity discussed as part of wider economic, political and social changes, especially in terms of migration patterns, population dynamics and changing patterns of activities. The literature explains the major shifts from assimilation to multiculturalism-and back to assimilation (Brubaker, 2001; Joppke, 2004; Joppke and Morawska, 2003 as cited in Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007). Based on the literature, the policies and measures are explained within four periods, namely the period between the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century (assimilation), the period between 1960s and 1990s (multiculturalism), the period between 2000 and 2008 (community cohesion, integration, interculturalism), and the period after 2008 until today (integration, neo-assimilation) shown in Figure 2.1.

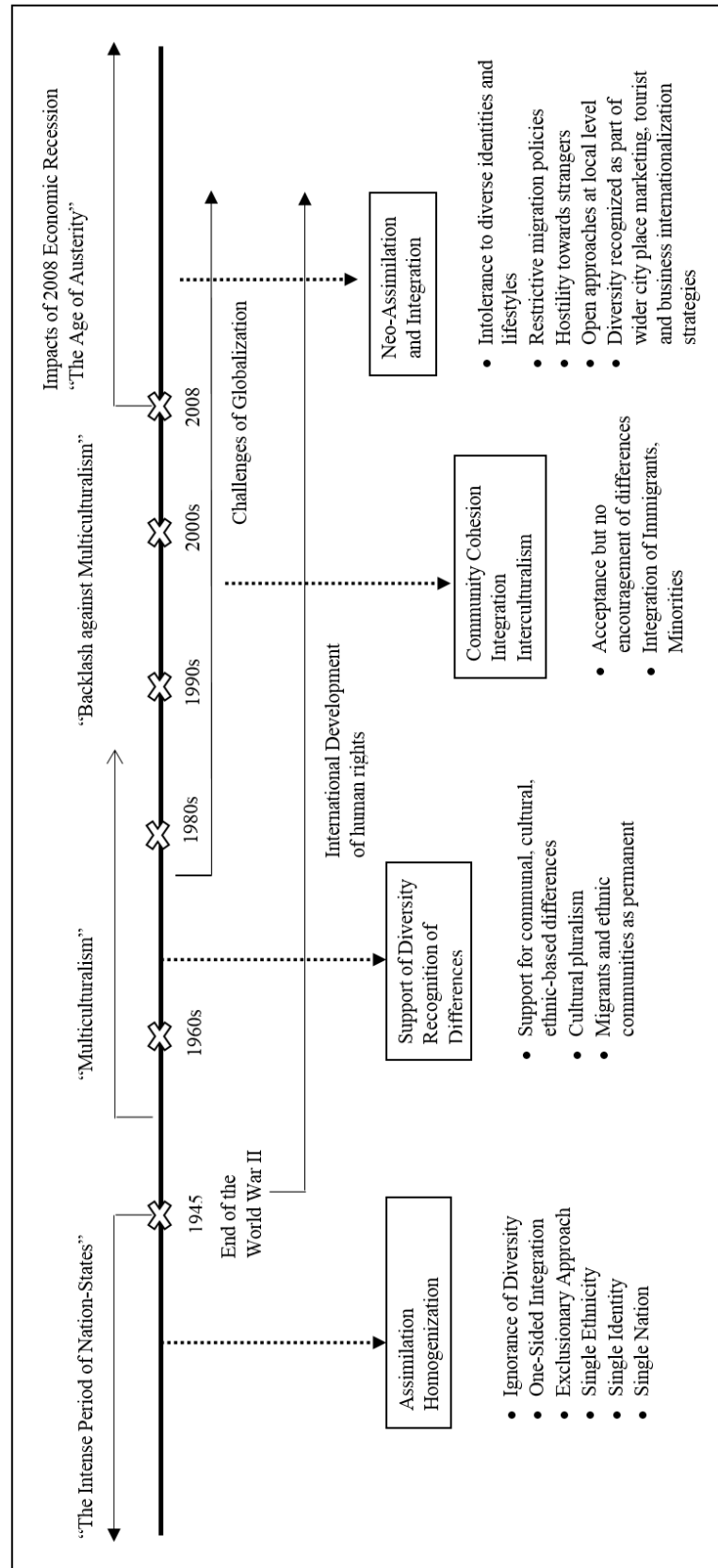


Figure 2.1 Diversity discourses and policies in different periods (The Author)

2.2. From Empires to Nation-State

The nation state is conceptualized as the 19th and the early 20th centuries' phenomenon by most theories. Nationalist politics shaped the history of the 19th and 20th centuries. The second half of the 19th century was the period, in which the idea of nationalism was created and realized within the nation-state building processes, and the concepts of citizenry and sovereignty were conceived. Just as the imperial ideologies legitimated the colonial expansion earlier, nationalistic ideas set the stage for nation-state building projects, and the concepts of ethnic and racial identities started to replace a civic conception and become concrete during the major revolutions experienced throughout the world (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002).

It is widely accepted that the nation is understood to be constituted by people as 'citizens', who share common origins and history, as indicated by their shared culture, language and identity (Calhoun, 1997; McCrone, 1998; Smith, 1998 as cited in Wimmer and Schiller, 2002). In this respect, the conception of citizenship within the nation-state system differs from the one in the imperial period. Empires were based on cosmopolitanism which promoted multiple identities, stressed the dynamic and changing character of many groups, and were responsive to the potential for creating new cultural combinations. According to Calhoun (1997), imperial system did not impose a system that would homogenize a community, or the formation of unity between the nation and the state. Moreover, as Çetin (2003) indicates, since heterogeneous identities did not claim to be citizens based on their backgrounds and identities before the formation of nation-states, they could maintain their coexistence as they wanted. In this sense, empires, entailing power in general and hard power in the international context, seem to capture, especially, the notion of multi-ethnicity, a potential for entering the discussion about cosmopolitanism (Brisku, 2010). However, in the nationalist ideology, while all the citizens have to adopt to nation-state regimes, and whether the community becomes uniform or multicultural is decided and imposed by the policies that the politics of nation-state create.

It was a shift from the recognition and celebration of diversity towards a denial approach, in which the nation-state builders deny or homogenize the internal cultural and national diversity that already existed within almost all industrializing states of Europe and the America (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002). As it is stated by Bauböck (2008), within the earlier periods of nation-building in western societies, although diversity was sometimes tolerated, most of the times it was radically eliminated through state-driven attempts of homogenization, and it was rarely celebrated as a source of national pride and strength.

2.3. Nationalism and the Nation-States Period

Nation-states are regarded as the fundamental territorial and political unit of the modernity era (Hobsbawm, 1990; Yağcıoğlu, 1996; Flint, 2006). From the 17th century to the 20th century, the development of nationalist politics as the dominant ideology and the formation of the nation-states shaped the territorial and political boundaries of the world. During this period until the middle of the 20th century, the nation-states adopted the nationalism strategy, the main concern of which was to build a common national identity. The mobilizing force of the nation-state model reached its peak with the rise of nationalist movements in the 19th and the early 20th century. The period lasted from 1830s to 1920s was characterized by an intense nation-state building period, ‘the age of nationalism’ (Mylonas, 2007).

The nation-state is broadly defined as a territorial-political unit, borders of which coincide or nearly coincide with the territorial distribution of a national group (Connor, 1978 as cited in Flint, 2006). It emerged as an ideal concept based on the ideological principle that the members of a state are formed from one national group who shares a common national identity (Flint, 2006). The ideal of nation-state was to create a homogenous community where the state incorporates people of one, single ethnic origin and cultural tradition, and a common language and religion. Because, according to nationalism ideology, for the states to realize political values such as democracy, economic welfare and distributive justice, all the citizens of the nation-

states must share a homogenous national culture and identity” (Gans, 2003 as cited in Bauböck, 2008).

The relation between the state and the members of the state was institutionalized through the concept of citizenship (Brubaker, 1992; Hanagan and Tilly, 1999 as cited in Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007). Accordingly, members of the nation should have political and civil rights, and share the same territory, history, language and culture of the nation together with other citizens. Nation states gave individuals access to civil, political, social and cultural rights, and at the same time obligations, such as military service, tax payment, etc. through the institution of citizenship. The human rights were identified with citizen rights, and attached to national identity. The citizens were strongly incorporated into the state through the rules of formal membership and the forms of national identification (Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007). In order to realize the nationalist dream, a citizenry, a sovereign and a nation were created. A person was expected to be both a member of the sovereign nation-state, as “citizen” and a member of the “nation”, since the nation-state as a concept emphasizes the alliance between nation and state, in which nationality is expected to bind the citizen to the state.

However, as opposed to the nationalism ideology that imagines one integral and homogenous nation, most nation-states were already multinational and poly-ethnic, as they are today (Kymlicka, 1995a; 2001; 2007 as cited in May, 2013). They were comprised of socially and culturally heterogeneous communities, and multi-ethnic populations, comprised of national and indigenous minorities¹ as well as a variety of immigrant groups, or what is called by Mylonas (2007) as ‘non-core groups’.

¹ According to Capotorti’s definition quoted in Clogg (2002) as cited in Mylonas (2007, p.11), the term “minority” is commonly used in the literature to refer to “a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members –being nationals of the state– possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language”.

The existence of different identities and the claims for recognition raised by ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious minorities were perceived as threats to state stability, and to national and territorial integrity, and unity (Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007). Therefore, policies towards state-formation, nation-building and the creation of a common national identity were mostly accompanied by homogenization or assimilation policies. To actualize the ideal of the nation-state, governments adopted policies and measures ensuring that immigrants and minorities comply with the national norms.

States adopted policies to serve for an ideal national identity and to achieve national integration. First, nation-states pursued a set of assimilation policies. Assimilationist policies are broadly defined by Mylonas (2007) as educational, cultural, occupational, marital, demographic, and political state policies that target the adoption of core-group culture and lifestyle by the non-assimilated group, including certain attributes such as language, dress, behaviors.

In addition, during the intense period of nationalizing state, more exclusionist forms of policies emerged as more violent and oppressive strategies, such as deportation, ethnic cleansing, massacres, forced migration, genocides and secession, with the aim of eliminating differences, mostly driven by racism and ethnic hatreds (Yağcıoğlu, 1996; Mylonas, 2007; Demirtepe and Bozbey, 2012).

Moreover, during the nation-state period, states also adopted accommodation policies where minorities were allowed to have separate institutions such as schools, places of worship and cultural organizations within the nation-state (Mylonas, 2007). Within the context of accommodation policies, while the state is required to meet the conditions and facilitate minorities' struggles for maintaining their identities, communal structure traditions and culture; from these groups, a certain level of political commitment and obedience to laws are required (Yağcıoğlu, 1996; Mylonas, 2007). With regard to accommodation policies, the literature draws attention to two points. First, the acceptance and perpetuation of differences, although to a certain extent, do not come to mean that different identities do not face discrimination

practiced by the state, its institutions or the dominant groups (Mylonas, 2007). Second, the policies accommodating ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural minorities, and given ‘allowances’ by the state may generate social tensions and conflicts between majority and minority groups (Yağcıoğlu, 1996).

Therefore, although relatively more tolerant approaches were found with regard to diversity, the focus was generally to establish and sustain homogeneity within the nation. Cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity were seen as a political obstacle challenging the homogenizing assumptions of the classical nation-state model (Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007). Enache (2005, para. 3) summarizes the diversity understanding of the nation-states as:

“Nation states rely on cultural, ethnic and religious homogeneity in order to exist. Diversity can only be external for them, it can only inhabit the spaces beyond the nation’s high and broad (de)fence. “One nation, one state, one territory” is the death penalty for the possibility of existence of a respected and dignified Other. In the best of cases, diversity is tolerated or accepted. But, accepting diversity is nothing else but saying that ‘we’ agree to stand ‘you’ on our territory under the condition that all of us are aware that there is a distance, never to be fully overcome, between ‘we’ and ‘you’.”

According to Grillo (2007), this was the period in which the ethnic and cultural identities were suppressed, immigrants and minorities were assimilated and forced to adopt national norms. While nationalism seems to have created solidarity and sense of unification among members of a community, it brought about exclusion and segregation of other ethnic and cultural groups. The newly established nation-states constituted their policies and implementations based upon the assimilation of immigrants and minorities and their adaptation to dominant national norms and rules.

Therefore, before the World War II, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity were identified with a variety of illiberal and hierarchical relationships accompanied by the ideologies based on racialism, and the domination of certain groups over other

groups. They formed the basis of domestic laws, such as racially biased immigration and citizenship policies (Kymlicka, 2012).

2.4. Multiculturalism

After the World War II, populations of nation-states started to become more diversified particularly due to increasing international migration. Most evident examples were the Western European nations such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the Netherlands, where racial, ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity gradually increased after World War II as a result of the immigration of people from the former colonies of these nations in Asia, Africa and the West Indies to Europe, with the expectation of participating into the labor market in Europe and improving their economic status (Banks and Lynch, 1986 as cited in Banks, 2004). However, the mass influx of immigrants was not welcomed warmly by many host societies. The newcomers were reacted with suspicion, accompanied by high levels of hostility in many cases. Immigrants were mostly subjected to poor housing and labor-intensive jobs, low-skilled and low-wage employment. It was also reflected in government responses that increasingly imposed on restrictions to limit migration.

The claims for recognition voiced by different groups within the nation-states triggered the formation and mobilization of ethnic or national movements. These movements challenged the assimilationist agenda of nation states where different cultural, ethnic groups and immigrant people were obliged to forsake their original cultures, beliefs and traditions to ‘fully participate in the nation-state’ (Patterson, 1977 as cited in Banks, 2004).

In the aftermath of the World War II, with militaristic nationalism regimes brought down, the world community entered into a new era of international cooperation to align against violent, discriminatory and oppressive ideologies. The United Nations, established after the war to keep the peace and stability, strongly rejected these ideologies predicated on racialism and inequality, and emphasized the need for the

promotion of a new ideology based on the equality of races and people. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, and other notable documents such as OSCE's Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter were also signifying the beginning of a new era of international cooperation, based on the principles of equality, non-discrimination, the right of free association, and the struggle against racial segregation (Yağcıoğlu, 1996; Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007). While the notion of human rights were identified with citizen rights and attached to national identity within the classical model of nation-state, especially with the Charter of the United Nations signed in 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), an international agenda was created and expanded to identify and protect the human rights (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui, 2005).

The development of human rights at international level and their institutionalization in governmental or non-governmental international organizations highlighted the protection and promotion of the rights of the ethnic or national, linguistic and religious minorities. For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the document adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966, protects the rights of people belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities by declaring that:

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language” (Article 27, ICCPR).

The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution 47/135 in 1992 also obliged states to “protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and [...] encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity” (Article 1(1)). The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted by the General Conference of

UNESCO in 2001, has also been a case in point. Similarly, at the level of regional human rights regimes, such developments have been practiced, especially after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, the most important documents of which were the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages adopted in 1992, and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities adopted in 1994 (Koenig and de Guchteneire, 2007).

The institutionalization of human rights at the international and global level highlighted the rights to cultural, ethnic and religious identity and minority rights, and compelled the nation-states to interiorize more pluralistic policy approaches. The development of human rights in international context empowered ethnic, religious, cultural or linguistic groups in terms of obliging governments to protect the rights of minorities and to set new public policies, if not, imposing sanctions. It became harder for governments to pursue and implement oppressive, violent or discriminative policies against minority groups. The recognition of diversity has evolved as a part of a human rights revolution process.

According to Kymlicka (2012), older hierarchies of the intensified nation-state era were challenged by three political movements emerged after the World War II, namely, the fight for decolonization intensified in the period between 1948 and 1965, the struggle against racial segregation and discrimination initiated and exemplified by the African-American civil-rights movement from 1955 until 1965, and the attempts for multiculturalism and minority rights shown up in the late 1960s.

Starting from the 1960s, different values, attitudes, outlooks were embraced within “multiculturalism”². The recognition and accommodation of diversity had been

² The concept of multiculturalism has been variably defined by academics that is used as a demographic description of a society (multicultural society); an ideology on the part of individuals or government that ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious diversity should be celebrated; particular policies or programs undertaken by governments or institutions (e.g., multicultural curricula); or a specific normative political theory that lays out principles for governing diverse societies (Abu-Laban 1994,

actualized and put into practice through a set of multiculturalism policies and identification of minority rights by the mid-1960s. A large part of the literature explains this policy change into multiculturalism agenda, as a result of the shift from the national policy responses of assimilation, homogenization and exclusion to the issues of immigration, citizenship and identity, towards a greater recognition of sub-national variation, and the increasing transnational and post-national nature of processes of migration, economic development and global politics (Tambini, 2001; Koopmans and Statham, 2001 as cited in Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

The concept of recognition and mutual respect towards each community accommodate in the core of the multiculturalism policies (Muchowiecka, 2013). These policies were adopted both at national and international levels by many states and international organizations, with non-acceptance of earlier ideas and approaches based on unitary and homogenous nationhood predominant within the most intense period of nation-states (Kymlicka, 2012). National norms and values were perceived as rather heterogeneous. The diversity of identities and values were accommodated within a multicultural framework (Grillo, 2007).

According to Kymlicka (2012), multiculturalism policies combine three policy areas, namely cultural recognition, economic redistribution, and political participation. The policies are mainly related to the access to political power and economic opportunities, such as policies of affirmative action, mechanisms of political consultation, funding for ethnic self-organization, and facilitated access to citizenship. Starting from the 1960s, a range of policies were set on the agenda and implemented in many countries through a variety of measures. Although they have differed according to particular contexts and political environments, the main principles have been to eliminate discrimination, foster equality of opportunity,

Bloemraad 2007a, Faist 2000, Fleras and Elliott 1992, Kallen 1982, Joppke 1999, Roberts and Clifton 1990 as cited in Bloemraad, et al. 2008).

surmount difficulties in maintaining full participation of all members of the society, ensure equal access to public services, recognize cultural identities and provide public spaces for their representation, and build up acceptance of ethnic pluralism and cultural understanding among all groups (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009).

The recognition of the legitimacy of claims of different identities (such as immigrants, refugees, ethnic minorities) to be different became the main motivation of the period, notably around the issues including education, language, religion and family life (Grillo, 2007). The most central ones come in the form of public recognition (promoting ethnic minority organizations and activities, etc.), educational recognition (incorporating different cultures into school curricula, establishing state and private schools, and religious schools for minorities within host countries, etc.), legal recognition (prevention of discrimination and allowing some cultural exceptions to laws, recognition of other marriages, etc.), and religious recognition (empowering and encouraging religious minorities to cultivate and perform their rituals concerning places of worship, allowing day offs for religious holidays, etc.) (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009; Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010 as cited in Muchowiecka, 2013).

There are also measures taken in the fields of social services (spread of culturally sensitive practices among public workers, including social workers, healthcare providers, police and courts through informing, reconstructing or retraining), provision of public materials (state-sponsored information given in multiple languages, e.g. health promotion campaigns), food (permission for ritual slaughter, provision of proscribed foods such as halal, kosher, vegetarian in public institutions), broadcasting and media (monitoring of group images to prevent discrimination and stereotypes, own media facilities for minorities) (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009). Moreover, in terms of political participation, minorities in many countries have been appointed to different positions in local councils and national parliament to be able to represent the people with similar backgrounds (Koopmans, 2005).

2.5. 'Backlash' against Multiculturalism

Policies of multiculturalism have been deemed to fail with the facets of globalization and growing diversity within societies (iCoCo, 2012). 'The failure of multiculturalism', developed as a public discourse and brought up to the agenda notably by the ministers and top officials of states through their statements, has been placed in government documents and reports, and discussed thoroughly in the academic area.

However, why has multiculturalism lost its attractiveness? The current literature emphasizes several points. It is argued that multiculturalist approach and its practices have been seriously challenged by ever-increasing international migration, growing numbers of poor immigrants and ethnic groups, and new social formations spanning nation-states (Vertovec, 2010). A large part of the literature indicates that the retreat from multiculturalism policies can be explained by the idea that diverse identities may pose a threat to national identity and spoil the common and shared values of the receiving society. According to Syrett and Sepulveda (2012), adverse effects of 'too much diversity', i.e. 'an excess of alterity' (Sartori, 2002 as cited in Grillo, 2007) on social solidarity, social capital and community cohesion have become more visible in recent years as the consequences of ever growing immigration to cities, as well as civil disturbances and terrorist attacks. This was supported by Putnam (2007), in the sense that greater diversity has decreased the levels of social capital, trust and cooperation among the community, between and within different groups. Vasta (2007) also points out the understanding that immigrants and different ethnic, cultural or religious minorities are likely to threaten national identity, bring along unfavorable impacts on social cohesion, create disturbances and violence, and lead to the loss of common values.

In this context, multiculturalism and its practices are blamed for providing a highly fertile environment for provoking extremism and civil disturbances (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009; Vertovec, 2010; Meer and Modood, 2013; Syrett and Sepulveda,

2012). The academics raise concerns about the challenges posed by the Muslim communities for the host Western societies- illustrated by September 11 and 7/7 London attacks (Vasta, 2007), and the rooted Islamic values especially including male-dominated, patriarchal values constraining the freedom and the rights of women (Wika, 2002 as cited in Kymlicka, 2010) such as segregation and suppression of women, forced marriages, separate education and non-secular approaches (Grillo, 2003) - harm social cohesion, result in unrest and violence, and create deep concerns about the loss of democratic values.

Second, the literature emphasizes the effect of Far Right policies in this transformation. Worries about the loss of identity, common values and the way of life have been spread by national Far Right groups within many host societies, as a consequence of 'being overrun by foreigners' (iCoCo, 2012). As a result of such developments, right-wing xenophobic groups gained power, and centrist parties changed their strategy into xenophobic rhetoric to compete for the lost votes (Bauböck, 2008). Therefore, new right movements, adopted in local and national politics, especially across Europe, have been identified as one of the important factors that account for the retreat from multiculturalism.

In addition, multiculturalism has been criticized for emphasizing cultural differences, and not handling intercultural communication, thus leading to communal segregation and mutual incomprehension. It was supported by Kymlicka (2010) that the concept disregards economic and political inequalities, on the contrary, it strengthens power inequalities and cultural restrictions within minority groups, and promotes accentuated and preserved cultural differences. It is assumed that these differences result in communal separateness which brings along social divisions and deterioration of social relations.

It was earlier highlighted in the Cattle Report in 2001, which asserts (Grillo, 2007);

“Multiculturalism’s allegedly divisive character stems from its supposed institutionalization of difference and undermining of cohesion, common values, common aims and objectives, common moral principles and codes of behavior.”

According to Cante Report, multiculturalism accounts for residential ghettoization and social isolation of immigrants (Kymlicka, 2010). The report points out residential, social and spatial divisions including separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, and so on for which the multiculturalist ideology is blamed for and through which different groups live parallel but separate lives with almost no interaction between each other, and apart from the mainstream.

Therefore, ‘the backlash against multiculturalism’ (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010) has come into existence in varying forms regarding public debate and its effects on policies and institutional practices. Community cohesion and integration have become the leading national policy programs in many countries, particularly in Europe and the EU itself (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009).

Community Cohesion

‘Community cohesion’, as a concept and a political debate, was first introduced in the UK, and placed at the center of public policy immediate after a range of riots and disturbances experienced within the country in 2001. To Thomas (2009), the 2001 riots experienced in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford (the towns located in the north of the UK) were the breaking point for ‘race relations’ policy approaches, with ‘Community Cohesion’ rapidly becoming not only the ‘explanation’ for the 2001 disturbances (Cantle, 2001), but the dominant principle for government’s approach to issues of racial tension and ethnic integration.

The concept was put forward in the UK, by the reports written by Ted Cantle³ in 2001 and John Denham⁴ in 2001, then developed by co-authors of the Guidance on

³ Cantle, T. (2001). *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*. London: Home Office.

⁴ Denham, J. (2001). *Building Cohesive Communities: A Report of the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion*, London: Home Office.

Community Cohesion. In the report, *Guidance on Community Cohesion*, Local Government Association (2002) announced that:

“A cohesive community is where:

- *There is common vision and a sense of belonging for all communities;*
- *The diversity of people’s different backgrounds and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued;*
- *Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities; and*
- *Strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and within neighborhoods.”*

Community cohesion agenda has been introduced in many countries with a set of measures to build engagement, while preserving justice, rights and equal opportunities (iCoCo, 2012). The main idea is the support of cultural distinctiveness concurrently with the development of commonality, a sense of belonging and inclusion. The concept and its policy implications have been transferred into practice as a range of anti-discrimination legislation and equal opportunities programs designated to fight against discrimination and inequalities, not only experienced by racial or ethnic groups, but also by ‘disadvantaged’ parts of the society (such as women, youth, elderly, people with diverse sexual orientation and disabled people). All forms of differences are to be recognized including the ones deriving from age, gender, disability, sexual orientation, social class, etc. These programs under the umbrella of community cohesion agenda have targeted the promotion of interaction and a sense of belonging, and aimed at changing discriminatory, racist or intolerant attitudes towards diverse groups (iCoCo, 2012). These programs have been expected to construct a social environment that values and nurtures diversity to a certain extent.

Practices of cohesion target not only the generation of shared values and a sense of belonging, but also the development of strong bonds between diverse groups in schools, neighborhoods and workplaces. For example, in the UK, various initiatives in forms of bridging and bonding activities, and interreligious projects, workshops

for school children from different ethnic profiles organized by the local councils and organizations, promotion and facilitation of direct contact among people of different ethnic backgrounds, and similar measures emerged as common practices of community cohesion policies (Thomas, 2009; Muchowiecka, 2013).

Integration

A range of events such as the September 11 attacks in the United States in 2001 (referred to 9/11), the murder of Dutch film maker Theo van Gogh in 2004 who criticized the treatment of women in Islam in one of his films, 7/7 London bombings in 2005 with a series of suicide attacks, Muhammad cartoons crisis in Denmark in 2005 and the riots by Arab, North African and black second-generation immigrants in the suburbs of Paris in France in 2005 have created concerns about immigration, security of citizens and national identity in many countries (Cramme and Motte, 2007). The policy focus has been directed towards integration, based on the idea that growing immigration is the cause of serious problems and threats within the cities, and that integration oriented policies may be the solution for increasing insecurity and disturbances.

In that respect, the scope of cohesion policies has been broadened to focus on the need for the integration of immigrants and ethnic groups into the dominant society. Therefore, ‘the backlash against multiculturalism’ (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009) has been experienced in many cases which led to a shift in public discourse from a pluralist approach towards an integrationist approach, an understanding that endeavors to rediscover and reassert the central elements of national identity and citizenship (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

According to Kymlicka (2012), it has been a trend characterized by a modest strengthening of multiculturalism policies and a dramatic increase in civic integration policies. In that sense, it is not the abandonment of multicultural policies, but a growing policy emphasis on integration policies, what Kymlicka (2012, p. 19) defines

as ‘proliferation of civic integration policies’. Freeman (2004, p. 945) also sums up this change as (cited in Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009, p. 33):

“There is now a clear trend towards a middling form of incorporation -call it integration- that rejects permanent exclusion but neither demands assimilation nor embraces formal multiculturalism.”

While national policy agenda has shifted towards integration with an emphasis on citizenship, national identity and common values, the most common practices have shown up as forms of obligatory language requirements and host country-knowledge requirements, measured in some countries by language assessments and citizens tests (Kymlicka, 2012; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). A set of fundamental principles of the integration process has been identified as the key role of employment in integration process, respect for the rule of law and the main liberal-democratic values (liberty, democracy, human rights and equality), the necessity of anti-discrimination laws and policies, and the basic knowledge of the host society respecting its language, history and institutions (Joppke, 2007 as cited in Kymlicka, 2012). This comes to the fore as the most important difference from the multicultural understanding. Integrationist approach looks for respect and adaptation in certain issues, not only from the host, but especially from the ‘guest’.

The policies started to stress that migrants and ethnic minorities should resemble the host community. Implementation of citizenship courses and mandatory tests for immigrants and ethnic groups encompassing the knowledge of national civics, dominant cultural norms and values have become common in many countries. Language assessments measure certain standards and competency level regarding the official language of the host country. Through these assessments, immigrants and ethnic minorities have been expected to show their willingness to ‘belong’ (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009).

It is important to note that although integration has become one of the foremost themes in national policy agenda of many countries such as Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Denmark, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands (Vertovec and

Wessendorf, 2009; Kymlicka, 2012; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012), integration policies and programs are adopted and implemented in various ways in different countries. Some countries have seen this integration process as a voluntary mechanism and have emphasized immigrants' rights to integrate, and provided supportive programs. According to Kymlicka (2012), countries that follow enabling citizenship strategies based on voluntary and open civic integration are involved within this category, some of the examples of which are Finland, Canada and Australia. Some other countries have regarded integration as a duty, imposing compulsory programs on immigrants and denying immigrants' access to social rights or residency renewals if they cannot come through certain integration requirements. Key government officials in those countries have emphasized the immigrants' duty to integrate. Countries that pursue prohibitive citizenship strategies based on coercive and assimilative civic integration policies fit into this category, such as Germany, Austria, Denmark. On the other hand, in between these two approaches, some intermediate levels have also been generated and adopted by some countries. In Sweden, for example, immigrants receiving social benefits can have their benefits reduced or eliminated if they do not participate in integration programs, however, residency or the acquisition of citizenship are not conditioned by the participation into these programs (Kymlicka, 2012).

Neo-assimilation

After the 2000s, the question of too much diversity (Grillo, 2007) has raised wider calls for assimilation of diverse groups. New assimilationist discourses and policies have been introduced once again, with xenophobic approaches. In this respect, the challenges brought by the globalization, including economic downturns, competition for jobs and scarce resources, and increasing dissatisfaction among communities due to the inefficiency of governments in solving social problems within cities, accompanied by social protests of communities against government policies have diminished tolerance to others. Newcomers, immigrants, and other diverse communities have been seen as the main sources of economic crises, social tensions, conflicts, insecurity, and inequalities among the society.

Therefore, in many countries, the retreat from multiculturalism has shown up as national responses of assimilation, with coercive forms of integration. The policy agenda of cohesion and integration has emerged as assimilation tendencies in many Western countries (such as the Netherlands, Denmark, France) and a new model of forced assimilation signaling a new and nationalistic policy and political agenda.

As seen in the Dutch case, where the assimilationist response has been more evident, compared to other European cases, the fall of multiculturalism has ended up a strong push for assimilation, which may be the signs of a failed integration process (Entzinger, 2006). While the country was the most prominent example of multiculturalism policies and recognition of diversity, the government has directed its policies towards integration and assimilation. The challenges of globalization and difficulties in managing ever-increasing international migration, the ever-advancing integration process going on in Europe, international terrorism and extremism, religious –particularly- Islamic fundamentalism have believed to intensify the worries about immigration and the sense of threat and insecurity (Entzinger, 2006). In this context, a set of measures has been taken. Acquirement of citizenship became more difficult and costly. Immigrants who have already been obliged to take mandatory integration courses starting from the 1990s, are faced with paying fines and being denied permanent residence if they fail the obligatory language and culture test. A mandatory civic integration test, which has to be taken by prospective migrants in the embassies of the Netherlands before their arrival to the country, has been necessary for them to obtain the permission for a first entry. Besides these coercive formal procedures, immigrants have also been expected to adopt the mainstream Dutch values as well as behave in parallel with Dutch habits and customs, which in literature widely regarded as assimilation to Dutch culture.

These implementations aiming to integrate the immigrants and ethnic minorities have been seen as the ways to ensure their socio-economic mobility, to facilitate their employment as well as to prevent any threats, conflicts or insecurity sourced by immigrants or minorities (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009). Further, such policy measures have been accepted as a necessary and legitimate way for liberal

democracies to protect their principles and rally new citizens behind them. Moreover, such measures have been believed to enable the immigrants to develop their capacity in terms of human capital and adaptation into the labor market. Immigrants' integration into labor market has been put at the center of the neo-assimilationist diversity policies.

Although these requirements have been seen as necessary ways for immigrants to become familiar with the host country and its language, culture, values or history, the mentioned policy measures and implementations are widely criticized that they force immigrants and ethnic groups to adopt certain traits of the host society mostly by giving up their identities. They are also blamed for leading to the exclusion and marginalization of immigrants and worse for those that are not able to fulfil the related requirements (Michalowski, 2011).

Even so, the neo-assimilation policies are assessed as more conscientious than the traditional assimilation policies, in the sense that it perceives diversity in a perspective of two-way integration process, which emphasize and regulate the relationship between the settled, and the newcomers (Tasan-Kok, 2013). In this framework, while it is accepted that diverse groups and immigrants have different backgrounds, identities, lifestyles, as well as different expectations and demands, these groups are also expected to fulfil the requirements and expectations of the host society to a large extent.

Interculturalism

After the 2000s, despite the centrality of integration measures, schemes that support diversity have also been developed to replace 'multicultural' or to be used interchangeably with the term. Policy themes that encourage diversity and 'intercultural' understanding have been found, on national, and particularly on local level, driven by a range of policies, institutional arrangements and initiatives (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009). Interculturalism, in this respect, may be considered as an extended form of multiculturalism, as post-multiculturalism.

However, the concept differs from multiculturalism in the sense that it perceives cultures and identities as not fixed, but dynamic, multi-dimensional, and intertwined concepts, and does not solely conceptualize diversity notion from the perspective of the issues related to race, migration and ethnicity. The concept differs from other concepts of diversity discourses that it adopts interaction-based dynamic understanding of diversity. The concept is based on intercultural communication and dialogue, coexistence, interdependent personal identities which go beyond nations, simplified ethnicities or closed communities, social cohesion and strong sense of national identity which respects diversity and protects individual rights (Tasan-Kok, 2013).

In cities such as Copenhagen, Stuttgart, Vienna and Dublin, policy-makers have incorporated diversity principles into their current policies and practices, with respect to age, gender, racial, ethnic or national origin, marital status, economic situation, religion or belief, disability and sexual orientation (Spencer, 2008). Government programs for developing intercultural communication and Diversity Units instituted by many governments including Belgium and Slovenia, and 'Diversity Charters' organized by big enterprises as leading private-sector countries in several countries such as France and Germany exemplify these schemes. Further, various festivals, activities, radio and television programs centered on cultural diversity as initiated many in Luxembourg and Portugal, cooperation for enhancing intercultural dialogue between governmental departments and community organizations, e.g. Danish Prime Minister and the Minister for Integration and ethnic minority organizations have also been aimed at promoting cultural recognition as well as ethnic and religious diversity within communities, supporting the rights of diverse groups and developing intercultural dialogue among different institutions and initiatives (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009).

On the other hand, although the concept has been supported by a variety of international organizations including the Council of Europe, the European Commission, or UNESCO (Tasan-Kok, 2013), and has been widely favored that it goes beyond multiculturalism and diverges from the discussions based on ethnicity

and nationality, supports cross-cultural interaction, and brings to a positive understanding towards integration and interdependency, the term has been recently criticized for failing to be policy-oriented, and develop policy tools and framework on how to support the interaction and dialogue between diverse identities.

2.6. Impact of 2008 Economic Crisis, Austerity Policies and the Changing Context of Diversity

After the economic recession of 2008, many governments across the Europe and the North America have developed more robust policies, coming in forms of either integration or assimilation, towards diversity and migration in response to internal political pressures, and concerns over the negative effects of economic crisis.

Austerity refers to a policy of deficit-cutting by decreasing government spending often through a reduction in the amount of benefits and public services provided. It involves policies to decrease government spending and increase taxes to reduce budget deficits. Austerity policies include cutting public investment and privatizing existing government assets and public services, cutting public safety net and insurance programs such as retirement, welfare, unemployment benefits, youth and senior programs and housing subsidies, reducing and cutting public sector employers' wages, imposing job cuts, increasing taxes and fees (Perlo, 2012).

A set of austerity measures such as attacks on pensions, greater privatization, significant cuts in social services, education, healthcare and other areas (Perlo, 2012) have been undertaken after the 2008 crisis. The economic downturn has culminated in cutbacks in public expenditure that severely affect social services and social protection systems (unemployment, housing and other benefits, and social care services such as disability, homelessness, certain health services, etc.) (European Social Network, 2014). These were accompanied by the lack of sufficient employment opportunities and the loss of jobs due to the economic downturn, and left many groups further excluded and disadvantaged. The economic crisis and its

implications have severely and disproportionately affected the poor, immigrants and other vulnerable groups, who are most dependent on welfare payments. Many studies, conducted to find out the impacts of austerity on vulnerable groups including low-income families, women, children, immigrants, people with disabilities, elderly, ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups, show that the neighborhoods where the most vulnerable groups are living and working at the low-paid and low-skilled sectors of the labor market have been hit by austerity measures in terms of suffering unemployment, poverty and limitations or poor access to public services.

The impacts of austerity on social groups have been most notable in Europe, particularly in Southern European countries such as Greece, Portugal and Spain, as well as in the U.S. where austerity measures have brought about mass unemployment, further income inequalities, and poverty (Steinberg, 2013). Societies, who have faced with increasing social and economic problems, have been nurturing hostility towards austerity policies, manifested itself as growing discontents, upheaval and mounting social protests against governments and strict measures imposed in the aftermath of the crisis, including major public spending and public sector job cuts, and collective redundancies. Unsurprisingly, the situation not only drives people increasingly feel alienated from their governments (Steinberg, 2013), but all these have prepared the ground for creating social tensions, which undermine social cohesion and social mobility within the communities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

The period of austerity, which is characterized by social tensions in reaction to growing socio-economic inequalities and political discontent, has also been driven by anti-immigration and xenophobic discourses and policy outcomes. The recent era in the aftermath of the 2008 economic recession was featured by reactionary politics, restrictive migration policies and practices, and cautious approach towards diversity. As defined by some academics, it has been an era in which the legitimacy of pro-migrants and pro-diversity policies has been undermined (Crouch, 2011 as cited in Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

While patterns of migration has been changing and developing in terms of origin countries, new experiences of space and social contact, patterns of spatial distribution, and divergent labor market experiences (Vertovec, 2007; Craig et al., 2009 as cited in Vickers, 2012; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013), migrants have increasingly been viewed as a burden in the face of the competition for jobs as well as scarce resources and services. The common ground in recent anti-immigration politics adopted by populist parties is that immigration has been inducing unemployment, threatening to unravel national identities, and challenging solidarity existing within the nations (Collett, 2011). In that respect, greater diversity emerging from ever-increasing immigration has been blamed for causing discontent, which cause policy-makers to adopt reactionary approaches towards diversity and migration.

The idea that current levels of immigration cannot be sustained was accompanied by the rising discontent with the integration models introduced as post-multiculturalism strategies and implemented by many governments. These have urged many extreme right-wing parties, which newly came to power, to adopt the strategy of stigmatizing immigrants (Collett, 2011; Abtan, 2013). Adopting such strategies which are said to help them gain electoral victories (Abtan, 2013) and finding backdrop for their campaigns, political parties have adopted tight and restrictive immigration policies over the last few years. Moreover, the evincing discourses characterized by growing distrust which focus on the threat sourced by different groups, and measures including imposing tighter migration controls have led to further changes in migration patterns, with consequences of both decreasing degrees of in-migration and increasing levels of out-migration in many cases (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Therefore, like other vulnerable groups, the effects of austerity agendas have been severe for immigrants which leave them further excluded and vulnerable. Besides facing restrictive migration policies and measures adopted by the host countries, immigrants growingly suffer from unemployment, lowest-wages with no guarantee of social security, growing costs of living and difficulties in accessing to public services. Therefore, migrants are being driven into hardship with considerable negative impacts on their living standards (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Lytvyniuk (2011) has identified two types of migration policies adopted by countries in the aftermath of the economic crisis. The common characteristic of those policies is that they aim to prevent mass migration through the imposition of strict and restrictive measures. Accordingly, the policies within the scope of ‘filter model’ include the introduction of limitations for certain categories of migrants in terms of their ethno-cultural, linguistic or religious background, skills, as well as sex and age composition, property qualifications, etc.). The practices of filtering migration flows according to specific criteria and quotas based on a selective treatment characterize this model. The measures including the quotas restricting the flow of migrants, adoption programs covering language exams, integration courses, etc., restrictions on family immigration have already been adopted and implemented in many European countries such as Ukraine, Germany and France that face mass migration (Lytvyniuk, 2011). While strict requirements are imposed for the majority of the migrants based on selective and preferential treatments, a set of measures that ease the immigration procedures for high-skilled immigrants and entrepreneurs have increasingly been implemented. In Germany, for example, entrepreneurs investing 1 million Euros and generating more than 10 new job places, highly-qualified immigrants and professionals specialized in Information Technology are quite welcomed and can benefit from obtaining unlimited residence in Germany after the arrival, without necessity of taking integration courses or exams.

‘Barrier model’, on the other hand, is established on the basis of restrictions on borders imposed on migrants entering and leaving the country. The regulations to prevent and restrict illegal migration, elimination of visa privileges, rigid visa policies, stricter border protection, deportation from border areas and imposing compulsory exams in the embassies in the home countries before arrival in the host country are among the common tools of this model adopted in countries, including the Netherlands, Switzerland, also in the United States. (Lytvyniuk, 2011).

Further, a recent study conducted by the Transatlantic Council on Migration indicates that the economic recession and the austerity measures affect the integration programs in terms of policy priorities, strategies and investments into integration.

Accordingly, while some governments have strongly been stuck to their integration programs, while some other has confronted with significant budget constraints, thus required to abolish, reduce or delay their integration plans. On the other hand, it is also emphasized that economic depression is insufficient to express policy responses and shifts by the governments considering immigrant integration and diversity (Collett, 2011). In face of these developments and changes regarding the responsibilities of actors, heated arguments have been emerged that austerity agenda is consciously used by some governments as means of retrenching or pulling down social programs (Krugman, 2012), within an era of downscaling state. While the governments have been imposing cutbacks in public services, transferring certain public services to the private sector companies, some critics have labelled such efforts as rent seeking or profit taking attempts of government rather than looking after social need or benefit (Peck, 2012). Further, central governments have been blamed for using austerity programs as excuses to introduce anti-equality legislation, and also military adventurism, Islamophobic racism and authoritarian regimes (McRobie, 2012), and/or anti-immigration agendas ‘under the guise of austerity’ (Newby, 2014).

2.7. Conclusive Remarks

Considering the existing approaches, national and local policy responses and practices regarding diversity, few points should be emphasized, which may also guide the following chapters.

First, in recent years the economic uncertainties, governments’ inefficiencies in diversity-related issues and their devolution of responsibilities, public funding cuts, anti-immigration movements and other challenges posed by globalization have caused unrest, social tensions, and intolerance to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged parts of the communities, especially to immigrants, and had adverse impacts on social cohesion in many cases. The issues such as provision of housing and the availability of employment have grown into problematic. It has created a cautious approach towards diversity and the issues of immigration.

Second, the most recent overview of the policies and policy practices at both national and city scales show that there is a growing divergence between national and local agendas regarding the understanding of diversity and its implications. While national governments have been adopting more restrictive approaches towards diversity, more positive approaches towards diversity are to be found at metropolitan, city or neighborhood levels. At these scales, more supportive, open and pragmatic approaches have been adopted that encourage diversity for social cohesion, social mobility and competitiveness of cities. In contrast to national policies and practices, which stress the need for integration and an official recognition of similarities, at sub-metropolitan, urban or neighborhood scales, these embracing attitudes regarding diversity are reflected as the most progressive and innovative policies. Various local initiatives driven by a variety of actors are endeavoring to response highly varying needs and demands of diverse groups, which adopt open approaches to differences within community or within diverse groups. In this context, mixed-housing and community development strategies that create diverse urban environments as well as planning approaches emerging in forms of regulations and controls that attach importance to differences of communities regarding age, gender and lifestyles have been introduced by various local actors.

Third, there has been instrumental approaches towards diversity in the sense that diversity has potential positive impacts on economic performance and competitiveness of cities, in terms of increasing interactions, networking, productivity, and innovation. A part of the recent literature emphasizes that more instrumental and positive approaches towards diversity are rooted in the idea that diverse groups make significant economic contribution to cities. In this respect, the focus has been on diverse workforce with regard to a variety of skills, new ideas, talents and the availability of mobility and flexibility (in terms of migrants) help cities sustain their competitive power and create competitive advantage. Diversity of skills, talent and employment play a key role in pursuing competitiveness strategies of cities in many fields including marketing, enterprise, business development and the labor market (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). The argument is that immigrants, especially as

qualified workforce, are making a considerable economic contribution to society, as in the United States and Canada cases.

Therefore, it has driven business actors to favor more affirmative, open and tolerant understanding towards migration policies and practices, notably at local level. It has encouraged policy-makers to adopt more instrumental approaches towards diversity and migration issues that use diversity as a means to stimulate productivity, entrepreneurial activities, creativity and innovative capacity, cultivate new business and trade networks via diaspora interactions as well as new markets for goods and services, to benefit from a mix of skills, knowledge, abilities and experiences and use it for the development of the skills and knowledge of the workforce. The aim has also been to use diverse urban environments and populations to function as attractions for qualified workforce and new entrepreneurs and investors as well as tourists, visitors and mobilizing events all which contribute to social and economic development of the cities. (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

On the other hand, the focus on more talented, qualified and high-skilled workers and their contribution to economic development have raised concern over disregard of a greater part of the diverse workforce (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011). The policy focus on the equality of opportunities for individuals that has been shifted from the equality of outcomes has also created a biasness towards more creative, highly-qualified, innovative and entrepreneurial individuals and groups that are valued for what they contribute to the economic well-being of the cities. While it shed light on a rising agenda of individual responsibility, a possible outcome has shown up that the remainder majority may be negatively affected since certain groups do not have the enough capacity or skills to empower themselves (Raco et al., 2014).

Fourth, the current literature draws attention to the inefficiencies of the central governments in dealing with diversity-related matters at urban level. In face of economic globalism and the competition for global capital, the governments have sought and adopted strategies for becoming entrepreneurial and globally competitive. The major impacts have been on the cities and their populations, which are

transformed by large scale urban projects. In this respect, the existing literature points out the limitations of area-based strategies. One of the arguments is that in contemporary context, the area-based policies and practices mostly appear as physical interventions to the neighborhoods focusing on restructuring or upgrading of physical space and urban renewal processes, hence they mostly fail to achieve their social targets. Further, it has been emphasized that in many cases, such policies can be used by national or local governments to legitimize large-scale area interventions (Andersson and Musterd, 2005) and/or profit-seeking targets. It may be reasonable to a certain extent that integrated urban area policies and projects with predefined social objectives are increasingly leading to gentrification processes characterized by mass demolition of existing built areas and creation of newly-constructed housing areas for high-income as well as highly-skilled, professional and creative groups. These indicate that policy objectives and real urban experiences are also diverging, which leads to further inequalities and exclusion of already excluded groups in many cases.

CHAPTER 3

GOVERNANCE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

3.1. Introduction

Serving all groups within the society was a primary duty of the state during the welfare state period. Within the neo-liberal period starting from the 1980s, the globalization processes have resulted in problems within the contemporary cities, and created new policy challenges for policy-makers and called for new implications for policy interventions. Whether related to specific bounded territories or not, policy-makers have to deal with new challenges and problems. While these developments reveal the need for urban policy and planning to deal with new mobilities, problems, and growing complexities, the governments have failed to govern cities and diverse communities through the use of former, and traditional models and approaches.

On the other hand, in face of economic priorities of neoliberal era, the governments have focused on economic and physical aspects of urban policies and practices, while disregarding social outcomes. Urban policies and planning are seen as tools for investment and redevelopment. Planning and government interventions in most cases focus on alleged social mix strategies, commodification of productive diversity, and regulation of public spaces and facilities over their use between socio-economic, and ethnic groups. Further, austerity measures and cutbacks on public spending have had negative implications in terms of affecting financial resources of households and limiting income transfers and social security policies of governments.

Moreover, the challenges brought by globalization, economic recessions, and the competition for jobs and limited resources have led the states to pursue cautious approaches towards diverse and disadvantaged groups. Many states have adopted discriminatory, assimilative, and xenophobic attitudes and practices towards diverse groups, including immigrants. The impacts of all these have been the most harshly

felt by vulnerable, disadvantaged and marginalized groups. As a result of these, an effective governance mechanism has become a necessity with decreasing role of the state in satisfying the needs and demands of diverse and disadvantaged groups, representing them and defending their rights.

Within this framework, this chapter first clarifies the governance concept and highlights the changing role of government. Then it discusses the role of the central and local governments in the governance of urban diversity, and emphasizes the main fields and the problem areas where the governments have failed.

3.2. Governance Concept

Broadly accepted, governance is defined as a concept which refers to a change in the nature and the meaning of government, signifying a new process of governing (Bevir et al. 2003 as cited in Crespo and Cabral, 2010). Governance has become a key concept starting from the 1980s, with decreasing role of the welfare state, its losing capacity for action, and for dealing with the ongoing transformations in society (Crespo and Cabral, 2010). The various conceptions of governance point out that government in the classical liberal sense is less and less a reality, and that new methods of control and regulation are required that do not assume the public sector having a monopoly of such practices.

Stoker (1998, p. 18) discusses governance around five propositions. First, governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government. Second, governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues. Third, governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action. Fourth, governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors. Fifth, governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. Accordingly, the concept implies the existence of a wide variety of different actors, and refers to

sustaining coordination and coherence among these actors with different objectives (Pierre, 2000). Similarly, Tasan-Kok and Vranken (2011) define governance as the process of coordinating political decision-making implicating different actors, social groups and institutions in a particular institutional context to attain appropriate goals discussed and collectively defined. It consists of complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences, and exercise their legal rights and obligations (Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2011). However, the literature also draws attention to the challenges, complexities, and potential failures related to the decision-making processes, collective actions and the accountability of the stakeholders engaged in the governance system (Stoker, 1998; Jessop, 2000).

The term was first used in today's context by the World Bank (1989) in a report showing the diagnosis of the developing countries' problems in Africa, particularly those in Sub-Saharan Africa. The World Bank in 1989 declared that 'A root cause of weak economic performance in the past has been the failure of public institutions.', and considered the development and the administration of these countries as a phenomenon which is beyond the state or the public administrations. In 1992, the World Bank called for 'continuing and greater managerialism in terms of having good order and discipline in the management of a country's resources'. In this context, the World Bank identified governance as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development". While the emphasis was on promoting public-private partnerships in 1992, the scope of the term was enriched by the addition made in 1994 as "[...] strong civil society participating in public affairs [...]", including the idea of civil society and grassroots involvement in urban management.

In its policy document, *Governance for Sustainable Human Development* published in 1997, UNDP gave a definition of governance as 'the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels implying all the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and

mediate their differences’ (UNDP, 1997, p. 2). Governance, here, does not only corresponds to the role of government, but it is also accompanied by the contributions of the private sector and the civil society. In this respect, while the state ensures a suitable political and legal environment as the main authority, private sector contributes by providing employment and income, whereas civil society functions as a facilitator for political and social interaction, by mobilizing groups to participate in economic, social and political activities. Similarly, the Institute on Governance (2006) describes governance as the interactions among structures, processes and traditions which determine the exercise of power and responsibilities, decision-making processes and the role of the stakeholders and the level of participation of citizens in the management of urban affairs. Governance is conceptualized as a concept that goes beyond the government, public administration or a governing structure and implies ‘the effective ways of continuously engaging various sectors of society’ (Edgar et al., 2006, p. 4).

Starting from the 2000s, various international organizations supported by the academics have called for ‘good governance’ and the use of ‘best practice’ as a way to transfer specific governance models. Further, good governance is characterized by ‘inclusion and representation of all groups in urban society, accountability, integrity and transparency of local government actions, a capacity to fulfill public responsibilities, with knowledge, skills, resources and procedures that draw on partnerships’ (World Bank, 2000 as cited in Michelutti and Smith, 2012, p. 2). Accordingly, good governance is accountable, transparent, responsive, equitable and inclusive, effective and efficient, follows the rule of law, participatory, and consensus oriented (Figure 3.1). In response to the capacity, efficiency and accountability problems of major state institutions, good governance means deepening democratic participation, improved representation and voice for vulnerable and excluded groups in the society, better transparency, accountability and responsiveness of both state and private institutions, but also building better capacity of vulnerable people to claim rights and to access resources and services.

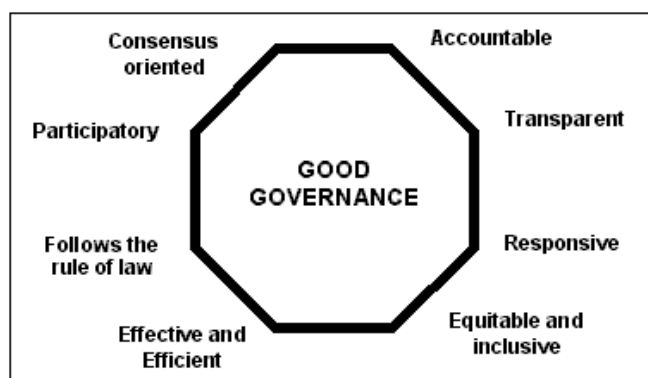


Figure 3.1 Characteristics of good governance
(<http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/escap-governance.htm>)

The underlying assumption is that understanding of the causes of issues such as lack of land for shelter, poor housing conditions, etc. combined with knowledge of successful experiences may be the basis for improved urban living conditions and improved urban governance. As emphasized by a large part of governance literature, the concept of governance has arisen from the criticisms of the governments' inability and inefficiency in responding the needs of communities and accommodating the preferences of diverse communities and regions (Hooghe and Marks, 2002; Newman et al., 2004; Rosenau, 1997, as cited in Gibson, 2011).

The failure of traditional policy frameworks has culminated in a highly heterogeneous actor composition with varying capacities, power, and interests. The restructuring of the state has incorporated a range of actors, including private agents, corporate businesses and civil society into the decision making and planning system. New power and political structures have emerged as responses to these challenges in which new forms of governance have been introduced. It has signaled a new process operating through the interplay of these spheres and interactions generated by partnerships and networks. The complexity of challenges require multidimensional strategies, 'multilevel' governance systems, and concrete examples of multilevel governance in practice (Grisel and van de Waart, 2011). As indicated by Tasan-Kok and Vranken (2011), multilevel governance arrangements show up when the roles

and responsibilities are shared among diverse governance actors. This type of governance arrangements (governance-beyond-the-state) steer in more participatory, inclusive and horizontally networked relations.

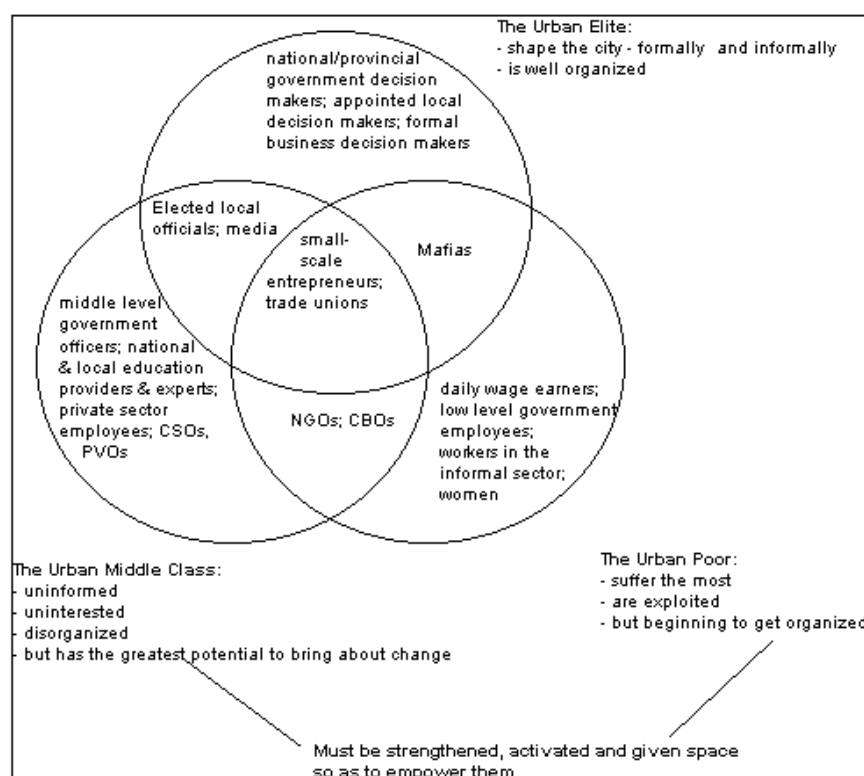


Figure 3.2 Urban governance actors

(<http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/escap-governance.htm>)

As shown by the (Figure 3.2), many actors involve in urban governance mechanisms with varying characteristics and interests at different scales; national, city-level and local, both formal and informal, and with involvement of communities. Within this framework, the concept of governance emphasizes the existence of non-state actors, quasi-governmental regulatory and implementation agencies giving voice to vulnerable groups, and transnational advocacy networks and NGO involvement in policy change (CPS, 2009). In this sense, non-traditional actors are critical in policy

processes. In theory, at all levels, communities, civil society, and the private sector play roles in decision-making processes.

3.3. Governance and the Changing Role of the State

The concept of governance has its roots in the changing role of the state, signifying a rescaling process. The literature on governance concentrates on the change from government with its institutions and practices to a wider governance process with the involvement of a variety of stakeholders functioning through partnerships and networks (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). The current literature shows that the role of the state is a common argument within the governance debate. Whether the state is the governing actor commanding and controlling both public and private sphere, and civil society, or it is the key and coordinating actor, or simply one of the forceful actors within political and institutional contexts (Pierre, 2000, p. 241) remains questionable. To some, the state is still accepted as a regulative institution, more than just one of the sources of regulation, defining the role of other institutions and their modes of interactions, and imposing decisions that concern the society (Kazepov, 2005). However, it is commonly accepted that the state has lost its role and power in directing other actors and decision-making processes, with control displaced to international and regional organizations, autonomous and municipal regions, international corporations, non-governmental organizations and other private or semi-private actors (Pierre and Peters, 2000 as cited in Crespo and Cabral, 2010). That is why governance, in that sense, is defined as ‘the fragmentation of political power through public-private partnerships in which the public government acts as a facilitator of private interests of both commercial and voluntary parties through networks’ (Tersteeg et al., 2014, p. 27).

But why has the government lost its capacity to manage and regulate? The dominating power of the nation-state has been challenged with the processes of globalization. The challenges brought by globalization, including environmental and limited resource related concerns, post-industrialization processes, growing migration, and

changing population demographics, have encouraged different political agendas in Europe and beyond (Giddens, 2009 as cited in Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). These changes have not only accelerated the circulation of people, commodities, capital, identities, lifestyles and activities, but also increased the mobility of ideologies, and enhanced the spreading of economic principles, policies and practices (European Commission, 2011).

The processes of globalization have been accompanied by neoliberal deregulation. Neoliberalism, defined as the ideological system for the globalized era (McCoy and Peddle, 2012), has been characterized by neoliberal deregulation, state rescaling, and decentralized governance (Brenner, 2004; Tsukamoto, 2012). The literature on neoliberalism explains the state devolution and the downscaling role of the state as ‘a broader shift from Keynesian era to a neoliberal era of governance with a leaner state’ (Brenner, 2004; Jessop, 2002b; Harvey, 2005; Lobao and Hooks, 2003 as cited in Lobao, 2009, p.1). The state has been rescaled regarding its planning, and decision making powers, while giving more authority, resources, and responsibilities to localities in terms of administrative, financial, and political-electoral respects (Lobao, 2009).

While neoliberal deregulation is put forward as an ideological instrument for state rescaling and downscaling role and responsibilities of the state (Tsukamoto, 2012), the state rescaling and decentralized governance have been underlain by a set of processes which are assumed to promote market entrepreneurship, privatization of services, and social safety net cutbacks, as the defining elements of neoliberal state transformation (Brenner, 2004).

3.4. Governance of Urban Diversity: Where Do the Central and Local Governments Fail?

In terms of governing diversity, the processes of globalization and neoliberal deregulation have redefined and challenged the role of the state in several aspects.

First, in the face of economic globalism and the competition for global capital, governments have sought and adopted strategies for becoming entrepreneurial, and globally competitive. The search of economic competitiveness has encouraged many governments to pursue and adopt market-driven, competitive and supply-side economic development. The economic priorities of the neoliberal era have pushed the governments towards market-driven and major socio-spatial transformations (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). While it has brought about large-scale infrastructure, transformation, and redevelopment processes within contemporary cities, the governments have increasingly been incapable of dealing with the social costs of these macro-scale neoliberal projects (displacement of low-income people from gentrified urban areas, social segregation, and social exclusion, etc.). A great part of vulnerable and low-income households, who are suffering from financial problems and in need of affordable and social housing, are forced to have limited options on social housing markets and move to cheaper and poor-quality houses in less attractive neighborhoods (Zwiers, et al., 2014). The neo-liberal deregulation in this respect has led to further social polarization, social exclusion, social inequality, and spatial segregation in many contemporary cities (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The emphasis has been less on social protection mechanisms, social and economic inclusion, but more on privatization of public services, redevelopment and commodification.

Second, traditional policies and government interventions have failed to response to greater diversity of the communities, and to more fluid and multi-dimensional relationships between place and identities. Policy-makers are faced with more fluid and relational global flows and identities arisen from increasing mobilities, changing patterns of migration, and social interactions. Further, transnationalism and common use of ICT technologies (i.e. applications such as Facebook, Skype, etc.) have also attached new meanings to relationships between space and identities (European Commission, 2011; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). While they have decreased the importance of place-based local communities and identities, collective approaches to citizenship and identity have also been questioned disaffirming the idea that citizens

and community identities in cities are territorially-based. The emphasis has been on the shift from national identities to global identities, in which individual and collective actions are identified with 'the broader needs and concerns of wider humanity' (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, p. 32). Therefore, while earlier approaches emphasized place-based, nation-state centered identification of identities, the changing conception towards 'identity-based politics' (Beck, 2002) has brought out 'disembedded individualization' which stands for changing understandings of identities, identified less with the national scale, class-based distinctions, and place-based characteristics, but more with lifestyle based, local-global identities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Therefore, the state and its traditional institutions have been incapable of effectively response to growing diversity accompanied by new challenges, problems, needs, and complexities sourced from increasing mobilities that comprise more fluid identities, and multi-layered characteristics of individuals and groups.

Third, the processes of globalization, and the impacts of neoliberal deregulation have been accompanied by the recent approaches of national governments towards diversity. In the contemporary era, with economic downturns, competition for global capital and scarce resources, the governments have reduced tolerance to marginalized communities, and raised integrationist, assimilationist discourses and xenophobic approaches towards diverse groups. Disadvantaged communities are seen as economic burdens, immigrants are treated as the sources of economic recessions, social tensions, insecurity and inequalities in the society. As a result, states and their institutions have failed to provide any comprehensive approach or strategy to address the growing diversity of communities.

Therefore, while globalization processes and neoliberal deregulation result in problems within contemporary cities, they create new policy challenges for policy-makers and called for new implications for policy interventions. While these developments reveal the need for urban policy to deal with new mobilities, problems, and growing complexities, national governments in many cases fail to govern cities and communities through the use of former, and traditional models and approaches

(Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2011). Policy-makers have to deal with new challenges and problems in contemporary context. New mechanisms are needed to deal with new challenges and problems, and to meet the changing needs of diverse communities. The complexity of challenges require multidimensional strategies, 'multilevel' governance systems, and concrete examples of multilevel governance in practice (Grisel and van de Waart, 2011).

3.5. Assessment of Urban Planning Practices in Governance of Diversity

As so far discussed, cities have entered into a new era of hyper-diversity, which exceeds the traditional approaches towards urban and demographic change, but introduces new forms of diversity with new identities, outlooks, lifestyles and activities in urban sphere. The literature on urban planning has long featured a growingly intense debate on how urban planning may adapt its practices in response to rapidly changing and diversified cities, and how planning mechanisms may cater for diverse needs and preferences.

Fincher and Iveson (2008) conceptualize and identify three working principles of planning for diversity, namely redistribution, recognition and encounter, what they call 'social logics of planning'. In this respect, within the framework of the notions of social justice, diversity, urban policies and planning, Fincher and Iveson focus on the discussion of redistribution in terms of reducing inequalities and disadvantages, and increasing access to services and facilities for all, the discussion on recognition with regard to recognizing and meeting diverse needs and demands of different identities, and the discussion on encounter, in the sense of enhancing interaction and contact between diverse groups and individuals.

As indicated by Fincher et al. (2014) urban planning, within the realities of the contemporary world in which the cities and urban life are driven by the processes of neoliberalization, deals with urban diversity through three major interventions, namely social mix planning, planning for the commodification of diversity, and

planning for public spaces and encounter. In terms of social mix planning, which serves redistributive purposes of planning in theory, the focus is on managing social difference through policies of tenure mixing or ethnic deconcentration in deprived neighborhoods. With regard to commodification in cities, the emphasis is on the use of the diverse features of some cities for tourism, attraction of investors and entrepreneurs, and for urban regeneration purposes. In this context, neoliberal planning promotes expanded consumption, the promotion of urban areas for visitors, tourists and well-resourced residents, and the gentrification of retail places run by diverse ethnic and racialized communities. In terms of planning for public spaces and encounter, Fincher et al. (2014) emphasizes planners' engagement in diversity by planning and producing urban landscapes, planning and regulating the public space, and promoting encounter and interaction among diverse groups through facilities, like thematic or cultural festivals (celebrating a particular place like neighborhood or a city, or celebrating a particular culture and/or community such as gay and lesbian, or ethnic cultural festivals, etc.).

A large part of the literature dwells on social mixing in terms of engagement of urban planning in managing urban diversity. The multicultural urban policies and planning practices have been criticized for viewing diversity only from ethno-cultural perspective, and not taking intra-group diversity into account measured along the lines of factors including gender, age, lifestyles, sexual orientations, disabilities, etc. In this respect, multiculturalism has been blamed for creating residential ghettoization, social isolation of immigrants and ethnic groups, and communal segregation (Kymlicka, 2010). Immigrant, ethnic and racial minority ghettos were associated with concentration of social problems, including poverty, high levels of crime, high population densities, unemployment, and social disorder (Fincher et al., 2014). Residential segregation became one of the main concerns and causes of anxiety for urban policy-makers and planners especially in European and North American cities, where racial and ethnic 'ghettos' were common. Therefore, starting from the 1970s and 1980s, social mix policies and planning introduced with the aim of solving or deconcentrating social problems, minimizing conflicts, and building

social capital and upward social mobility in isolated urban areas and neighborhoods. From the 1990s, mixed community development has been promoted. Policy-makers have encouraged the formation of mixed communities and neighborhoods, but varying across different countries and cities based on changing planning contexts and existing governance practices, e.g. the role of the state and market in housing and neighborhood development, public-private partnerships, etc. (Fincher et al., 2014).

Creating mixed communities has been favored in the sense that it fosters social interaction between different social groups. As emphasized by Tasan-Kok et al. (2013) social-mix strategies and practices may stimulate investments in the physical and social environment. In terms of physical side, it may increase the quality of housing and urban environment, and may shape and create public spaces where interaction is promoted. With regard to social side, mixed development has the potential to foster community involvement, participation and social cohesion, and has the potential to stimulate innovation, creativity and productivity through increasing chances of networking.

On the other hand, social mixing has been used to regenerate urban areas. As Fincher and Iveson (2008) indicates, social mix is used in planning to be redistributive, and to prevent concentrations of people with fewer resources, usually the poor, and the main implementation is urban regeneration or urban redevelopment. A great part of the literature on social mixing associates the concept with neighborhood effects and gentrification (van Eijk, 2013). Especially in neoliberal planning framework, social mixing policies have been blamed for not dealing with the social problems including poverty, social exclusion, and deprivation, but being used for legitimizing and supporting gentrification in deprived, disadvantaged and marginalized neighborhoods. Therefore, as emphasized by many scholars, used as a legitimization tool for urban regeneration and urban redevelopment in recent decades, social mixing policies and practices have failed to satisfy their earlier claims to deal with social problems, inequalities and social exclusion of diverse groups (Fincher et al., 2014).

However, as Fincher and Iveson (2008) emphasizes, it may sometimes be the changes in governance cultures that contradict the redistributive purposes of planning. In this respect, within the context of neoliberal governance, planning for purposes like urban redevelopment is combined with neoliberal purposes like gentrification or the replacement of the public-sector provision with market-based provision, in which the outcomes of urban planning are affected and determined through the exercise of power relations.

In this context, the challenges to the redistributive purposes of planning are mostly rooted in the contemporary neoliberal context of urban planning, policy-making and governance, in which the redistributive objectives of urban policies and planning may be masked out under the priorities of the neoliberal era, competitiveness, and the concept of entrepreneurial state. Because, starting from the 1980s, growth-promoting policies and urban projects, which aim to stimulate economic competitiveness, have dominated urban planning discourses and practices. The current literature emphasizes that urban planning has been seen and used as a tool for redevelopment and investment, in which the focus is mostly on physical planning like housing redevelopment, rather than the goals of urban planning like social inclusion (Fincher et al., 2014). The governmental authorities have focused on the (re)development projects, while disregarding the fundamentals of urban planning in producing equitable and just outcomes and opportunities for all within the cities. Valverde (2012, p. 210) discusses this ‘market-friendly and neoliberal vision of gentrified urban diversity’ as:

“Many urban gurus now sees diversity mainly from the point of view of global markets in capital and labor, and thus think of cities not as democratic political entities, but rather as economic actors needing to exhibit the type of urban diversity that represents a competitive advantage.”

It also raises concerns on the recognition of diverse groups and identities and questions the role of planning in dealing with problems and expectations of all

communities, particularly including the marginalized and neglected groups and individuals.

In brief, recent urban policies and planning practices can be summarized in Brenner and Theodore's (2002) words stating that "the overarching goal of such neoliberal policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an area both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices". Urban planning has focused on privatization and commodification of all spheres of social and economic life, exploitation of the productive diversity, and the regulation of public spaces and facilities over their use between different socio-economic, demographic, and ethnic groups. The main motives behind such actions are to liberalize and deregulate planning system to have ambitious and more competitive projects on the built environment. However, population structure, the way of living, daily interactions, habits and cultures are seriously changed with massive alterations in built environment (Jacobson, 2009). As a result of market-led urbanization characterized by excessive consumption spaces, privatized and gentrified urban areas, many cities today have become the places of socio-spatial segregation, unemployment, social unrests and social exclusion.

3.6. Conclusion

Urban governance deals with diversity through urban policies and planning in many, and sometimes complex ways through the involvement of a variety of actors. Urban planning and urban policies may both celebrate diversity, or control, devalue or eliminate diversity through a set of policies and planning interventions. For former, planning practices have tools for fostering diversity and benefiting from its advantages, mostly through mixed uses and heterogeneity of functions, building types and communities. Creation of mixed communities are proved successful in many examples, not necessarily by moving disadvantaged and marginalized groups out. Moreover, diversity is promoted in many cases to actualize creative city strategies used as a source of economic productivity and innovation (Fainstein, 2010). In

addition, through the formation of public spaces and the promotion of spaces of encounter and interaction, planning may respond to the diversity of urban areas by regulation public realm, which functions both as a physical space, and a political forum and grounds for democratic engagement.

Although many cases exist in which urban policies and planning celebrate diversity, a significant part of the literature discusses that contemporary urban governance and urban planning serve the purposes of neoliberalism, and create negative impacts for diverse groups in cities. Mainstream planning is blamed for not effectively deal with and acknowledge diversity, and for imposing practices that exacerbates the disadvantages and inequalities suffered by low-income and disadvantaged communities and individuals.

In this respect, planning can create unjust ways of managing diversity through resulting in negative outcomes for disadvantaged and poor communities, via retail and housing gentrification, associated with certain places and communities, including immigrants and ethnically diverse groups. In face of economic growth oriented and neoliberal urbanization, governments and business interests are more concerned with competitiveness and entrepreneurial strategies. However, this approach and accompanying large-scale projects, which are mostly actualized through public-private partnerships, are blamed for commercializing diversity, and being oriented towards entrepreneurial place-marketing, tourism, and further investments, rather than towards the needs of inhabitants (Valverde, 2012; Fincher et al., 2014). It is also discussed by many scholars that these policies and planning practices mostly target decayed historical areas, business districts, and older residential areas where poor people and minority communities are concentrated, as is seen in Europe as well as in North America (Valverde, 2012). While many interventions quasi aim to alleviate poverty, unemployment and other social problems in those areas, the recent experiences show that they bring about further problems for diverse and disadvantaged communities, and further increase their exclusion and ‘otherness’. Changes in governance structures, thus contradict redistributive purposes of urban planning, and participatory and inclusive goals of good governance.

At this point, the role of central and local governments in existing governance mechanisms in cities is highly questioned that in a context of the state rescaling, and withdrawal of state from various areas with regard to socially inclusive public services provision and social protection. Accordingly, top-down policy and planning interventions are criticized to be imposed without enough involvement of local inhabitants. Moreover, it is accompanied by policy approaches at national level, which in many cases adopt exclusionary and restrictive approaches towards diversity.

All in all, while central and local governments in many cases support market-friendly forms of diversity to foster economic growth and competitiveness, the kinds of diversity that are not linked to and compatible with the cities' competitive, entrepreneurial and global image are ignored and excluded. It leads one to investigate different governance mechanisms that support urban diversity in contemporary cities, not only focusing on the kinds of diversity that are formed by creative, entrepreneurial, high-income, and high-skilled groups and individuals, but also including the kinds of diversity, mostly formed by disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and constitute a considerable part of cities' diversity mix.

CHAPTER 4

GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOCUSING ON URBAN DIVERSITY

4.1. Introduction

In face of economic priorities of neoliberal era, changing population dynamics and migration, economic recessions and austerity measures, and new mobilities, problems, and growing complexities, governments have failed to deal with complex problems and challenges, and meet the needs and demands of diverse communities and regions. Shrinking role and responsibilities of the governments in dealing with social problems, and decreasing level of state's intervention into the economy and the provision of welfare services have prompted the participation of other actors taking over significant roles in diversity-related issues with varying capacities, power, and interests. Besides local authorities, non-governmental actors including private sector institutions, civil society-based organizations, and other local actors have taken on greater responsibilities in representing, and defending the rights of different identities, and ensuring their equal and active participation into social, cultural and economic life. These entities as any organizations, groups or initiatives, what is called 'governance arrangements' or 'governance initiatives', have started to deal with different dimensions of urban diversity.

The current literature emphasizes that if used effectively, 'good' and multi-level governance, which incorporates governance practices at all scales- local, regional, national, and international-, positively affects social cohesion, social mobility, and economic performance, and helps to overcome the difficulties sourced by growing diversity (Delhay and Newton, 2005; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Therefore, this chapter analyzes and highlights the role that urban policy and urban governance arrangements in any forms of organizations, policies or initiatives can play in governing diversity,

and the roles of different governance actors in developing and stimulating positive social and economic outcomes generated from urban diversity.

4.2. Governance Arrangements of Urban Diversity

Within the scope of this study, governance arrangements of urban diversity refer to arrangements in which communities, private businesses, NGOs and other non-governmental groups independently work in diversity-related issues, as well as develop and manage networks, or partnerships at different scales, with or without the involvement of national, regional or local governmental bodies. In this respect, besides the governmental bodies, non-governmental actors in any forms of community organizations, private investors, voluntary or advocacy groups, and other actors can be both the implementers of governmental policies and strategies, and be active in policy-making and planning processes, as parts of local policy networks regarding the issues of diversity (Barberis et al., 2014). Within the governance arrangements and initiatives, bottom-up approaches, tailor-made support, local anchoring, engagement of communities, and an encompassing strategy of combined initiatives are key aspects for diversity efforts. In addition, cross-sector cooperation is seen as one of the imperative means to coherent diversity efforts although difficulties in realizing such cooperation are acknowledged by the governance actors.

Although main discourses, policies and practices differ, and sometimes conflict, various actors in governance mechanisms take part in the management of diversity at local, regional or national levels. However, it should be noted that actor composition with regard to governance of diversity may differ immensely according to different political, social, economic and spatial context of countries and cities, and a variety of local circumstances and contexts. Actor composition may include governmental bodies, including the national, regional, and local government authorities, as well as non-governmental organizations, private actors, communities, interest groups, and many others, being purely public, purely private and commercial, non-profit, grassroots, or composed of partnerships of these players. Governance arrangements

may be developed as policy networks, informal collaborations involving horizontal types of decision-making or activities, or bottom-up arrangements formed through a cooperation between state and civic actors, which may be purely private or civil society based initiatives.

Based on the main hypothesis on this study, the argument is that inefficiency, inadequacy, and inconsistency of national policy frameworks have led a variety of governance actors within today's hyper-diversified cities, either governmental or non-governmental, to engage more in the management of diversity in urban areas, and the provision of social and economic welfare. Various actors take part in providing welfare services, tackling social and economic inequalities, social polarization and social exclusion, promoting social and economic justice, building social capital, and meeting the needs of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups who are in need of social, economic, legal, or health support, where the states are lacking on these accounts, or remaining insufficient to exercise these accounts effectively.

Governance arrangements may be effective in accessing to hard-to reach groups, enhancing upward social mobility of individuals, stimulating economic performance, fostering social cohesion, promoting civic identity, struggling against discriminatory, injustice, or unequal treatments, increasing participation, and representing diverse groups. It is worthy to note that, in the face of new complexities, challenges, and downscaling role of the state, governance arrangements have become 'well-placed' to 'fill gaps' in government policies and practices (Hopkins, 2010). The arrangements exist in contexts where the states are lacking in terms of organizational or institutional capacity, financial resources, or alliances with other stakeholders, including local bodies, community and business organizations, neighborhood initiatives, etc., or do not engage in any diversity-related field due to dominant strategies or approaches.

Governance of diversity requires diverse levels of governance practices which are developed to response to the challenges and complexities arisen from diverse communities. A large part of the governance literature emphasizes the importance of localities, and that governance of diversity is highly sensitive to localized contexts.

Because, local is the scale in which the practice of governance of diversity is understood, and where everyday realities of living and working in diverse communities are concretely experienced, and needs and expectations of local communities are realized and managed by different actors through a variety of policies and practices (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

4.2.1. The Role of Local Governments

Local governments play fundamental roles in putting abstract and generic nation-level principles and approaches of diversity into practice, as active and concrete actions (Mercer, 2006). Local governments function as instruments for implementing policies adopted at the national level. While the policies adopted at national level are shaped at local level, local policy and planning frameworks shape how the reality of diversity is spatialized and experienced on the ground. In this respect, local, at the level of cities, districts, and neighborhoods, may be the scale which operates to encourage diversity in parallel with the national agenda, or may challenge the national agenda by taking initiatives and promoting different policies and practices that oppose approaches put forward at the national scale to manage diversity.

The capacity of local governments in terms of power, responsibility and resources given differs markedly. While in some cases, local governments are endowed with particular power and resources. In some, however, and in many cases, larger authority and power of national governments are not devolved on local level, or the responsibilities are devolved without transfer of resources. Many local governments may lack the organizational and financial capacity to use their authority and implement local actions. The local and city level responses including regulations and implementations regarding diversity is often restricted since it is substantially controlled by the national policy (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

Despite such limitations, accompanied by increasingly reactionary and cautious national politics pursued with respect to diversity, local governments often play important roles in achieving social order and harmonious relations among diverse

groups, ensuring diverse groups' access to local services, supporting communities by capacity-building, training and job-creation, and promoting civic participation. According to the study of Fincher et al. (2014), in which multicultural policies and planning practices are analyzed and discussed within selected contemporary diverse cities including Toronto, Sydney, London, Amsterdam, New York, Berlin, Singapore and Johannesburg, local governments are identified as key actors in managing diversity, whether being dependent on or independent from the national approaches and policies. Local governments undertake practices to minimize tensions and increase cohesion, especially in cases, where difference is associated with social and economic disadvantage.

On the other hand, city and local government authorities are widely criticized for not effectively dealing with labor market inclusion. In line with the national approaches, and in the pursuit of liberalized, flexible labor markets, there has been concerns raised about the working conditions, wage rates, and job security of employers, who are working at the bottom end of the labor market (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). These workers mostly include diverse communities comprised of ethnic groups, immigrants, and disadvantaged parts of the society who have to accept undocumented and informal working conditions. This situation is mostly related to the local dependence on decisions of the central government. Because of the restrictions imposed by national policies, which aim to use the productive diversity as a source of economic growth, the local authorities in many cases fail to provide the required regulations and support. This leads to the exploitation, and further exclusion of certain groups, who already have limited opportunities to encourage their inclusion and social mobility.

4.2.2. The Role of Private Sector

The private sector refers to for-profit economic actors, including international and transnational businesses, state enterprises, domestic enterprises, small and medium enterprises, and micro enterprises, as well as trade unions and cooperatives as a part

of the social economy (Better Aid, n. d.). The scope varies from local businesses to national and multinational corporations.

The involvement of the private sector in social issues and urban diversity is often limited to the provision of services and goods from which the sector can monetize and generate profit (Agarwal and Siddique, 2011). However, business sector contributes to economic growth and competitiveness by fostering innovation and creativity, mobilizing local resources, creating jobs and businesses, and providing healthcare, education, infrastructure and housing.

The engagement of the private sector in governance of diversity is in most cases linked to social responsibility activities. Taking responsibility, in that respect, is mostly actualized as fighting discrimination in the workplace and incorporating diversity in employment and workforce. Private organizations employ vulnerable groups and people of diverse backgrounds, including migrants, women, LGBT groups, individuals with disabilities, language difficulties, social challenges, or addictions, and people from members of ethnic minority groups. Private companies may also get involved in diversity-related activities by incorporating demographic diversity into their business plans. It can be in the form of developing the talents of all employees, providing diversity training, promoting employee involvement, or working to retain diverse talent (MLDC, 2011). On the other hand, while in some instances, diversity in employment is seen by business actors as a source of better performance in terms of being more competitive, creative, or innovative, however, is mostly performed to fulfill legal obligations, as a part of anti-discrimination policy, since companies are monitored by gender, age, sexual orientation, disability, or ethnicity in many countries.

The recent economic crisis, budget cuts in government funding, and the reduction of social programs regarding diverse communities have increased the importance of private sector resources in terms of growing privatization. Private sector involves in diversity-related activities along with private institutions including private schools, private hospitals and healthcare centers, youth clubs and drop-in centers as well as

job and employment centers. Further, in many countries, governments share out social welfare projects to bidding non-governmental and private sector organizations.

In the aftermath of the crisis, as a result of budget restriction conditions, public sector relies heavily on private sector for enhancing development. In this regard, large-scale infrastructure projects and housing projects are in the forefront. Private sector is highly active in real-estate development and housing market, in forms of housing associations, housing cooperatives, or private property developers. In addition, there has been a shift of responsibility in producing social housing from public authorities to housing associations, which are dependent upon private funding for the construction of social housing. Social housing organizations, or housing corporations, being purely private, or quasi-public, play roles in supplying housing for socially and economically disadvantaged groups in many cities and neighborhoods. Private developing companies also engage in the provision of public spaces, and reproduction of urban environment, mostly put into practice through redevelopment, renewal, and regeneration processes within the cities.

4.2.3. The Role of Civil Society and Communities

Public sector growingly relies on non-governmental organizations to deliver services, the process which has been fostered by neoliberal policies intended to downscale the size and role of governments (Fincher et al., 2014). The retreat of governments from the provision of public services accompanied by the organizational and financial limitations of central and local governing bodies create the necessity of more active involvement of non-governmental organizations, local communities and grassroots initiatives in the management of diverse neighborhoods and cities.

The role of non-governmental organizations in governance of diversity cannot be overlooked in the sense that these organizations are vital in representing diverse groups, responding to diverse needs of local residents and providing a range of services to different groups within communities. A part of the literature emphasizes the role of communities and non-governmental organizations in integration of

excluded groups, and in improvement of service delivery and access to services for different groups. According to Hopkins (2010), the ‘third sector’⁵ is the key stakeholder in building inclusive and cohesive communities in contemporary context of ever-growing diversity. Based on a research conducted to provide an overview of the third sector organizations in the UK, Hopkins (2010) indicates that these organizations have significant roles in the provision of services including employment, housing, education, training, health and social care, children and youth services, as well as culture and recreation, and religious activities. Community and voluntary organizations are active in meeting the needs of disadvantaged groups including the poor, ethnic and religious minorities, disabled people, young people who are unemployed, uneducated or unqualified, or other groups having difficulties in accessing to public services. At the grassroots level, various community organizations are effective in representing plenty of minority communities, and highly vocal at local, city and national levels, in opposing the shift towards anti-multiculturalist sentiments and the imposition of greater restrictions on their social and economic integration (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). This is supported by another study of Flanagan and Hancock (2010) that voluntary and community organizations play an essential role in accessing marginalized and disadvantaged communities, and providing a range of services (health, social care, etc.) for these groups.

The recent studies show that although there are few research, and little evidence on the distinctiveness and innovativeness of the third sector organizations in dealing with diverse groups and in reaching out the most vulnerable communities, these organizations may provide innovative and creative solutions to the problems that

⁵ By the term ‘third sector’, Hopkins (2010) refers to fields of activity corresponding to terms including civil society, social enterprise, voluntary sector, not for profit sector, non-governmental organizations, community organizations, charities, foundations, co-operatives and other community and voluntary groups having a legal status or not. The term is used commonly to signify non-governmental organizations and groups that work to achieve social, cultural and economic objectives in the public or community interest.

these groups face, and distinctive ways in reaching out to vulnerable, excluded and ‘hard to reach’ groups (Hopkins, 2010; Schenkel and Plüss, 2014).

4.3. ‘Diversification’ of Governance Arrangements

In the face of changing population dynamics and new complexities, new scales and forms of governance have emerged to deal with the needs and problems of diverse communities. Governance systems have been required to be adapted to evolving circumstances, and consider the multiplicity of territorial (including supra-urban as well as infra-urban) and temporal scales. In this sense, new governance modes have been necessary which are based upon empowerment of communities, involvement of all relevant actors and innovative use of social capital (European Commission, 2011).

In recent years, actor composition and their involvement in governance of urban diversity have become ever diversified, sourced from new forms of interaction between different stakeholders, and creation of new networks and partnerships. Understandings and policies towards diversity in recent settings are seldom ‘stand-alone’ frameworks (Mercer, 2006). Partnerships and networking are seen crucial for involving all groups and actors in urban policy-making and implementation of policies. Developing partnerships and networks with other organizations and local initiatives may enable governance arrangements to broaden their target groups and reach different groups. Additionally, getting into partnerships and building networks may allow room for sharing the experiences and ideas, and learning by exchange. It may also enable governance arrangements to develop their organizational capacity, technical and professional expertise and knowledge. Working in partnership and cooperation with other organizations may also be useful in making use of further funding from the bodies that support such organizations (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). In particular, building partnerships with the government and its public institutions may increase the possibility of receiving public funds. It may also ease legal processes related to work and activities.

There is a growing literature on the role of partnerships, bringing together national, regional, local or neighborhood level actors in the management of urban diversity. Recent literature points out that the involvement of a variety of actors working through partnerships and networks at various levels is very much related to the reconfiguration of local democratic practice, raising concerns over the representation, accountability and legitimacy of marginalized communities (Beebejaun and Grimshaw, 2007; Blake et al, 2008 as cited in Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

As emphasized by Triandafyllidou and Ulasiuk (2014), an alternative strategy based on a participatory approach towards diversity is a necessity, as such in European example, where integration approaches of national policy settings have reached their limits. Developing ‘diversity partnerships’ is seen as a way to regard diversity as a positive asset, rather than a social or cultural threat, or economic liability (Triandafyllidou and Ulasiuk, 2014). Mercer (2006) also puts an emphasis on partnership arrangements that are essential to embed policies, strategies and actions for active interculturalism at local level.

Some studies indicate that working in partnership with other organizations may function as a facilitator for the improvement of accessing to services for hard to reach individuals and groups (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). It is also emphasized that collaboration among public, private and civil society actors in policies and practices targeting diverse groups increases the possibilities to make use of funding from international, national or local bodies.

Partnerships and networks develop strategic overview of key issues related to the integration or empowerment of diverse groups and immigrants, and maintain the coordination of activity across different authorities and organizations. Local authorities develop partnership arrangements with central government bodies, private sector, communities, and NGOs. In this respect, public-private partnerships have been common especially in public service delivery, housing provision as well as within transformation and regeneration processes. Municipal bodies increasingly form partnerships with professionals including health insurance companies, housing

corporations, healthcare facilities, schools, industries and businesses to share responsibilities, and improve the effectiveness of their strategies.

Besides partnership working and cooperation with other stakeholders, the current literature emphasizes that bottom-up organization and tailor-made support are also important in dealing with diverse groups.

Bottom-up structure, flat hierarchies, and consensual decision-making: From neighborhood solidarity groups, social networks to street fairs, many effective governance arrangements are bottom-up initiatives that are non-hierarchical and volunteer-driven (Kuznetsov et al., 2011). Bottom-up structure, horizontal relations and consensual decision-making enable governance arrangements to better communicate with and foster dialogue among target groups, develop trust, and strengthen the commitment towards the objectives of the arrangement. Non-hierarchical relations may also ensure equitable and transparent, and more effective distribution of tasks within the organizations. Bottom-up organization structure allows governance arrangements to provide more effective and inclusive support for diverse groups. Rather than imposing top-down policy programmes and actions, or introducing “one size fits all” approach, bottom-up solutions generally have the potential to come up with new and innovative ideas, governance concepts and methods contributed by communities (CoE, 2012). An instrument that works perfectly in one policy context may completely fail due to different institutional and social cultures (Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2011). Bottom-up way introduces flexibility at local levels to include the demands and expectations of diverse groups.

Tailor-made support: As mentioned earlier, traditional policy frameworks are not arranged and equipped to deal with the complexity and variety of problems and needs of diverse and disadvantaged groups. Tailor-made instruments organized according to the specific and hyper-diversified needs, demands or problems of individuals have the potential to identify the complexity of local conditions and include innovative and case-specific interventions, which are not the domain of public institutions in many cases (Schenkel and Plüss, 2014). Successful governance arrangements organize their

activities and provide support by deeply examining the problems, needs and demands of certain population groups. Arranging services and activities by paying regard to the needs and demands of target groups allows for developing and establishing trustful, respectful and non-judgmental relationship with target groups or individuals (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). Further, providing flexible services that can meet the needs of individuals (such as running outreach services, listening to feedback, offering flexible hours, and providing people with services and support which they need) encourage people to engage more in the activities of initiatives (Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). It is also important factor for governance arrangements to work with diverse groups without exercising power over people and without hierarchical ties. In that way, people feel comfortable benefiting from the services, attending the activities, or asking for help or support, without encountering any superior attitude from governance arrangements or initiatives.

On the other hand, the current literature and studies on diversity show that some factors may hinder the success of governance arrangements in dealing with diversity.

Inconsistent and shifting policy agendas: In the face of government austerity, downsizing public services and reducing role of the state in protecting vulnerable groups, governance arrangements formed from private actors, community organizations and communities have undertaken greater responsibilities in dealing with diverse groups. However, the shift from multiculturalist agenda to integration and assimilation may affect local initiatives that adopt more bottom-up, and open approaches towards diversity, and may lead to political conflicts between public authorities and local initiatives. Affirmative approaches of governance arrangements are limited in some cases due to wider national political and policy frameworks within which city governments formulate and implement (Dukes and Musterd, 2012).

Availability of funding/lack of public resources: Governance arrangements may have difficulties in receiving funds, or maintaining the continuity of resources. Therefore, in order to ensure the quality and continuity of their support and services, most non-governmental organizations are depended on public authorities in terms of getting

financial resources. However, many grassroots initiatives and NGOs could do not get governmental resources and rely on donations and grants. Such initiatives may obtain short-term monetary resources, but may not guarantee the continuity of their resources in the long-term. Further, receiving public funding requires legal status, and an organizational and formal structure in many cases. For that reason, although initiated as voluntary groups or grassroots initiatives, many governance arrangements obtain a legal status some time later their establishments.

Moreover, as emphasized by Flanagan and Hancock (2010), working in some fields makes it difficult to access funding from the governments or other organizations. This is mostly the case in countries where local and central authorities are not receptive to the acceptance and celebration of differences. For example, a grassroots initiative working towards the empowerment of women may get funding easier compared to an initiative working for defending the rights of LGBT individuals, since the recognition of sexual diversity has been fiercely contested across many countries and their policy agendas.

4.4. Governance Arrangements According to Their Focus

Governance arrangements are defined as the mechanisms in which citizen groups, private businesses, NGOs and other non-governmental parties manage urban diversity, with or without involvement of formal authorities. As discussed earlier, governance initiatives focusing on urban diversity often emerge from networking, partnership and collaboration between public, private and civic actors, or sometimes develop as purely public, private, or grassroots initiatives, or even as individual arrangements. Governance initiatives are the key mechanisms in meeting unsatisfied needs, creating employment, empowering diverse groups, ensuring direct participation in local governance, and fostering social cohesion (Fraisie, 2011). While governance arrangements engaging in diversity-related issues may include top-down policy programs and planning processes, they are often developed as bottom-up arrangements.

As contemporary cities are getting more diverse as a result of new mobilities, changing identities, lifestyles and activities, different initiatives and governance arrangements are taking place in hyper-diversified cities and engaging in multiple dimensions of urban diversity. Governance arrangements address ethnic and cultural diversity (newcomers, long-term migrants, asylum-seekers, refugees, ethnic groups, cultural groups having different values, traditions, norms), socio-economic diversity (different occupation, education and income groups, low/middle/high income households, low-educated/low-skilled or high-educated/high-skilled people, unemployed people, illegal workers, labor market experiences), linguistic diversity, religious diversity (faith-based communities), gender-based and sexual orientation related diversity (women, LGBT groups), socio-demographic diversity (age-related diversity: children, young people, elder people; marital diversity: families, single parents, particularly single mothers; disability-based: handicapped people), as well as diversity of lifestyles, habits, attitudes, relationships, and activities. Governance arrangements and initiatives also deal with drug-users, alcohol addicts, sex-workers, problem-gamblers, and homeless people.

Governance arrangements engage in policies and actions in solving problems and responding to urban needs with varying focus. These arrangements can be categorized based on their main objectives, namely fostering social cohesion, enhancing upward social mobility, and promoting economic performance and entrepreneurship (Table 4.1). However, it should be noted that the focus may be relational and multidimensional, thus, arrangements may aim more than one objective, with their multi-objective and multi-functional activities (Fraisie, 2011).

4.4.1. Governance Arrangements for Fostering Social Cohesion

Governance arrangements and initiatives targeting social cohesion often aim to achieve social order and harmonious relations among diverse groups, enhance solidarity and social cooperation, create a sense of belonging, as well as increase the interaction and communication between people from diverse backgrounds.

Many local governance arrangements work for creating cohesive communities in deprived and disadvantaged urban areas. Therefore, these are often place-based initiatives targeting the community of a certain area or neighborhood. Neighborhood action groups, community centers, or local festivities are among the examples of area-based local initiatives which adopt bottom-up approaches (Schenkel and Plüss, 2014). Vulnerable and disadvantaged groups including women, children, elders, young people, children, homeless, LGBT individuals, ethnic groups including immigrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees, cultural groups, religious groups, different-language groups, and disabled people are generally common target groups of such initiatives.

Initiatives targeting social cohesion develop cultural, educational and sports-related activities, to prevent social exclusion of certain groups (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). By bringing diverse groups together in common activities, the initiatives aim to increase the interactions between people from different backgrounds. In that sense, by creating spaces of encounter or spaces of joint activities, such initiatives also aim to reduce social tensions and conflicts in some cases, by developing opportunities for building a common ground and communication among different groups. Choirs, theatres, street art and performances, children's circuses, play streets may be the examples of these activities initiated mostly by bottom-up arrangements.

A significant part of the governance and cohesion literature emphasizes the role of public spaces and green areas and structures in fostering social cohesion through the creation of meeting places for local people, visitors, or newcomers, as well as platforms for a variety of political, cultural, and social activities for communities (Buizer, et al., 2015). Focusing on green and open space creation, a number 'green space initiatives' aim to increase social cohesion. Open and green spaces function as places for social cohesion and of mixed use potentials. By providing opportunities for recreation, and public spaces of encounter and interaction (such as parks, gardens, green roofs, urban farming facilities, etc.), such initiatives aim to enhance the interaction between diverse groups with distinctive cultural, ethnic, or socio-economic backgrounds, as well as increase social involvement, and 'integration' of under-represented groups (Buizer, et al., 2015).

Table 4.1 Focus of governance arrangements (The Author)

Social Cohesion	Social Mobility	Economic Performance
Creating a sense of belonging	Enhancing social capital of individuals	Generating more productive and innovative cities, neighborhoods and communities
Enhancing solidarity & cooperation, creating social networks	Fostering educational attainment	Promoting entrepreneurship
Achieving social order & harmonious relations among diverse groups	Retraining	Producing spaces in which local businesses and creative sector can operate
Fostering the recognition of multiple voices	Job creating	Supporting businesses active in the creative industries
Increasing interaction and communication between people from diverse backgrounds	Empowering disadvantaged groups and improving their access to education, labor market and public services	Promoting a positive image and identity of specific urban areas and neighborhoods
Creating spaces of encounter	Encouraging community involvement in urban regeneration/redevelopment processes	
<div>Place-based</div> <div>Population of a certain area</div>	<div>Group-based</div> <div>Certain groups</div>	<div>Place-based and group-based</div> <div>Increasing economic performance of groups and areas</div>
<div>Common activities</div> <div>Universal approach</div>	<div>Tailor-made</div> <div>Certain groups but specific needs, demands and problems of individuals</div>	
Community centres, local festivities, neighborhood associations, common activities such as street festivals, choirs, play streets, etc.	Language courses, job training initiatives, community centres for disadvantaged groups, sports clubs for children and young people, cultural associations, etc.	Entrepreneurship and leadership courses, hubs for creative industries, networks for local businesses and start-ups, business training & development initiatives or programs

4.4.2. Governance Arrangements for Enhancing Upward Social Mobility

Governance initiatives may also focus on capacity building, development of social capital, education and retraining, and job creation. In this respect, governance arrangements focusing on social mobility are mostly group-based initiatives. Such arrangements often work for empowerment of certain parts of the society, especially disadvantaged groups including women, single mothers, children, youth, homeless people, immigrants, refugees, low-skilled workers, lowly educated, or unemployed people. Empowerment of disadvantaged individuals and improving their access to education, labor market and public services may be primary areas of concern.

There are also initiatives that adopt tailor-made approaches by recognizing the particularities and specialties of different groups and individuals. Such arrangements realize hyper-diversities of communities and organize their support, help, or activities according to special problems, needs, demands, and diverse lifestyles of certain groups or individuals. For instance, supporting disadvantaged young people in terms of training, developing their leadership skills, promoting their employability and creating businesses is commonly undertaken by governance initiatives at local scale. Target groups in this category generally consist of disadvantaged children, or young people in terms of unemployment, homelessness, lack of education, engaged in crime-related activities, or having mental or/and physical disabilities, language, or learning deficiencies, harmful habits, etc.

4.4.3. Governance Arrangements for Promoting Economic Performance and Entrepreneurship

Governance arrangements targeting economic performance aim to generate more competitive, innovative and productive cities, neighborhoods, and communities, promote entrepreneurship, as well as produce more spaces in which local businesses and creative sector can operate (Schenkel and Plüss, 2014). Various initiatives either as place-based or group-based arrangements, or both, work for enhancing economic

well-being of different groups and individuals through the provision of several kinds of support and opportunities.

To improve the economic performance of certain groups and individuals, many initiatives in cities endeavor to enable certain groups' access to labor market. The main concern is that the inclusion of the most excluded parts of the society may both enhance economic well-being of these groups and promote the economic performance of the urban areas. Job centers, street fairs, and career days can be the examples of these initiatives that target many different groups including immigrants, ethnic groups, local entrepreneurs, professionals, highly educated, and high-skilled groups, unemployed people, women, and single parents.

As Syrett and Sepulveda (2012) indicate based on their studies in London, a growing number of governance arrangements play important role in improving cultural and ethnic based enterprise clusters, and attracting visitors, investors and high-skilled employers through a variety of events, festivals, and carnivals. These activities are seen as opportunities for city place marketing, tourist, high-skilled workforce and business attraction, inward investment and internalization strategies (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). Diversity of urban areas, in this respect, is seen as a competitive asset, utilized and supported by a variety of governance arrangements and initiatives to enhance the economic performance of both communities and urban areas.

A number of governance arrangements places great importance to promoting entrepreneurship and creating urban environments where groups and individuals act as entrepreneurs. Many initiatives play essential role in stimulating interactions between entrepreneurs, and facilitate the access of different groups to business networks. Neighborhood networks to develop entrepreneurial skills of individuals, i.e. local youth, or street fairs, or street festivals aiming to enhance the economic performance of local entrepreneurs, local shopkeepers, or local businesses, including migrant entrepreneurs, besides initiatives that aim to increase women entrepreneurship may be among the examples of such governance arrangements.

Moreover, various initiatives take the role of using productive and creative aspects of urban diversity through enhancing creative industries⁶ and networks for start-ups in diverse urban areas (Schenkel and Plüss, 2014), considering creative sectors' role in fostering innovation and creative entrepreneurship, developing new internal markets and export markets, new businesses, and creating jobs (Michelini and Méndez, 2013).

4.5. Governance Arrangements and Perception of Diversity

The approach of many local governance arrangements and initiatives regarding diversity often diverges from national discourses and policies. As opposed to restrictive approaches, and integration or assimilation agendas adopted by national governments in many countries, more open, and affirmative approaches are adopted by governance initiatives at metropolitan, city or neighborhood levels. Most governance initiatives consider diversity as a strength for society, and a positive asset to the city and the neighborhood, as well as to the businesses and labor market, therefore promote a pluralist conception of diversity. In order to respond to highly varying needs and demands of diverse groups, positive and embracing attitudes of local actors may be reflected as rather progressive and effective practices.

In that sense, governance arrangements often endeavor to promote intercultural approach, both promote the positive dimensions of urban diversity and address negative consequences attached to it including social conflicts, unequal rights, racism, discrimination, lack of information, lack of professional support, etc.

⁶ Creative industries include thirteen main sectors: Advertising, arts, performing arts, architecture, design, fashion, film, music, publishing, software, television and radio, which are based on individual creativity, skill and talent with the potential to create wealth and jobs through developing intellectual property. UNCTAD (2008) defines creative industries as: 'the interface between creativity, culture, economics and technology as expressed in the ability to create and circulate intellectual capital, with the potential to generate income, jobs and export earnings while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development.

Various governance arrangements take hyper-diversity into consideration by showing regard to differences not only between groups, but also within-groups. Although in some cases it is not explicitly on their agenda, many local initiatives acknowledge hyper-diversity and develop a variety of answers to the challenges, problems, or requirements to hyper-diversified societies. Beyond focusing on demographic, ethnic and cultural differences, many initiatives focus on individuals' diversified activities, new urban lifestyles, and relations. There are many governance arrangements in today's hyper-diversified cities and neighborhoods that focus more than one aspect, such as unemployment, gender, age, but intersecting dimensions of diversity (e.g. poor ethnic women, ageing migrants, unemployed youth, talented youth interested in dance, music or sports, children with problems at school and home, etc.). They address hyper-diversity by providing activities and programmes which focus on individuals' personal skills, abilities and interests, or their particular lifestyles and problems.

On the other hand, many arrangements do not explicitly promote diversity, but use diversity as a means or a strategy to achieve their main objectives (Vertovec 2007; Vertovec, 2010; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The emphasis is mostly using diversity to support community-building and foster social cohesion by bringing diverse groups together by creating spaces of encounter and increasing interactions. Further, some arrangements may use productive and creative diversities of communities to encourage economic development of both urban areas and individuals, especially recently, in the wake of major economic crisis of 2008 and the austerity impacts.

It is also worth to note that many local governance arrangements view diversity from equality and 'equality of opportunity' perspective. In that sense, ensuring all groups' equal access to rights and services is valued regardless of their ethnic, cultural, religious and demographic differences.

4.6. Concluding Remarks

Experiencing the impacts of globalization, societies have become ever more dynamic, diverse and complex. People, ideas, and lifestyles are more fluid, and the world is more interconnected than ever before. The states have increasingly failed to response to the challenges of hyper-diversity in contemporary context, and a range of traditional policies and practices that the states adopt to mediate these changes are not applicable any more. In the face of global competitiveness and the economic priorities of neoliberal period, the governments have focused on the commodification and use of multicultural features of cities and communities for economic growth through urban tourism and urban transformation purposes, as well as the exploitation of productive diversity within the labor market. Diverse populations have been poorly served, supported and included into existing governance systems. The reality is ever-growing exclusion, and socio-spatial segregation of diverse groups within the contemporary cities, which hits severely the most vulnerable ones.

All these challenges accompanied by the impacts of austerity and downscaling role of welfare state open gaps for different actors actively involved in the issues of diversity including private actors, NGOs, and community itself. New governance has needed to support interaction between and within different groups, and cultures, build trust and understanding, and promote navigational skills to accept and endorse the change processes.

The local governance actors including community and voluntary organizations, NGOs, local government agencies, and community groups are notably active in the governance of diversity, and in fostering social cohesion and mobility, as well as stimulating employment and entrepreneurship. Although it varies according to particular socio-economic and political contexts of countries and cities, the local governments mostly engage in empowerment of disadvantaged groups including youth, elderly, children, women, and the disabled, civil society and neighborhood groups have crucial roles in representing and advocating diverse identities including

ethnic communities, immigrants, cultural groups, and people with diverse sexual orientation, lifestyles, and activities.

However, these arrangements are faced with the challenge of responding to the needs and demands of diverse populations, while ensuring a fair degree of equality across varied communities and diverse groups. As emphasized by Syrett and Sepulveda (2012) ‘reconciling diversity, equality, and material well-being within a just city’ is the most challenging aspect of urban governance. Further, it is accompanied by large scale cuts in public funding that prevent governance actors from effectively maintaining their activities with enough resources and capacities. Partnerships and networks, in this respect, become crucial for governance arrangements to have access to financial, organizational, and political support from the key authorities.

Moreover, governance actors do not only deal with problems related to specific bounded territories or places, but also with more fluid and relational global flows and identities. In the face of growing complexities and population dynamics, traditional policies and government interventions towards poverty or concentrating on specific demographic or ethnic groups have failed to response to the greater diversity of the communities, as well as to more fluid relationships between space and identities. It raises concern about incorporation of place-based and people-based approaches in the face of new mobilities, and challenges to territorial governance. Engaging in only group or individual-based strategies may undermine a possible integrated, comprehensive, and inclusive approach towards governance of diversity, or may further weaken already deprived and disadvantaged urban areas. Engaging in only place-based strategies may prevent governance structures from deeply understanding the problems and needs of diverse groups, and individuals, or have lock-in effects on local communities.

The multi-scalar governance framework necessitates the integration and articulation of national, regional, and local policies and practices. More flexible governance structures, bottom-up actions and tailor-made instruments are crucial to understand and response to the needs and capacities of communities since “one size fits all”

approach is not enough in governing today's hyper-diversified societies. Governments need to allow space and leave flexibility for the bottom-up, and less-formally organized governance arrangements and local initiatives, considering that bottom-up actions are close to local needs and demands, aware of special problems, and have local knowledge. However, as emphasized by the recent governance literature, even the most well-developed and successful bottom-up approaches may require top-down coordination mechanisms, and multilevel cooperation on different scales. Communication and coordination between top and bottom levels of governance may help to define the common targets, areas of concern, and introduce effective roadmaps in governing diverse communities.

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNANCE OF URBAN DIVERSITY IN TURKEY AND ISTANBUL

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to pinpoint the main problem areas that the central and local governments in Turkey are not interested in, or they are not efficient enough. To understand the recent governmental discourses and attitudes towards diversity, and underlying causes of existing problems and concerns, and find out the main problem areas, it requires a brief examination of changing approaches and policy discourses.

For this purpose, first, the chapter presents an overview of changing policy discourses regarding diversity in Turkey within time, and evaluates their reflections in Istanbul and Beyoğlu. Second, it introduces the main problem areas and issues in which governmental bodies fail and lack efficiency, with a particular emphasis on Istanbul and Beyoğlu.

In this context, it explains how governance practices in Turkey and Istanbul have been developed and shaped in face of attitudes of the central government regarding diversity, accompanied by growing concerns of the central and local governments to use the city as the main vehicle of economic growth and development.

Moreover, such analysis sheds light on the main fields in which governance initiatives deal with urban diversity in Turkey, and Istanbul, identified as: migration issues, empowerment of disadvantaged groups, representation and support of the rights of ethnic, cultural, and religious groups, and representation of people with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities.

5.2. An Overview of Changing Approaches, Policy Discourses and Practices of Diversity in Turkey

During the Ottoman Empire period, identities were based on the religion, being Muslim or non-Muslim. While the non-Muslim groups were identified as minorities, diversity of religious and ethnic groups was recognized and respected, allowing them to enjoy their rights. The key word was ‘tolerance’, implying that the Empire tolerated different ethno-cultural and religious minorities so long as they did not run counter to the order of the Empire and the Sunni-Islam tradition. In this context, tolerance of minorities meant recognizing differences, but did not refer to a full acceptance and embrace of religious, cultural, and ethnic minorities, implying that their disobedience simply gives way to their suppression and persecution (Kaya and Harmanyeri, 2010).

Towards the end of the Ottoman Empire, national independence movements of different identities arose, and the claims of these groups regarding their civil rights increased. To meet these demands, reform actions were adopted starting from 1839. The first constitution in 1876, and the second constitution in 1908 were promulgated. However, these regulations were not enough to prevent the nationalistic movements.

The formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 brought along homogenization strategies characterized by the ideal of the dominance of Turkishness and Sunni-Islamism within the nation. These strategies were underpinned by the concerns about the division of the country by ethnic and religious minorities with the support of external forces, accompanied by ethnic conflicts experienced at the last period of the Ottoman Empire (Eraydın, 2014).

With the Lausanne Agreement signed in 1923, only Greeks, Armenians, and Jews were defined as formal minorities.

With the 1924 Constitution, citizenship was equated with Turkishness. According to the article 88 of the Constitution: “Everyone in Turkey is called a Turk without discrimination on the basis of religion or race.” (Cemiloğlu, 2009, p. 28). The constitution aimed to gather different ethnic, cultural, and religious groups under the

roof of equal citizenship. The Constitution did not bring along any regulations and specific provisions for different cultural, religious and ethnic groups.

From the creation of the Republic until the 1950s, Turkey went through an intense nation-state formation process. It was in parallel with the modernization efforts experienced by a majority of the nation-states throughout the world in the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, witnessing the spread of nationalism and the formation of independent nation-states (Saatçi, 2002).

This period had severe implications for diversity. While the Ottoman Empire turned a blind eye to ethnic and cultural differences among Muslims, the Turkish nation-state pursued assimilationist policies with respect to culture, language, religion, education, and many other spheres. The sudden and major shift away from religion accompanied by ethnic assimilation efforts created a contradictory context between the state and ethnic, cultural and religious groups within the nation (Saatçi, 2002). In addition, the compulsory exchanges of populations, undertaken based on the Settlement Law enacted in 1934, have resulted in the reduction in the population of ethnic and religious groups within the country. A majority of Greek population left the country. The goal of the exchanges were to support the homogenization of the Turkish nation-state.

The population exchanges were followed by the September 6-7 Events in 1955, in which people revolted against minority groups living in the country, especially in Istanbul. It sped up the abandonment of a variety of minorities from the country, and decreased the non-Muslim population.

Within the following periods, Turkey experienced large-scale migration flows from rural areas to cities, due to people's expectations of higher living standards in cities, and structural transformations in rural areas. This interregional migration enhanced cultural and ethnic diversity of the metropolitan areas, particularly Istanbul, since people coming from different parts of the country had diverse cultural, ethnic and religious characteristics. However, different cultures, ethnicities and lifestyles were not welcomed and were mostly ignored. The newcomers were expected to adopt the

new urban life, culture and dominant language, and learn how to live with urban inhabitants. There was a spatial, socio-economic and cultural segmentation between immigrants and existing urban population in cities, especially with regard to residential areas and employment opportunities. On the other hand, as emphasized by Eraydın (2008), there were also mechanisms that enabled the upward social mobility of the newcomers namely, housing sector dynamics, the redevelopment of gecekondu areas, and employment opportunities provided to second generation immigrants.

Moreover, this period was also characterized by guest worker policies, which resulted in huge labor emigration from Turkey to European countries in the 1960s, to fill the gap in growing labor demand in industrialized countries. This was important for the upward mobility of various workers and families immigrated to metropolitan areas in the sense that they helped higher economic growth rates and increasing employment opportunities in Turkey through sending their remittances and providing financial support for the immigrant families. However, in the following periods, the guest workers, which was thought to be temporary in the beginning, became permanent. Further, the transfer of remittances lost its significance. Therefore, during time, the mechanisms for upward mobility turned into the process of integration, and in many cases the assimilation of immigrants.

Although the dominant policies did not change in the 1960s, and diverse identities were treated within the equal citizenship principle, the 1961 Constitution broadened democratic rights and freedoms, including the autonomy of universities, freedom of press, and freedom for activities of civil society organizations such as syndicates and associations. The constitution also emphasized the notions of social state, social justice and human dignity, and introduced significant social rights such as labor agreements and strikes, and the protection of basic rights through independent judiciary and the Constitutional Court by limiting the domination of the majority.

The economic crisis experienced throughout the world in the early 1970s pushed the Turkish government to take new structural adjustments and reforms into the agenda. Starting from the 1980s, the state aimed to rebuild the economic stability by reducing

the weight of the public sector, and enabling free operation of market mechanisms. These strategies, which constitute the basis of the neoliberal economic model (Dinçer, 2011), were accompanied by the neoliberal state transformation characterized by neoliberal deregulation and decentralized governance. In this context, due to extensive inflation, unstable growth, and overloaded public debt, the role and effectiveness of the governing institutions in Turkey has gone into a ‘shrinking’ process (Dinçer, 2011).

The new period has been featured by a set of processes which are assumed to promote market entrepreneurship, privatization of services, and social safety net cutbacks. The government readjusted its subsidies and supports towards export, finance, tourism, and the real estate, while decreasing its role on welfare services. The severe economic and political problems led to precarious business environments, the formation of the informal sector, and high rates of unemployment in cities. These problems resulted in increasing dissatisfaction among the society (Yeldan, 2001; Sönmez, 2001; Buğra and Keyder, 2005), including communal tensions, especially within the big cities. Decreasing employment opportunities have led to worse opportunities for vulnerable groups including immigrants living in metropolitan areas, mostly exempt from social and economic protection mechanisms. Decreasing job opportunities and poverty resulted in social unrest for both immigrants and disadvantaged groups. The groups who were socially and economically disadvantaged, spatially excluded, culturally disintegrated, and politically isolated, increasingly showed their dissatisfaction and disadvantaged positions (Narli, 1999; Keyder, 2005). The processes of globalization challenged the power of the state, many ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups began to raise their voices in the public sphere.

During the 1980s, widespread movements including Kurdish ethnic nationalism, feminism, Alevi movement, environmentalism and human rights activism gained momentum (Şimşek, 2004). These movements were accompanied by the identity politics, and growing violence experienced in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, and raised awareness regarding diversity and diverse needs of different ethnic, cultural, and religious groups (Eraydın et al., 2014a).

The 1982 Constitution has been criticized for not allowing enough space for political competition and civil society, and social and political freedom of expressions. The recent constitution has been blamed for failing to provide the legal foundations for responding to demands of diverse groups.

After Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the elections in 2002, the government promised to provide economic recovery and liberalization, accelerate the EU accession process, and provide pluralist democracy and human rights. After Turkey was recognized as an official EU candidate country at the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, the Turkish government started to undertake legal reforms in line with the EU accession process. Between the period 1999 and 2005, to fulfil the Copenhagen Criteria introduced by the EU in 1993, the government introduced reform packages to accelerate democratization process, and extend civil and human rights, including the rights of minorities (see Table 5.1). In 2001, the government introduced its first National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, which demonstrated commitment to the recognition of cultural differences regarding policies and practices (Eraydın et al., 2014a). In 2004, European Commission identified Kurds and Alevis as minority groups in its report “Recommendation of the European Commission on Turkey’s Progress towards accession”. In the Council Decision of 18 February 2008 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with the Republic of Turkey and repealing Decision 2006/35/EC, ensuring cultural diversity, supporting cultural rights, and promoting respect for and protection of minorities were defined among the main principles.

However, regulations of the government regarding diversity and democratic rights of diverse groups, which were already limited, have slowed down after 2005. In line with its strategy to provide economic recovery and liberalization in the aftermath of the economic crisis in 2001, the central government started to implement entrepreneurial, export, and foreign capital oriented economic reforms and policies, combined with the downsizing of the public sector through the large amount of privatization of state-owned enterprises (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007).

Table 5.1 Summary of discourses, policies and main legislation on migration, citizenship and diversity (adopted from Eraydın et al., 2014a)

Period	Policies affecting international migration	Policies affecting interregional migration	Policies regarding citizenship and diversity
Pre-1950s	Exchange of population Settlement Law in 1934		1923 Lausanne Agreement defining non-Muslim population as minorities (Greeks, Armenians and Jews only) 1924 Constitution- principle of equal citizenship
1950s-1970s	Convention Protocol on the Legal Status of Refugees (1967) , amended in 1968, geographical drawbacks (refugee status for only Europeans) Agreements with European countries for Turkish immigrant workers	Policies and practice related to squatter housing 1966 Law on Squatter Housing (775)	1961 Constitution principle of equal citizenship and more democratic rights 1962 Minorities Commission (banned in 2004)
1980s-1990s	Policies to control the number of refugees from the Middle East	Reforms on Local Governments 1984 Local Government Reform and 1984 Metropolitan Municipality Law (3030) Legislation on the provision of new housing and regularization of illegal housing stock 1984 Mass Housing Law (2985) and 1984 Law on Regularising Squatter Housing Areas (2981)	1982 Constitution Limitations on the practice of cultural differences
2000s	More positive attitude to international immigrants Regulations facilitating foreigners to work in Turkey Enactment of Civil Committee on Minorities (2004)	Increasing role of Central Government on urban areas 2004 Law on Amending The Mass Housing Law and Turkish Housing Administration (5162) 2005 Law on sustainable use of downgraded historical areas through (5366)	1999 Helsinki Summit 2001 National Programme 2004 EU Progress Report The decision taken by the Union to start accession talks with Turkey 2008 EU Council Decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with Turkey
2010+	Efforts to cancel the geographical drawback on the Geneva Convention Encouragement of immigration of skilled manpower to Turkey	Policies for transforming urban areas where ethnic groups and immigrants are living 2012 Law on transformation of urban areas under the threat of natural disasters (6306)	Attempts to provide special institutions and governance to different ethnic groups Legislation on democratic rights

The central and local governments' interests have been on the privatization of housing provision and public services, and the introduction of large scale infrastructure and redevelopment projects. The central and local governments have increasingly adopted growth-oriented, market-driven, and business oriented approaches blended with the discourses of 'global city', 'world city', 'competitive city', etc. to attract the 'right' type of groups, functions and investment to urban areas.

The neoliberal era has brought about the retrenching of the Turkish state from various areas of social provision, social protection, and welfare. The interest has been less on the provision of social and economic welfare to individuals, social security, provision of employment, and efficient delivery of goods and services. To deal with concentration of poverty, unemployment, crime, or physical deterioration in deprived and disadvantaged neighborhoods, central and local government bodies have adopted gentrification strategies with the discourses of 'livable city' and 'luxury, healthy and safe neighborhoods'. Governmental bodies have inscribed social and economic life of their cities with the middle and high-class values, lifestyles and culture (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014), while devaluing diverse identities and lifestyles.

Further, the recent austerity measures in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis and cutbacks on public spending in public services have had negative implications in terms of affecting financial resources of households, and limiting income transfers of the government on social policies. In this context, the interrelated processes of neoliberalism accompanied by neoliberal discourses and practices in Turkey result in irrevocable outcomes for diverse and disadvantaged groups. Doubtless, the impacts have been severely felt by vulnerable and marginalized groups, who are the most in need of welfare services and protection mechanisms. While entrepreneurial and creative groups are valued for what they contribute to socio-economic well-being of the country, the most vulnerable groups including the immigrants who are mostly constrained to work in low-quality and low-paid jobs with little or no job security are rarely provided by the government authorities with mechanisms that enable their upward mobility.

The impacts of neoliberal deregulation have been accompanied by the recent approach of the central government towards diverse communities. Although recently, various central and local government officials and administrators define diversity as ‘richness for society’, it has mostly been on discourse. Regarding the most recent decade, there has not been any notable changes in political practice. The central government and its institutions have failed to provide any comprehensive approach or strategy to address the growing diversity of populations. This situation leads to marginalization and under-representation of certain groups, including immigrants, and ethnic communities.

5.3. Existing Governance Structure and the Main Actors in the Governance of Diversity in Turkey and Istanbul

5.3.2. Main Governance Actors in Turkey

The administrative structure of the Turkish Republic is divided into two, namely Central Administration and Local Administration. The Central Administration includes the Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, and the Ministries. The Prime Minister is the head of the government and the Council of Ministers, as shown in Figure 5.1. There are several administrative bodies, councils, and committees which work under the Office of Prime Ministry, including the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ), the Council of Migration Policies, the Advisory Committee on Migration and the Committee of International Protection and Evaluation.

The main administrative and territorial units are at provincial and sub-provincial levels, additionally, some of the ministries have also directorates at regional level. Each province has a governor. Governorship is the highest administrative body within the city, at the provincial level. The governor has the authority to coordinate and control all provincial directorates of the ministries. There are also central government departments at district level, which are coordinated by district governorships (*Kaymakamlık*). District governorships are coordinated by governorships. In

addition, 26 NUTS II regions in Turkey have development agencies as the relevant organizations of the Ministry of Development, which have recently been established within the EU Accession Process.

The local government structure in Turkey is comprised of municipalities and provincial special administrations. There is a two-tiered municipal structure in Turkey, in a metropolitan area, comprised of the metropolitan municipality and district municipalities. A municipality is an autonomous local government in Turkey with elected councils and a mayor. Accordingly, there is a metropolitan mayor and a metropolitan municipality council at metropolitan level, and district municipality council and a district mayor at district level. The legal arrangements regarding the local governments in Turkey are Municipality Law No. 5393, Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216, and Special Provincial Administration Law No. 5302. However, according to a law enacted in 2012, provincial special administrations have been abolished with the 2014 local elections.

5.3.3. Urban Governance in Istanbul

Istanbul has three administrative levels, namely Istanbul Metropolitan Area, Istanbul Province, and Istanbul Region, which is one of the NUTS-II regions of Turkey. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was established in 1984 by Decree Law No. 3030 regarding “the Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities”, which was entered into force in 1984. After the Decree Law No. 3030 was in effect for twenty years, in 2004, Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 came into force, which brought significant changes to the structures of local governments in Turkey. With this law, the jurisdiction area of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was enlarged to cover the whole area within the provincial administrative borders, and first level municipalities were established. The Law on Establishing Districts within the Boundaries of Metropolitan Municipalities (Law No. 5747) enacted in 2008, and the Law on the Establishment of Thirteen Metropolitan Municipalities in Thirteen Provinces and Twenty Six Municipalities and Amending Certain Laws and Decree Laws (Law No.

6360) enacted in 2012 have brought about significant changes. The number of district municipalities has increased, first level municipalities have been abolished and integrated into district municipalities, and village settlements have lost their status and become neighborhoods under the jurisdiction of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Moreover, with the Law No. 6360, Istanbul Special Provincial Administration has been abolished following the local elections in 2014. After the abolishment, the existing duties of the Provincial Special Administration have been assigned to the Department of Monitoring Investment and Coordination of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. All these regulations and changes have enlarged the jurisdiction area of the Metropolitan Municipality and district municipalities, and increased the role of the Metropolitan Municipality, both in terms of decision-making and implementation.

In addition, within the current governance structure, Istanbul Development Agency, which was established on the basis of the Law on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies enacted in 2006, is responsible for budgeting and planning of large-scale projects (Uzun, 2010) in Istanbul Metropolitan Region.

In urban governance structure of Istanbul, Mass Housing Administration, which is a central government body under the coordination of Prime Ministry, is also important in large-scale housing and redevelopment projects, especially in partnership with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In addition, private sector is highly engaged in urban renewal and urban transformation projects, mostly in form of public-private partnerships.

Moreover, in Istanbul, civil society organizations are active in different areas of focus, and in various forms, including grassroots, and more formal organizations such as foundations and associations.

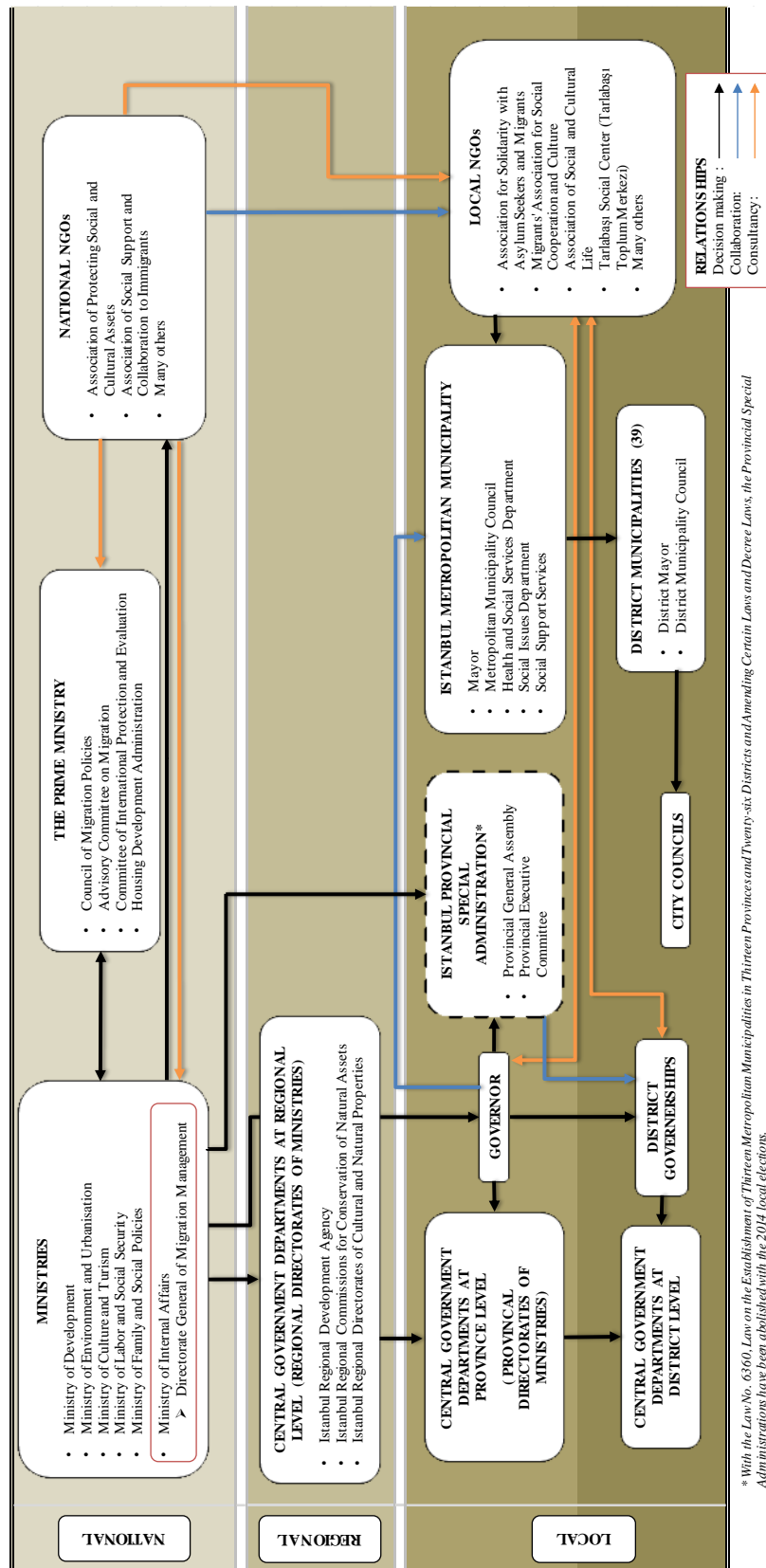


Figure 5.1 Institutional set up regarding urban diversity

(The Author, reproduced from Eraydin et al., 2014a)

5.4. Main Actors in the Governance of Diversity in Turkey and Istanbul

5.4.1. Central Government

The key ministries, which define the main policies and strategies regarding the issues of diversity in Turkey, are the Ministry of Development, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Employment and Social Security.

A document analysis, carried out through a review of related policy documents and strategic plans prepared and implemented by these ministries, shows that these ministries develop policies and strategies on empowerment of disadvantaged groups, reduction of poverty and unemployment, and prevention of income inequalities.

In this respect, the Ministry of Development introduces the main economic and social policies, and specifies the general principles that direct strategies and urban policies. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization defines the policies regarding planning, construction, urban transformation, and environmental management.

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies produces policies and strategies that directly affect the socio-economic well-being of certain groups, defined as disadvantaged groups by the Municipality, including families, women, children, disabled people, elderly, widow women, and military families.

In 2013, within the body of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Directorate General of Migration Management has been established with the ‘Law on Foreigners and International Protection’ to practice policies, strategies, and actions in migration-related fields, specifically deal with foreigners’ entries, exits and stay in Turkey, deportation, international protection, temporary protection, and the protection of the victims of human trafficking. However, since the directorate has been newly established, it has not been very active yet. The institution has been preparing 2016-2020 Strategic Plan, as declared in its website.

The Ministry of Employment and Social Security, on the other hand, emphasizes the labor force participation of disadvantaged groups, including women, young people, long-term unemployed, disabled people and immigrants. Within its 2014-2018 Strategic Plan, the Ministry also introduces strategies for the prevention of child labor, and the prevention of informal employment.

The review the documents and reports of the related ministries demonstrates that the recent social policies regarding diversity mainly focus on disadvantaged groups. These groups mostly refer to children, young people, women, elders, the poor, disabled people, and sometimes unemployed people and single parent families. Empowering these groups and ensuring their involvement into social and economic life stand as the primary objective of the ministerial bodies, aimed to achieve through education, training, and provision of employment, as the main strategies.

Women's issues regarding the fight against discrimination and violence to women, and the empowerment of women and supporting female labor force participation are widely emphasized within the policy documents of these ministries. Elderly and disabled people also have a special focus within the policy documents of the related ministries, especially the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. Considering disabled people, these authorities emphasize the provision of training and health services, and ensuring their employment and community involvement. The policies also potentially concentrate on the children of low-income families, with strategies in forms of ensuring the access of these children to education, healthcare, and preventing child abuse.

While the emphasis is on the empowerment of women, children, young people, elders, and disabled people, certain groups are not addressed within the existing policies of the related ministries. While the literature, and the international

organizations provide a broader definition⁷ of ‘disadvantaged groups’, the policy documents of the central government institutions in Turkey do not generally define certain groups among the disadvantaged. The concern over the immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers with respect to policy initiatives, specific programs and services is rather limited. This concern becomes even more limited with regard to ‘sexual diversity’, implying people having diverse sexual orientation and gender identities. LGBT groups, who have long been facing legal challenges and discrimination in Turkey, are not involved in the policy documents and programs of the central government bodies, through which their demands (such as anti-discrimination laws, recognition of same-sex couples, etc.) can be recognized.

Regional and Provincial Bodies/Directorates of the Central Government

The main administrative and territorial units are at provincial and district levels, additionally, some of the ministries have directorates at regional level.

The Governorship is the highest administrative body at the provincial level. The Governor has the authority to coordinate and control all provincial directorates of the ministries. All provincial directorates of the ministries work under the Governor. Therefore, the provincial bodies of the central government in Istanbul work under the coordination of the Governorship of Istanbul, which has the authority to coordinate all the policies and programs including social and emigrational issues at province level. Moreover, there are central government bodies at district level, coordinated by district governorships. The provincial and district directorates of the central government, are responsible for implementing the policies of the related ministries at

⁷ According to UNESCO’s definition, disadvantaged groups are comprised of people who have lower social and economic integration capacity (compared to other parts of the society) due to their economic condition, gender, ethnic and linguistic origin, religion or political stance (like refugees), which are mostly the people do not have land ownership or any other income-generating tools and people who are deprived of their basic needs (Özer, n.d.).

province and district levels, and for developing specific measures and action programmes, especially on social and economic issues.

26 NUTS II regions in Turkey have development agencies, which have recently been established within the EU Accession Process, as the relevant organizations of the Ministry of Development. Development agencies are responsible for developing social and economic policies, and intervention tools for their regions. Each development agency prepares regional plans in collaboration with relevant actors.

The document analysis based on a review of the Regional Plans⁸ prepared by the Istanbul Development Agency shows that the Agency puts a special emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged parts of the society, especially concentrating on elders and disabled people. Unlike the central government and its provincial bodies, Istanbul Development Agency also defines immigrants as disadvantaged groups, and addresses these groups in its plans and strategy documents. Social policies of the Agency center upon the inclusion of disadvantaged groups. Within its 2014-2023 Regional Plan, the social policies put a special emphasis on the needs of immigrants, unemployed people and low-income families, and introduce integration measures including counseling services oriented towards immigrant families, educational and training support, and vocational counseling services.

5.4.2. Local Governments

The local government structure in Turkey is comprised of municipalities and provincial special administrations. The documentary analysis shows that the local government authorities mostly focus on socio-economic and demographic differences, by emphasizing the integration of disadvantaged groups into society.

⁸ 2010-2013 Istanbul Regional Plan and 2014-2023 Istanbul Regional Plan.

Provincial Special Administrations

According to the Law No. 6360 enacted in 2012, provincial special administrations have been abolished following the 2014 local elections, and the jurisdiction area of metropolitan municipalities has been extended to cover whole provincial boundaries. Before the abolishment, the institution was responsible for the provision of various public services in areas that were not involved in the jurisdiction of the municipalities, including services related to youth and sports, health services, social services, culture, and tourism related services. After their abolishment, the existing duties of the Provincial Special Administrations have been assigned to the Department of Monitoring Investment and Coordination of the Metropolitan Municipalities.

The review of the strategic plans and activity reports of the Istanbul Provincial Special Administration shows that the institution adopted policies and practices to facilitate the social integration of disadvantaged people through its Directorate of Social Services (IPSO, 2012). These policies had particular emphasis on disabled people, and the institution introduced policies and strategies to provide special education and training services for disabled people, vocational courses, physical and mental rehabilitation services, social and health centers, as well as regulations to make the built environment more accessible for the physically handicapped people. However, as already mentioned, the institution is not active anymore.

Metropolitan Municipality

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality engages in activities of health and social services primarily aiming to give services to the ill, the poor, the disabled, elders, children, and women. Through its related departments working on social and cultural issues, namely the Health and Social Services Department, the Social Issues Department and the Social Support Services Department, the Metropolitan Municipality provides services and facilities for old people, handicapped people, the children in need of protection, women and family, and provides social aid and services for poor people.

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (2011, p. 35) defines its social aim as “to follow an inclusive approach and ensure the involvement and the participation of all social groups within the city, including the disadvantaged ones, into decision-making processes in which their specific needs and demands are met.” It is declared that, with this strategy, the Municipality ensures healthy and safe living conditions for disadvantaged groups, facilitates their integration with the city and the society, and increases their self-sufficiency.

District Municipalities

District municipalities are responsible for developing policies and practices related to municipal services at district level. Within the scope of the study, plans and policy documents of five district municipalities in Istanbul were reviewed, including Beyoğlu, Bakırköy, Şişli, Beşiktaş, and Kadıköy Municipality.

Based on the document analysis of Beyoğlu Municipality, including its strategic plans, performance programmes, activity reports, and annual budget reports, it has been found that the approach regarding urban diversity is mostly based on the socio-demographic and socio-economic differences. The most underlined concepts and principles include “equal opportunities”, “participation”, and “social municipalism”, which imply the support of all disadvantaged groups including the poor, women, children, young people, old, and disabled people. On the other hand, the policies and strategies do not involve ethnic, cultural and religious groups.

Bakırköy Municipality puts a special emphasis on social municipalism, and define its social policies as primarily to foster integration and social cohesion, cultural diversity and tolerance (Bakırköy Municipality, 2009). Şişli Municipality emphasizes cultural and linguistic diversity, and regards cultural differences as cultural richness. Moreover, according to its documents, the Municipality alleges that their approach in service provision is against any kind of discrimination with respect to religion, sects, ethnicity, language, or sex (Şişli Municipality, 2009).

In a similar vein, Beşiktaş Municipality emphasizes the recognition and support of diverse cultures, and highlights the identification of the needs, demands, and problems of cultural and ethnic groups. In this context, the primary strategy is defined as developing contacts with the representatives of cultural and ethnic groups (Beşiktaş Municipality, 2009). Introducing the ‘Social Cooperation’ model and founding the Social Cooperation Development Centers, Kadıköy Municipality emphasizes social participation and social mobility of disadvantaged groups, including disabled people, women, and young people. The Municipality has also set up several support centers, including Job and Employment Centre for Disabled People, Volunteers of Kadıköy Municipality, Education and Social Support Centre, Voluntary Training and Consultation Centre for Disadvantaged Groups (Kadıköy Municipality, 2012).

5.4.3. Non-Governmental Actors

Private companies

Within the urban governance structure of Turkish cities, especially in metropolitan areas, private sector is highly active in the processes of urban renewal and redevelopment. Private developer firms undertake the construction of housing units, residences, commercial buildings, shopping centers and tourism facilities, mostly in partnership with the public sector. Although the involvement of the private sector is not related to diversity directly, it often has considerable impacts on diverse areas and populations, through urban transformation and urban renewal projects.

On the other hand, in some cases, private sector actors provide financial support to national, city-wide and local NGOs, and sometimes get involved in social projects in cooperation with local government bodies and NGOs. Moreover, as seen in Beyoğlu case, there are also consultancy companies which function as mediators between the local government, namely the Beyoğlu Municipality, NGOs, and communities, especially in large-scale urban redevelopment projects.

Universities/Academics and Professional Organizations

Although not being active actors in the governance of urban diversity in terms of policies and practices, the opinions and reflections of academics and the professional organizations are analyzed within the scope of this research, which provide highly critical viewpoints on the policies of central and local governments. The universities and professional organizations in Istanbul, including the Chamber of City Planners and the Chamber of Architects involve in joint meetings and activities with NGOs and other local actors regarding the issues of diversity.

Civil Society Organizations

This research shows that civil society organizations may be quite contributive in diversity-related areas. The civil society organizations, mostly in form of NGOs with legal status in Istanbul and Beyoğlu, focus on different areas including migration-related issues, promotion of human rights and freedoms, empowerment and support of disadvantaged groups, support and representation of ethnic, cultural and religious groups, compatriot communities, and people having diverse sexual orientation and gender identities. Some NGOs also have focus on the physical improvement and upgrading of the built environment. As seen in Beyoğlu case, there are also area-based neighborhood organizations which target specific disadvantaged and diverse groups living in certain areas and neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. Moreover, many NGOs, in forms of neighborhood associations, community organizations, activist groups, etc. in Beyoğlu pursue organized resistance against urban redevelopment, transformation and gentrification projects.

5.5. The Recent Discourses and Policies of the Central and Local Governments Regarding Diversity: Where Do The Governments Fail?

The increasing interests and concerns of the central and local government to use the city as an engine of economic growth and their practices have had certain implications

on the society, and diverse and disadvantaged communities in Istanbul and Beyoğlu. Neoliberal practices have taken place with social changes and implications. Because, although the motives behind the neoliberal policies and practices are economic, the results are not only economic, but also social and spatial. While Istanbul and Beyoğlu have been reshaped according to the competitive goals of the government, the city and its diverse communities have witnessed the processes of socio-spatial segregation, socio-economic inequalities, unemployment, social unrests and exclusion. The population structure, the way of living, socio-economic relations, daily interactions, habits and cultures have also changed with the massive alterations in the economic activities and transformations in the built environment.

Neo-liberal urban policies and practices in Istanbul and Beyoğlu to mobilize city space as an area both for market-oriented economic growth and elite consumption practices. The ‘global image’ of the city has been associated with attractive centers, luxury properties, and gentrified neighborhoods that offer ‘safe and luxury’ living (Aguirre et al., 2006). While the efforts to create this global image have growingly generated new gentrified and privatized spaces of elite, they have brought about displacement and dispossession of certain groups. A great part of vulnerable and low-income households, who are suffering from financial problems and increasingly in need of affordable and social housing, are forced to move to cheaper and poor-quality houses in less attractive neighborhoods. Gentrification processes have been seen as parts of a wider project that aims to create homogenous socio-economic, ethnic, religious and cultural communities within disadvantaged and deprived neighborhoods by pushing immigrants, low-income people and other vulnerable groups to the outskirts of the city. The emphasis has been less on the social protection mechanisms, social and economic inclusion, but more on the privatization of public services and urban transformation.

Within this framework, while an effective governance mechanism has become a necessity in face of rescaling state and downsizing public sector and its services to deal with social problems, and to meet the needs and demands of diverse populations,

the central government and local governments have been inefficient in handling social issues and dealing with different dimensions of urban diversity. As a result, these developments have been characterized by a plenty of social problems and major socio-spatial transformations within the city.

As part of their wider political agenda, the central government and local governments have little, or no interest in some problem areas. Moreover, in response to its decreasing role in the provision of social welfare, in some problem areas, the central and local governments remain insufficient, and share the responsibilities with local initiatives, a variety of quasi-public and private organizations, non-governmental organizations, international agencies and other forms of governance. The main problem areas regarding diversity issues in Turkey, and Istanbul and Beyoğlu in particular, include the migration-related problems, the support and empowerment of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, the representation of ethnic, religious and cultural groups, and the representation of different sexual orientations and gender identities.

5.5.1. Migration

Istanbul's position as being the major economic, cultural, and historical center of Turkey has always attracted immigration. The city, as being the major internal and international migrants' destination, has a very dynamic mobility and migration pattern, and accommodates a variety of migrant groups, with different country and city of origins, as temporary or permanent, with high or low socio-economic status, or different educational profiles, which all contribute to its ethnic, socio-economic and cultural diversity.

Since illegal immigrants use Turkey as a way station to get visas for the European and North American countries, it makes the country, and Istanbul, in particular, as a major focal point of illegal immigration. Istanbul has been home to growing numbers of illegal immigrants mainly coming from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Eraydın et al., 2014a). These illegal immigrants live in deprived neighborhoods in the city,

and in many cases face with poverty, illegal affairs, crime, and low living standards. On the other hand, the legislation and regulative frameworks regarding the asylum have deficiencies in Turkey, which leaves the legal status for refugees, and asylum-related issues (including the forms of intervention, protection, and types of support) unclear.

Moreover, more than one million Syrians have migrated to Turkey since March 2011, as a result of the conflict in Syria. While the Syrian refugees live in very poor conditions in the country, most of whom are in Istanbul, the deficiencies of immigration and asylum system in Turkey generate problems in dealing with Syrian refugees. Although the decision in October 2011 by the government that defined a break from the initial practice of referring to the refugees as “guests,” to “temporary protection”, the legal status for the refugees is still not clear. The recent Law on Foreigners and International Protection is helpful to provide a comprehensive framework for protecting and assisting all asylum-seekers and refugees, but the status of Syrian refugees has uncertainties. This situation holds an obstacle to find ways to help the people who are asking for support, besides increasing financial needs for the provision of services (Eraydın et al., 2014b).

Forced migration is another significant field that the central government has to deal with. A majority of Kurdish people left their homelands in the 1990s due to the armed conflict between the Turkish army and PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) which began in 1984, and moved to big cities, primarily to Istanbul, exposed the city to a massive immigration flow from the eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey (Türkün, 2011). A majority of immigrants inhabited and became the tenants of low-cost houses in decaying historical neighborhoods in the city centre, Beyoğlu, who have faced with poverty, integration problems, and social exclusion within the city (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). While these people are in need of help and support, the governments seem to remain unconcerned about the issue.

The central and local governments in Turkey have a rather limited concern and very few specific measures and programmes regarding immigrants, refugees and asylum

seekers (İçduygu and Biehl, 2008). The growing discourse of the Turkish government “being open and tolerant to every cultural and ethnic group” has been used without a reference to policy tools and practices. Although recently, there are attempts of the government to establish special institutions, councils and committees that are responsible for migration-related issues, the legal regulations are still insufficient. As a result, immigrants within the city face with being exempt from legal protections, social assistance programmes, labor exploitation and discrimination. Especially the low-skilled and low educated immigrants in Istanbul work informally, undocumented, and lowly paid at the bottom end of the labor market.

According to İçduygu and Biehl (2008), in Turkey, there are three major reasons why public policies on immigration and asylum have been inefficient, and dilatory. First, considering the sudden international migration flows to Turkey after the 1980s, the administrative, financial and social capacity of the country to absorb these flows has remained rather limited. Second, both public authorities and migrants often view their stay in Turkey as temporary. The so-called ‘transit’ or ‘circular’ migrants are considered as migrants who have no intention of staying in Turkey permanently. Third, due to Turkey’s hold on the ‘geographical limitation’ within the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, the presence of all non-European asylum seekers and refugees in Turkey is also considered a transitory phenomenon.

Moreover, while the central and local governments have policies regarding the support of disadvantaged groups, namely women, children, elderly, young people, and disabled people, governmental authorities do not define immigrants among these disadvantaged groups within the policy documents. Therefore, immigrant groups are mostly exempt from social assistance services and support that the central and local government provide to disadvantaged groups. On the other hand, there are efforts to attract high-skilled labor force to Turkey. After the 2000s, new legal regulations have been adopted by the Turkish government to facilitate the obtainment of work permits of high-skilled immigrants. In this respect, there is a notable difference between the treatment and the attitude of the state towards well-off, highly educated and highly

skilled immigrants, and low-income and low-skilled immigrants, who often work at the bottom end of the labor market, often lowly paid, undocumented and informally.

In addition, urban transformation projects, starting from the 1990s onwards, are undertaken in neighborhoods where the most low-income and vulnerable immigrants live. As a result of the gentrification processes, they are forced to move to the outskirts of the city, or deprived and physically dilapidated neighborhoods. The city either exposes immigrants to a forced adoption to the “Istanbul way of living”, or leads them to live in harsh conditions and suffer from marginalization and poverty. The reason is the attitude of central government which devalues and stigmatizes diverse urban identities.

While in many European cities, governmental bodies may provide conditions, and the ‘spaces of encounter’ where immigrants can communicate with other groups, and participate into urban life, Istanbul, as in other Turkish cities, lacks the physical and socio-cultural space for immigrants to exist and flourish, as well as the institutional and organizational ground where they can represent themselves and actively join in public sphere.

5.5.2. Empowerment of Disadvantaged Groups

There has been an increasing discourse on the provision of support for disadvantaged groups, emphasized within the policy documents of the central and local governments in Turkey and Istanbul - including the ministries and the municipalities. Within the current policy documents, disadvantaged groups mostly refer to children, young people, women, elders, the poor, disabled people, and sometimes unemployed people. In this respect, ensuring the empowerment of these groups and their involvement into social and economic life by helping their social mobility and economic performance has been put forward as one of the primary social objectives of the ministerial and municipal bodies, aimed to achieve through education, training, and providing employment as the main strategies. Healthcare services, nursing care for elders and the poor, rehabilitation services, psychological and social support and training

services for disabled people, counselling and training services for women and children, educational and vocational training for young people are among the common services offered by local governments targeting disadvantaged groups.

With the emphasis is mainly on the empowerment of women, children, young people, elders, and disabled people, certain groups are not addressed within the existing policies. While the literature, and the international organizations often provide a broader definition⁹, the policy documents of the central government in Turkey do not define certain groups among the disadvantaged, including the immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, people with different sexual orientation and gender identity, and many other groups who face barriers in exercising basic human rights and have difficulties in actively participating into urban life.

The recent policy documents and the statements of the government authorities indicate that the social policies of the central government and local governments are directed towards the equal citizenship principle, and the redistribution of resources through the support of disadvantaged groups, the outcomes are questionable. The mostly referred policy discourses are ‘fostering social cohesion’, ‘empowerment of disadvantaged groups’, and ‘overcoming socio-economic inequalities’. However, required actions and practices are not often implicitly reflected as concrete policy tools. The official figures declared by the Turkish Statistical Institute also do not support policy outcomes of equal distribution of resources and overcoming material inequalities. According to TUIK statistics, although there has been a slight decrease in the Gini coefficient¹⁰ for Turkey within the recent years, the OECD Report “Focus

⁹ According to UNESCO’s definition, disadvantaged groups are comprised of people who have lower social and economic integration capacity (compared to other parts of the society) due to their economic condition, gender, ethnic and linguistic origin, religion or political stance (like refugees), which are mostly the people do not have land ownership or any other income-generating tools and people who are deprived of their basic needs.

¹⁰ Gini coefficient shows the differences in income distribution.

on Inequality and Growth” in 2014 has declared that Turkey is the 3rd among the OECD countries in terms of income inequality. Moreover, TUIK statistics¹¹ show that the Gini coefficient has dramatically increased (from 0.346 to 0.392) in Istanbul between the years 2007 and 2013.

On the other hand, the most vulnerable parts of the society, defined as the disadvantaged groups by the governments, have to cope with severe problems. In line with the patriarchal Turkish culture, the central government has been emphasizing the significant role of family, and the domestic, caring role of women in family, which decreases the role of women outside the home, especially in employment (Duben, 2013). For example, according to TUIK annual statistics of Household Labor Force Survey in Turkey in 2014, with 28.7 % female labor force participation rate (for age groups 15-64 years), Turkey significantly falls behind the average rates of EU and OECD countries. Moreover, the proportion of illiterate female population aged 15 and over is 7.9 % in 2013. Similar statistics show that women in Turkey have severe problems regarding violence and discrimination, low political participation, etc. Women’s problems are also highly visible in Istanbul, including domestic violence, sex trafficking, discrimination in workplace, poverty, and poor access to employment.

In addition, children in Istanbul face serious problems such as child labor, street children, violence, poverty, child abuse, lack of education and healthcare, etc. The risks intensify for the children of low-income families, immigrants, and asylum-seekers. These are accompanied by the problems of other disadvantaged groups, such as elders’ lack of participation to urban life, diminishing social assistance, lack of caring services, etc. As Duben (2013) emphasizes, the care and support of elder people have been seen as a primary responsibility of family, rather than the state, or central and local authorities. Disabled people’s problems including lack of social aid and support, lack of nursing services, poor access to education, health services, and

¹¹ TUIK, Gini coefficient by equivalised household disposable income, 2006-2013.

employment, lack of accessibility in the built environment and to the public services and public transport, and discrimination in employment and public life are also visible to a great extent in Turkey and Istanbul (TUIK, 2010).

Moreover, besides these problems, the recent urban transformation and redevelopment projects undertaken in deprived neighborhoods and historical areas in Turkey's metropolitan cities, and Istanbul in particular, are accompanied by the gentrification processes which widen the gap between different socio-economic groups. These interventions create unfavorable conditions for low-income, disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and leave these groups suffering from displacement experiences, stigmatization, and socio-spatial segregation.

Although the European Commission has urged Turkish government for an action plan to struggle with high levels of inequalities, poverty and social exclusion in each year's progress reports since 2005, the beginning of the accession negotiations, the recent government has failed to provide a comprehensive national programme and an action plan. The central and local governments show interests in the support of disadvantaged groups, namely women, children, elders, youth, disabled people at least in discourse, in most of the areas they are not efficient and fail to provide adequate services and support. The problems of these groups are substantial, also notably in Istanbul. This situation paves the way for the proliferation of different organizations and initiatives to enable the disadvantaged groups and their problems more visible.

5.5.3. Representation of Ethnic, Cultural, Linguistic and Religious Groups

Although the population of ethnic and religious 'minorities' decreased due to a set of policies and political processes ¹², people with different ethnic and cultural

¹² These policies and practices include the population exchanges between Turkey and Greece in 1923 after the Republic was founded, the Wealth Tax (1942-1944) went into effect during the Second World

backgrounds, and religious affiliation constitute a notable part of Turkey's population. A majority of ethnic, cultural and religious groups in Turkey live in Istanbul. The largest ethnic community is Kurdish people¹³. In addition, the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews are concentrated in Istanbul, accompanied by Arabs, Romani people, Turkmen, Circassians, and others though account for lesser percentages.

From the establishment of the Republic, the central government in Turkey has endeavored to diminish the significance of ethnic, linguistic and religious distinctions, by emphasizing the official image of a homogenous Turkish society (Metz, 1995). It was underlain by the threat of a potential division of the state and evoked the nationalistic movements and revolts experienced in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Turkish government supported homogenization policies and structured the state and its institutions, and the society according to the needs of Sunni-Muslim and Turks (Kaya and Harmanyeri, 2010). These policies launched within the context of nation-building process resulted in disaffirmation and neglect of ethnic, cultural and religious differences.

Within the last decade, affirmative steps and improvements have been introduced within the framework of legal reforms undertaken in the EU Accession process regarding the practice of democracy, human rights, citizenship and the rights of minorities. These changes include allowing the use of mother-languages of ethnic groups in television and radio broadcasts, and in public services units and courts, introduction of language courses, etc. However, there have been challenges for these groups regarding their political rights to practice cultural, religious and ethnic differences. Ethnic groups, for example, ask for the relevant changes within the

War, the post-World War II Cyprus controversy, the 6-7 September Events experienced in 1955 when people revolted in Beyoğlu against minority groups, etc.

¹³ According to a field study which focuses on ethnic composition in Istanbul conducted in 1993 by Tarhan Erdem from the Konda research company, Turks constitute 90.01 % of total population in Istanbul in 1993, and the rest of the population is formed by ethnic groups, including Kurds and Zaza (3.90 %), Circassian (0.46 %), Arab (0.13 %) and other ethnic groups comprised of Romani people, Turkmen, and other groups (5.5 %).

constitution concerning the emphasis on Turkish ethnicity. In terms of religious diversity, on the other hand, while the central governments restricts the religious freedom, on the contrary, the government adopts assimilationist attitudes with respect to religious practices, including the compulsory religious courses in schools, building growing numbers of mosques in Istanbul, opening up various places to religious practices, etc. (Eraydin et al., 2014a). Religious groups are not allowed to benefit from the rights and privileges that Sunni Islam has, including the salaries of the religious personnel being paid by the government, and the establishment and care of the places of worship undertaken by the central government.

The problems of people with different religion, ethnic and cultural backgrounds have not been explicitly handled by the central and local governments. The ministries and municipalities fail to address the religious, ethnic and cultural groups, their needs and problems in their social and cultural policies and practices by disregarding the differences in ethnicity, cultural norms, habits, religious practices and lifestyles. The main discourse is equity, and the dominant discourse is equal rights and opportunities for all Turkish citizens, regardless of their ethnic, and cultural origin or religion; however, the concept of being a Turk represents a particular emphasis on 'homogeneity' primarily related to Turkish language and Sunni-Islam (Bosswick, 2009). Furthermore, the central government still recognizes and identifies only Greeks, Jews and Armenians as minorities, With the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, but does not include other groups including Kurdish people, Arabs, the Roma, Circassians, etc., who have been facing pressure to be assimilated (MRG, 2011).

As a result, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious groups have long been facing different forms of discrimination, and exclusion in Turkey, and Istanbul in particular, including the difficulties in accessing public services due to language barriers, cultural dominance, exploitation, and even violence and harassment. In addition, urban transformation and renewal projects in Istanbul work against ethnic and cultural diversity. Excluding people with different social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds especially low-income immigrants and ethnic groups constitutes a primary interest of many of these restructuring projects.

5.5.4. Representation of Different Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities

Sexual diversity is another dimension of urban diversity that the state has failed to response. The central and local authorities remain blind to the problems, needs and demands of people with different sexual orientations and gender identities. Moreover, the government has been intensifying the otherness and marginalization of the LGBT community by its official statements¹⁴ (Pineau, 2014).

LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and transvestite) community constitutes one of the most vulnerable groups in Turkey as the most prone to exclusion and marginalization. There is not any laws, or legal regulations directly regarding the rights of LGBT people in Turkey. Same-sex sexual activity, and the right to change legal gender are legal in Turkey. However, LGBT individuals have long been facing legal challenges, discrimination, harassment, violence, and hate crimes in Turkey. The demands of the LGBT community, including the adoption of anti-discrimination laws, the recognition of same-sex couples, and step-child adoption by same-sex partners are not recognized by the government because the existence of diverse sexual identities are mostly found to be against law and public morality. The constitutional protection against discrimination regarding sexual orientation and gender identity has been drafted in 2013 in the Turkish parliament, however, the draft was cancelled. Each year, LGBT people have been reported by the national and international non-governmental organizations to experience discrimination in employment, education, healthcare, social security, housing, public accommodations, and other public

¹⁴ In 2010, Selma Aliye Kavaf, AKP's former Minister for Family and Women's Affairs, stated that "Homosexuality is a disease that needs to be cured." Moreover, in 2013, the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan during an official visit to the Netherlands, while he criticized the case of a Turkish boy – a Dutch citizen adopted by a lesbian couple – said: "sexual preference, which is contrary to the culture of Islam."

services. This is accompanied by harassment and violence from relatives, neighbors, co-workers, employees, employers, and by the police.

People with different sexual orientation and gender identity are particularly at risk of marginalization and social exclusion in Istanbul who are mostly inhabited in Beyoğlu, concentrated in deprived neighborhoods of the district. LGBT individuals have various difficulties and barriers within the city, regarding the issues of unemployment, access to labor market, as well as representation problems including the poor access and participation into decision-making processes. Further, the studies show that the exclusion from the labor market pushes the LGBT community to sex labor as a survival way (Pineau, 2014), where they are, especially the transgender individuals, exposed to even more violence and abuse.

5.6. Concluding Remarks

Introducing the areas of interest and activities of the central government and local governments regarding diversity, is very important in understanding and emphasizing the main problem areas where the central and local governments fail to respond within the existing governance system.

Management of diversity has been a considerable challenge for the Turkish nation-state since the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923. To establish a unitary state and a homogenous nation, the central government has long adopted policies and practices to repress, and exclude diverse groups along religious, cultural and ethnic lines (Kaya and Harmanyeri, 2010). Although the democratization attempts and reforms, stimulated by the Helsinki Summit in 1999, in which the country was declared as candidate to EU, have been resulted in the emphasis of diversity as a discourse (Kaya, 2010), policies and practices do not show a considerable concern regarding ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, and diversity of lifestyles.

While the central government and local governments have shaped their social policies with focus on the empowerment of disadvantaged groups, the aim is mostly to address

socio-economic differences and material inequalities. Cultural, ethnic, sexual, linguistic, and religious diversity in most cases are disregarded since different cultures, ethnicities, beliefs, lifestyles and sexual identities harm the ideal homogenous character of Turkish society.

In this context, while the governments have interest in the *empowerment of disadvantaged groups*, they remain inefficient due to their downscaling capacities and roles especially regarding social issues. On the other hand, the central and local governments have little interest with respect to *migration*, and the *representation of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups*. This is mainly due to the skeptical and negative attitude of the recent government towards these issues. Legal frameworks and policies regarding the responsibilities and roles of the central and local governments concerning the rights, demands, and freedoms of ethnic, cultural, religious groups remain restricted, insufficient, and are not formulated clearly. In addition, the central government shows almost no interest and concern about the issues regarding the *representation of different sexual orientations and gender identities* which leave gender and sexual diversity-related issues totally to the domain of non-governmental organizations in Turkey, and Istanbul, in particular.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY RESEARCH: BEYOGLU

6.1. The Main Aim of the Research

At the contemporary period, policy-makers and urban planners are faced with new complexities and challenges over how to effectively govern and manage the cities that are becoming growingly cosmopolitan and diverse. While in some cases, governmental authorities may develop policy frameworks in favor of diversity, and may support the idea that diversity is a source of knowledge, innovation, and creativity, but mostly in terms of stimulating economic growth and competitiveness of the cities. On the other hand, many national and city-level policy agendas do not support a greater recognition and encouragement of diversity, in the sense that it may result in the emergence and reproduction of social conflicts and social unrests, undermine a sense of place and social order, and create discontents fueled by greater competition for jobs and resources.

The current literature emphasizes that if managed in an effective way through policies and planning practices, urban diversity may positively contribute to economic performance, social solidarity and harmony, and upward social mobility for communities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). However, today's metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities are challenged by growing social polarization, inequalities, socio-spatial segregation, and social exclusion of certain groups, who are not only diverse but also disadvantaged and marginalized. This shows that the governments have failed so far to provide any comprehensive strategy to deal with a variety of problems. Within this framework, the main hypothesis is that the failure of central governments to recognize and represent diverse identities, to address specific problems of diverse groups, to support and empower disadvantaged and marginalized communities, and to create spaces of encounter which bring diverse groups together and interact with

each other, leads to a proliferation of different types of governance arrangements in the contemporary period to deal with the issues related to urban diversity. A variety of governance arrangements may play significant roles in developing and stimulating positive outcomes that emerge from greater urban diversity, especially within a context where the role of the state has been diminishing in various areas.

These formulations and arguments fit well with the Turkish context. An examination of the urban governance mechanism in Istanbul shows that the existing urban policies and planning practices have developed in face of increasing concerns and interests of the central government to use the city as an engine of economic development, which has certain negative impacts on diverse population groups within the city. Beyoğlu, on the other hand, which is the historical, cultural and commercial center of Istanbul, is characterized by a rapidly growing and highly diverse population composition in terms of ethnicity, cultures, lifestyles, demographics, and socio-economic characteristics. The district, which has long been faced with major socio-spatial transformations due to a series of political events, migration flows, and urban transformation projects, has accommodated rapidly changing and highly diverse population groups, and sometimes lost its certain diverse groups. Moreover, Beyoğlu has witnessed the tensions that exist between the urban policies and planning practices, and increasing demands for recognition of diversity. These have been accompanied by the growing social problems sourced from neoliberal and market-driven policies and planning interventions undertaken in the district, especially after the 1980s, which brought about negative impacts for disadvantaged groups within the district. In response to this, a variety of governance arrangements has flourished and developed as mostly civil society based, but also through the partnership of different local actors, focusing on different aspects of urban diversity.

On the other hand, there is a wide literature on the positive and negative impacts of diversity on communities, and a greater discussion among the scholars on whether diversity is good, or bad for cities, by focusing on the possible outcomes sourced from greater urban diversity within the cities. However, studies on urban policy and planning relatively less focus on the governance systems and accompanying policies

and practices on diversity. Therefore, it encourages the researcher, and gives a motivation to investigate the existing actor composition and their roles, and the current policies and practices in response to ever-growing diversity within the cities.

Based on the main theoretical arguments, this study sets out the importance of governance arrangements in the contemporary period, emphasizing either that they point to problem areas where local or central governments are not interested in, and/or they are not efficient enough. The focus of governance initiatives and the way they are organized are crucial to understand how diversity is understood and practiced in a certain urban setting and in a certain country. Moreover, to understand how urban diversity is perceived and practiced in a certain urban setting, it is vital to find out the roles and interest areas of different governance actors. It requires a detailed analysis and an evaluation to understand what their focus are, in which diversity-related areas they mostly function, and how they are organized.

Therefore, this study aims to investigate the roles of different governance arrangements in the governance of urban diversity. The research is based on the analysis of how the central government bodies, local governments, namely the metropolitan municipality and the district municipality, and local non-governmental actors, including civil society organizations engage in the governance of diversity, in which diversity-related fields they focus on, and what kinds of partnerships and share of responsibilities exist between different governance actors.

6.2. The Main Hypothesis and the Main Research Questions

The main theoretical arguments has so far been structured within the framework of the retrenchment and the retreat of the state from various areas regarding urban diversity. This situation has paved the way for the emergence of new forms of governance arrangements and initiatives to address multiple dimensions of urban diversity as well as to support diverse groups. It has also been discussed in the theoretical part, which is also the main hypothesis of the study that, in contemporary

cities, a variety of governance arrangements may play significant roles in developing and stimulating the positive social and socio-economic outcomes that emerge from greater urban diversity, especially within a context where the role of the state has been diminishing with regard to the governance of hyper-diversity.

Identifying effective ways of working and communicating with diverse communities and groups is a vital issue for urban governance (Balbo and Marconi, 2005). In this context, the study reveals the need for a research which analyzes and questions the roles of different governance arrangements in the governance of urban diversity. The main research questions of the study have been introduced as: “What kind of governance arrangements exist and how different governance arrangements perceive and deal with urban diversity?” and “On which diversity-related areas do the governance arrangements focus?”, intending to define the types of governance arrangements, their perception of diversity, and main areas of interest and activities, “How do governance arrangements organize and what kinds of partnerships exist between different governance actors in dealing with diversity-related issues?”, aiming to introduce the organizational structures and types of partnerships between different governance actors, and “What are the main factors influencing success or failure of the governance arrangements?”, with an objective to discuss their success factors and the main limitations in addressing diversity. Therefore, by seeking answers to the defined research questions, it has been attempted to evaluate to what extent different governance arrangements are effective in the governance of diversity. Starting from the national scale to the neighborhood scale, the role of a variety of governance actors regarding diversity have been examined.

In this respect, a case study research has been conducted in Beyoğlu, which is the historical, cultural and commercial center of Istanbul. The district has been accommodating a diversity of cultural, religious, ethnic, socio-economic and socio-demographic groups for many years. However, within the recent decades, Beyoğlu has witnessed the marginalization, exclusion, and under-representation of different groups. The argument is that this situation has not only been the result of neoliberal urbanization going on in Istanbul and Beyoğlu, characterized by urban transformation

projects, gentrification of disadvantaged neighborhoods accompanied by the displacement and dispossession processes (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014), but it has also been the outcomes of wider political discourse and policy agenda of the central government, which have been increasingly devaluing diversities and stigmatizing diverse identities and lifestyles. Further, it has been assumed that since the governmental discourses and practices regarding diversity address the notion in a rather limited and indirect way, this results in a flourish of different governance arrangements developed as public, private, grassroots, or voluntary arrangements or as forms of collaboration between these parties.

6.3. Selection of the Case

The literature review of the study has shown that the governance of urban diversity is highly sensitive to localized context, since the national policies and regulatory frameworks are implemented at the level of cities, districts, and neighborhoods (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). Further, the relations between diverse communities are most strongly manifested at local level (Amin, 2002). Therefore, to understand what types of actors exist in the governance of diversity, and how they deal with diversity, it is necessary to investigate how the governance of diversity is practiced in a certain urban and local setting.

In accordance with the theoretical arguments of the study, the case study area in which different governance arrangements are to be analyzed had to be diverse (in terms of socio-economic characteristics, diverse identities, culture, lifestyles, etc.), dynamic (with respect to residential and social mobility, migration patterns, commercial, economic, social and cultural activities), and also deprived (in terms of the concentration poverty, unemployment, socio-spatial segregation, social exclusion, etc.).

Beyoğlu, in this respect, is a best-suited case of such a diverse, dynamic, and deprived urban environment in the Turkish context. It is a district located at the European side

of Istanbul (Figure 6.1), separated from the historical peninsula by the Golden Horn and is connected to the old city centre across the Golden Horn through the Galata and Unkapanı Bridges (Figure 6.2). The district is comprised of 45 neighborhoods encompassing its famous quarters located on the north of the Golden Horn, including Galata, Tophane, Şişhane, Tepebaşı, Tarlabası, Dolapdere and Kasımpaşa.



Figure 6.1 Location of Beyoğlu in Istanbul (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014)

For centuries, Beyoğlu has been the historical, cultural, commercial, and recreational center of Istanbul. The district has renowned for its historical urban texture, art and entertainment facilities, business capacity, social and cultural events, and recreational environment, and its cosmopolitan atmosphere consisting of ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic, religious, socio-demographic and cultural diversity.

Beyoğlu has been experiencing both favorable and unfavorable aspects of governance and urban diversity. The district accommodates a diversity and complexity of a mixed

demographic and social structure developed over the history (Aksoy and Robins, 2011). Its historically mixed population has ever-diversified by migratory flows experienced in the 1950s and 1960s from the rural parts of Turkey, and in the 1990s from the eastern and southeastern regions of the country. Domestic migration has been accompanied by international migration directed primarily towards the district in different periods.

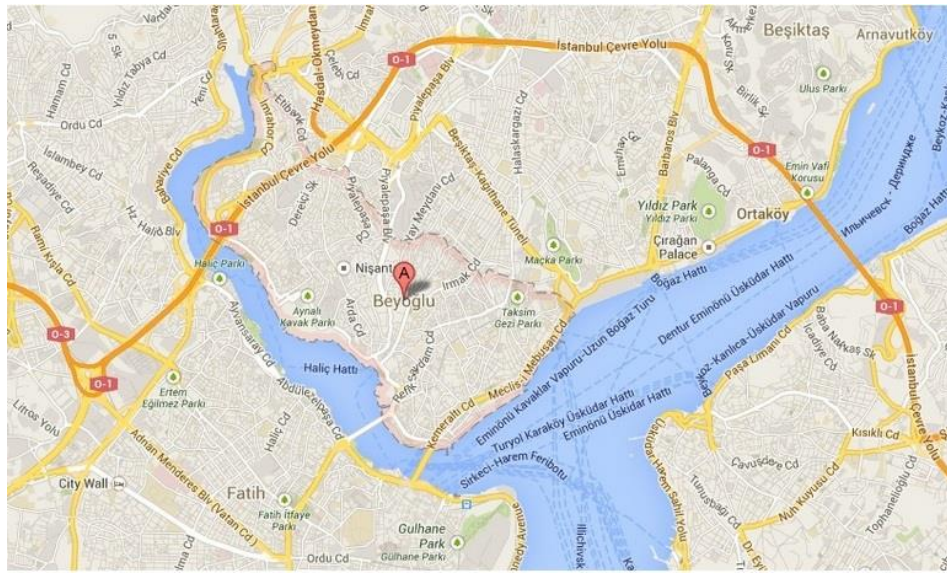


Figure 6.2 Location of Beyoğlu and surrounding districts (Google Maps, December 2014)

Furthermore, in the face of neoliberal urbanization, Beyoğlu has been a vital part of the global-city project initiated in Istanbul 1980s and 1990s onwards. The construction of new projects of shopping centers, high-rise office buildings accompanied by large-scale renewal projects have not only reshaped the physical image leading to the creation of standardized architectural and urban environment, and decaying and dilapidated neighborhoods in the city center, but they have also deeply affected, and changed the population composition of the district.

In face of a series of major implementations undertaken to revitalize the district, Beyoğlu's diverse population structure has notably changed with urban renewal,

revitalization, and other transformation projects, and gentrification processes experienced especially within the areas, including Galata, Cihangir, and Tarlabası.

As a result, Beyoğlu has been surrounded by distinctive and diversified neighborhoods with heterogeneous populations. Today, the district is home to a very mixed demographic structure, including poor communities, domestic immigrants mainly from eastern and southeastern regions and the Black Sea Region, ethnic groups including Romani community, Kurdish people, international immigrants including Afghan, African, Iranian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Russian communities, and other immigrants from various countries (Saybaşı, 2006; Aksoy and Robins, 2011), LGBT people, non-Muslims, and many 'others'. Moreover, its distinctive neighborhoods include the ones that have been gentrified and attracted by the middle and higher class, highly paid professionals, managers and technicians (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014), and 'cultural elite' as the creative classes of artistic communities and occupational groups.

While many gentrified and upgraded neighborhoods have been created, Beyoğlu still accommodates deprived and disadvantaged neighborhoods characterized by physical dilapidation and socio-economic deprivation. These are the neighborhoods that have long been suffering from poverty, unemployment, crime, and physical deterioration, and where the most vulnerable, and under-represented groups live. In such a context, experiences of exclusion, marginalization, discrimination, displacement, and socio-economic inequalities take place in urban spaces of Beyoğlu (Tsibiridou, 2014).

In response to such a diverse and dynamic population structure, many governance arrangements have been located and concentrated at Beyoğlu, working on different dimensions of diversity, and towards different socio-economic, ethnic, demographic, and cultural groups.

6.4. Methodology of the Research

6.4.1. Methodological Approach to the Research

The study reveals the need for a research which analyzes and questions the roles of different governance arrangements in governance of urban diversity. A qualitative case study has been used as the method of the research to represent how governance of diversity is actualized in reality, within a case which has been experiencing both favorable and unfavorable aspects of governance and urban diversity.

In this context, a qualitative case study has been pursued, which in theory described as “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). Because the study, which has endeavored to examine the governance mechanisms that are active in the management of urban diversity, requires a deep understanding of the governance arrangements, the dynamics and relationships between them in existing governance system. Therefore, the research underpins the pursuit of a case study method to investigate “a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2008, p. 40).

Within this scope, the effectiveness and the role of different governance arrangements have been assessed based on a methodology, comprised of three stages, namely the document analysis, individual in-depth semi-structured interviews and a roundtable meeting, which requires the data collection, fieldwork, and evaluation and interpretation processes of the related data.

6.4.2. Research Design and the Data

The study has begun with a critical review of the literature by concentrating on the theoretical conceptualizations and arguments on the governance of urban diversity. While constructing the theoretical framework, the focus has been on the literature on urban governance and urban diversity. The literature review has shed light on the

evolution of diversity discourses, policies and practices, governance concept and the main actors of urban governance, the relationship between governance and urban diversity, and involvement of urban diversity into urban policies and urban planning. The literature review has been useful to establish a theoretical framework by analyzing and clarifying the key concepts and issues related to the main research questions.

The literature review has been followed by a document analysis process in which the related documents have been reviewed, prepared by the governance actors, including the central government bodies, local government authorities in Istanbul and Beyoğlu, as well as non-governmental actors. After these, the fieldwork has been done to conduct interviews with the key actors and governance arrangements.

Data collection

The research has been based on qualitative data collection methods including the document analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and a round-table talk arranged with the selected governance arrangements.

First, current governmental and non-governmental policies, strategies, and practices on urban diversity have been analyzed through a document analysis (Table 6.1). The analysis has been based on the review and evaluation of the policy documents, related reports (project reports, meeting reports, activity reports), strategic plans, and action programs of both central government bodies, namely the ministries, local bodies of the central government and local governments in Istanbul and Beyoğlu, including the IMM, Istanbul Development Agency, Istanbul Provincial Administration, several district municipalities in Istanbul, particularly the Beyoğlu Municipality. Moreover, to understand non-governmental views, strategies and activities in the fields of diversity, activity reports, strategic plans, the articles, websites, leaflets and brochures of the related organizations, including the professional organizations, universities, consultancy companies, and various civil society organizations have been reviewed.

Table 6.1 Document analysis

Document Analysis			
Types of Data	Place of Source	Assessed Documents	Purpose
Qualitative	Related Ministries 1. Ministry of Development 2. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization 3. Ministry of Family and Social Policies 4. Ministry of Interior 5. Ministry of Employment and Social Security	Strategic Plans Performance Programs Activity Reports Annual Programmes	To understand different roles and responsibilities of governance actors, their level of power and interest regarding urban diversity
	Istanbul Development Agency	Istanbul Regional Plan 2010-2013 Istanbul Regional Plan 2014-2023 Action Plans Work Programs Meeting Reports	
	Istanbul Provincial Special Administration	Strategic Plans Activity Reports Investment Programs Performance Programs	
	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	Strategic Plans Investment Programs Budget Programs Istanbul Master Plan Istanbul Environmental Plan	
	Selected District Municipalities 1. Beyoğlu Municipality 2. Şişli Municipality 3. Beşiktaş Municipality 4. Kadıköy Municipality 5. Bakırköy Municipality	Strategic Plans Budget Programs Activity Reports Performance Programs	
	Non-Governmental Organizations 1. Professional Organizations 2. Consultancy Companies 3. Civil Society Organizations	Activity Reports Articles Internet Websites Leaflets and Brochures	

Second, semi-structured in-depth interviews have been conducted with the selected governmental and non-governmental actors in Beyoğlu and Istanbul (Table 6.2 and Table 6.3), in order to comprehend how urban diversity is perceived and handled by different stakeholders, in which diversity-related areas they work, how they organize, what kind of partnerships exist within the governance arrangements and which factors influence their success and/failure in dealing with diversity.

Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with the key persons (state officials, founders of the organizations, executives, experts, representatives, long-time employees and other responsible people) inside the governance arrangements who possess the necessary information. The respondents have been asked questions regarding the aim of the organization, target groups, the perceptions over urban diversity, organizational structure, and the main factors fostering or hindering their success. The interviews have provided useful information and a deeper understanding of the governance arrangements' perceptions regarding urban diversity.

A round-table meeting has been made on May 15, 2014 with people from the selected governance initiatives (Table 6.4), in order to create a common platform in which different governmental and non-governmental actors come together and share their knowledge and experiences related to the governance of diversity. The round-table discussion has been aimed to act as an overarching forum for validating the results obtained from the document analysis, and the in-depth interviews conducted with different governance arrangements, and to draw preliminary conclusions by comparing the surveyed organizations and for finding answers to the main research questions.

Besides the people who have participated in the round-table talk from inside the surveyed organizations (experts, founders, representatives, long-time employees, etc.), an academician from the Istanbul Technical University, and three planning experts from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality have participated in the meeting, who have been invited to provide different views from outside perspectives.

Table 6.2 Semi-structured interviews with central and local government bodies

Semi-structured interviews					
Types of Data			Interviewed Organizations and Respondents	Data Collection Methods	Purpose
Qualitative	Central Government Bodies	Ministries	1. Ministry of Development Expert, Social Sectors and Coordination General Directorate 2. Ministry of Development Expert, Regional Development and Structural Adjustment General Directorate 3. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Head of Division, Spatial Strategies and Plans, Directorate of Spatial Planning 4. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Expert, Spatial Strategies Division, Directorate of Spatial Planning	* Conducting individual in-depth semi-structured interviews * Evaluation and Interpretation of Interview Results * Direct Quotations * Classifications based on Interview Results	To analyze different governance actors' perspectives on diversity and their roles in governance of urban diversity
		Relevant Organization of the Ministry of Development	Istanbul Development Agency 1. Expert, Manager 2. Expert, Sociologist		
	Local Government Bodies	Metropolitan Municipality	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality The Coordinator of Cultural and Social Affairs		
		Provincial Special Administration	Istanbul Provincial Special Administration Head of Social Services Department		
		District Municipality	Beyoğlu Municipality Vice-Mayor		

Table 6.3 Semi-structured interviews with non-governmental bodies

Semi-structured interviews					
Types of Data			Interviewed Organizations and Respondents	Data Collection Methods	Purpose
Qualitative	NGOs	Universities	Academics 1. Academic, Bilgi University 2. Academic, Yıldız Technical University	* Conducting individual in-depth semi-structured interviews * Evaluation and Interpretation of Interview Results * Direct Quotations * Classifications based on Interview Results	To analyze different governance actors' perspectives on diversity and their roles in governance of urban diversity
		Professional Organizations	1. Chamber of Architects General Secretary of Istanbul Branch 2. Chamber of City Planners Chair of Istanbul Branch		
		Private Companies	Mediators (Private Sector Consultancy Company) Director, Kentsel Strateji (Urban Strategy)		
		Local Initiatives and Civil Society Organizations	1. Beyoğlu Beautification and Protection Association, The Head 2. Galata Association, Executive Member 3. Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants, Project Coordinator 4. Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (GÖÇDER), The Head 5. Gökkuşuğu Women Association, Two Representatives 6. Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, Programme Coordinator 7. Istanbul LGBTTT Solidarity Association, Social Works Coordinator 8. Roma People Platform, Activist 9. Anatolian Culture, Project Coordinator 10. Tarlabası Community Centre, Secretary General		

Table 6.3 (Cont'd) Semi-structured interviews with non-governmental bodies

Types of Data			Interviewed Organizations and Respondents	Data Collection Methods	Purpose
Qualitative	NGOs	Local Initiatives and Civil Society Organizations	11. Association for Solidarity with Tarlabası Property Owners and Tenants, The Founder 12. Women's Solidarity Foundation, Representative 13. Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, Programme Officer 14. Alucra Development and Education Foundation, Volunteer 15. Human Rights Association, Representative 16. Caritas Turkey, Coordinator 17. Human Resource Development Foundation, General Director 18. Saturday Mothers (Cumartesi Anneleri), Representative 19. Development of Social and Cultural Life Association, Chairman of the Executive Board 20. Children's Hope Association, The Head 21. Association for Monitoring Equal Rights, Representative 22. The Association of Disable People Turkey-Istanbul Branch, Two Executive Board Members 23. Civil Society in the Penal System Association, Representative	* Conducting individual in-depth semi-structured interviews * Evaluation and Interpretation of Interview Results * Direct Quotations * Classifications based on Interview Results	To analyze different governance actors' perspectives on diversity and their roles in governance of urban diversity

Table 6.4 Round-table discussion

Round-Table Discussion			
Types of Data	Participants	Data Collection Methods	Purpose
Qualitative	1. Academic, Istanbul Technical University 2. Experts, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Urban Transformation, Directorate of Urban Planning 3. The Head, Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (GÖÇDER) 4. Programme Coordinator, Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation 5. Secretary General, Tarlabası Community Centre 6. Representative, Women's Solidarity Foundation 7. Programme Officer, Foundation for the Support of Women's Work	Asking Questions, Discussion, Sharing of Ideas and Experiences, Comments	To understand and collect the views of governance arrangements on related questions, to validate the results from the different governance arrangements, draw preliminary conclusions by comparing the interviewed organizations and seek answers to the main research questions

The fieldwork

After the governance structure in Istanbul and Beyoğlu has been analyzed to understand the respective regulatory policy frameworks and practices regarding diversity through the document analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews have been conducted with the officials and key people from the selected organizations. To identify the governmental and non-governmental views and reflections on diversity, 16 interviews have been conducted with four experts from the related Ministries, two experts from Istanbul Development Agency, one expert Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Beyoğlu Municipality, and representatives from non-governmental bodies, including 23 representatives from civil society initiatives, a manager from private consultancy company, two academics from different universities, and two executives from the Istanbul Branches of two professional organizations, namely the Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of City Planners (see Table 6.5). The first part of the research has been conducted between August and October, 2013 in Ankara and Istanbul.

Table 6.5 First fieldwork and interviewed organizations

Semi-structured interviews (First Fieldwork)
Central Government 1. Expert, Social Sectors and Coordination General Directorate, Ministry of Development 2. Expert, Regional Development and Structural Adjustment General Directorate, Ministry of Development 3. Head of Division, Spatial Strategies and Plans, Directorate of Spatial Planning, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization 4. Expert, Spatial Strategies Division, Directorate of Spatial Planning, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality The Coordinator of Cultural and Social Affairs
Beyoğlu Municipality Vice-Mayor
Istanbul Provincial Special Administration Head of Social Services Department
Istanbul Development Agency 1. Expert, Manager 2. Expert, Sociologist
Non-Governmental Organizations
Academics 1. Academic, Bilgi University 2. Academic, Yıldız Technical University
Professional Organizations 1. General Secretary of Istanbul Branch, Chamber of Architects 2. Chair of Istanbul Branch, Chamber of City Planners
Mediators (Private Sector Consultancy Company) Director, Kentsel Strategy
NGOs 1. The Head, Beyoğlu Beautification and Protection Association 2. Executive Member, Galata Association

Based on the first findings of the first part of the research, the second part of the fieldwork has been conducted with governance arrangements which are more civil society based initiatives, as shown in Table 6.6. Between February and May, 2014, the second part of the fieldwork has been carried out in Istanbul. 21 interviews have been conducted with the selected governance arrangements mostly located in Beyoğlu and all of which focus on one, or multiple dimensions of diversity. All governance arrangements were selected among the civil society organizations in Beyoğlu working on diverse, and disadvantaged groups, including women, children, youth, elders, disabled people, immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, LGBT people, compatriot (hemşehri) groups, in short, people with different ethnic, demographic, socio-economic and cultural background, and sexual identity.

Table 6.6 Second fieldwork and interviewed organizations

Semi-structured interviews (Second Fieldwork)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants, Project Coordinator 2. Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (GÖÇDER), The Head 3. Gökkuşuğu Women Association, Two Representatives 4. Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, Programme Coordinator 5. Istanbul LGBTTT Solidarity Association, Social Works Coordinator 6. Roma People Platform, Activist 7. Anatolian Culture, Project Coordinator 8. Tarlabası Community Centre, Secretary General 9. Association for Solidarity with Tarlabası Property Owners and Tenants, The Founder 10. Women's Solidarity Foundation, Representative 11. Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, Programme Officer 12. Alucra Development and Education Foundation, Volunteer 13. Human Rights Association, Representative 14. Caritas Turkey, Coordinator 15. Human Resource Development Foundation, General Director 16. Saturday Mothers (Cumartesi Anneleri), Representative 17. Development of Social and Cultural Life Association, Chairman of the Executive Board 18. Children's Hope Association, The Head 19. Association for Monitoring Equal Rights, Representative 20. The Association of Disable People Turkey-Istanbul Branch, Two Executive Board Members 21. Civil Society in the Penal System Association, Representative

The governance arrangements have been selected from a database of civil society organizations in Beyoğlu, and most of them are existing non-governmental organizations with a legal status. The organizations have been selected based on their target groups. Since there is no database found for the initiatives without any legal status, grassroots and community-based initiatives are not easily visible. Therefore, during the interviews with 18 non-governmental organizations, the respondents were asked for the names of networks and governance initiatives working towards diverse groups, without a legal status. Three interviews have been conducted with three governance arrangements without any legal entity, which have been found using the existing networks among the civil society organizations in Beyoğlu.

Before the interviews, the information found in the websites of the organizations (if exists) has been carefully reviewed (related to the establishment/aim/target audience/activities/projects, etc.). Additionally, activity reports, brochures and other written material have been investigated in detail. Further, while most of the organizations were asked for an appointment via their contact information (either e-mail or telephone) before the fieldwork was conducted, some of the organizations were visited without any appointment, since these organizations were learnt during the interviews with other organizations.

The interviews have been conducted with the people inside the governance arrangements possessing the necessary information (the head of the organization, project coordinators, long-time workers or other responsible people who are actively involved in the works of the organizations). Based on the interview form that was prepared before the fieldwork, the interviewees were asked questions related to the organization (establishment, focus, aims, strategies, target groups, partnerships, etc.), organizational features (organizational structure, hierarchy, decision-making processes, etc.), the understanding and the use of diversity, and the main success and failure factors influencing their activities. The interviews have lasted one hour on average, ranging between 30 minutes to 90 minutes.

CHAPTER 7

DIVERSE CHARACTERISTICS OF BEYOĞLU

7.1. Introduction

For centuries, Beyoğlu has been the historical, cultural and commercial center of Istanbul. It is a district located on the European side of Istanbul, separated from the historical peninsula by the Golden Horn, and connected to the old city center across the Golden Horn through the Galata and Unkapanı Bridges. The district is comprised of 45 neighborhoods encompassing its famous quarters located on the north of the Golden Horn, including Galata, Tophane, Şişhane, Tepebaşı, Tarlabası, Dolapdere and Kasımpaşa.

Beyoğlu has renowned for its historical urban texture, art and entertainment facilities, commercial and business activities, social and cultural events, and recreational environment, and its cosmopolitan atmosphere consisting of ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic, religious, socio-demographic and cultural diversity. The district accommodates a mixed demographic and social structure developed over the history (Aksoy & Robins, 2011). A highly diverse population composition has been developed in Beyoğlu, including poor communities, Anatolian immigrants, creative-professional middle and high-income classes, LGBT communities, Romani people, Kurdish people, ethnic groups including Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, highly-educated migrants from European countries, low-skilled immigrants such as Afghan, African, Iranian and other communities, Syrian Refugees, and Romanians, Bulgarians, and Russians as cheap laborers, and so on.

This chapter first introduces the impacts of changing discourses, policies and practices on diversity in Beyoğlu within different periods. Second, it presents the existing urban layout, and socio-economic, cultural, ethnic and demographic

landscape of the district. Third, it concentrates on diverse groups living in the district, focusing on their characteristics, specific problems, and their places of residence.

7.2. Changing Policies and Practices on Diversity in Beyoglu

Diversity in Beyoğlu has been affected from the wider social, economic and political developments, and urban policies and planning interventions undertaken by the governmental authorities in different periods. The changing policies and planning practices, and their impacts on diverse groups in Beyoğlu are assessed within 3 periods, namely the before the 1980s, the period between 1980s and 2000s, and after the 2000s (Table 7.1).

7.2.1. The Socio-Spatial Development in Beyoglu before the 1980s

Until the mid-16th century, Beyoğlu, with its ancient name ‘Pera’, had been developed as a suburban of Galata, which was becoming an international financial and commercial center (Dökmeci and Çıracı, 1990). While the northern part of the Beyoğlu District was covered with agricultural lands (Akın, 1998) during this period, with the designation of north of Galata as a new residential area in the early 16th century, first settlements began to be seen in Beyoğlu. In addition, following the settlement of the French Embassy in 1535 within the district, many other embassies were established in Beyoğlu in the 17th and 18th centuries, which played an important role in making the area as a point of attraction. As opposed to Galata, which became an international center of trade and finance with high concentration of commercial firms, insurance companies and banks, Beyoğlu became an important and prestigious residential area for the non-Muslim commercial bourgeoisie, workers of the embassies, the bureaucrats, Levantines and some of the Muslim Imperial elite in the late 17th and the early 18th centuries (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007).

However, the Industrial Revolution, which occurred in the early 19th century, reduced the importance of Istanbul in the world trade for a while. Therefore, the Ottoman

Empire developed important policies that aimed to strengthen the connections between Istanbul and cities, companies and industries directing the global economy by the mid-19th century. To this end, 1938 Anglo-Turkish Trade Agreement was signed with a group of European countries. The treaty, by allowing certain privileges to European traders, made Istanbul again an important center in the European commerce networks (Enlil, 2011). All these developments further increased the importance of Beyoğlu and Galata within the city. The population of Beyoğlu started to become more diversified as the trading activities increased. According to Akın (1998), both Beyoğlu and Galata became the locus of Westernization policies and initiatives in this period. Sakızlıoğlu (2014) also argues that through well-established diplomatic and trade relations with European countries, these areas emerged as the Ottoman Empire's gate to Western politics, economies and culture. Throughout this period, these policies and reforms led to a rapid increase in foreign (German, French, Italian, etc.) and non-Muslim (Greek, Armenian, and Jewish) populations in Beyoğlu, triggering an increase in the Western-style education, culture, art, and lifestyle. Moreover, high concentration of culture and entertainment places together with the gradual increase of foreign institutions like hospitals and schools revived the social, cultural and economic life within the area. Further, the development in the transportation system such as the construction of Galata Bridge in 1846, and the construction of Tunnel in 1873 increased the importance of Beyoğlu.

The gradual increase in the population resulting in the new demands for housing in Pera in the late 18th and the early 19th centuries triggered further urban sprawl towards the north of the district. The expansion of the old city center led to the emergence of new residential areas such as Tepebaşı, Dolapdere, and Tarlabası. While Pera was developing and serving as a residential area for upper classes, who were tradesmen, bureaucrats, foreign bankers and the Ottoman elite, some neighborhoods within the district, especially Tarlabası, became the settlement areas of the middle and lower-middle-classes, and workers of embassies during the second half of the 19th century. Therefore, in this period, the district had already been accommodating a highly mixed population of different socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and religious groups

including non-Muslims, namely Armenians, Jewish, Greeks, and some Muslim people (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). Moreover, the İstiklal Road and its vicinity were encompassed by many hotels, churches and chapels, arcades, theatres, cafes, restaurants and other facilities (Aksoy & Robins, 2011). All these were contributing to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the district and to its ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity.

Following the Pera fire in 1870, various activities undertaken in the late 19th century to revitalize the area considerably contributed to the residential, commercial, social and cultural life within the district. However, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 resulted in the start of a new period within the city, and Beyoğlu in particular. A majority of the administrative buildings together with embassies moved to Ankara, with the announcement of Ankara as the new capital city of the Turkish Republic. Besides, with the abolition of the capitulations by the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which gave some privileges to European trades, foreign capital began to leave the city, thus a large number of foreign firms, merchants, insurance companies, banks, and offices left Beyoğlu (Özüş and Dökmeci, 2005).

In addition, during this period, a significant part of the non-Muslim residents, especially the Greek community, left the city and Beyoğlu, due to population exchanges between Greece and Turkey, which led to a decline¹⁵ in the city's population. As a result, the population of Istanbul, and Beyoğlu became more homogenized (Enlil, 2011).

Besides, a series of significant political events and developments took place after the 1940s, which resulted in significant changes in demographic, economic and cultural structure of Beyoğlu. The introduction of Wealth Tax (1942-1944) during the Second World War, which was put into effect for the revitalization of economy, placed a

¹⁵ The population of Istanbul decreased from 1.1 million to 690,857 between 1897 and 1927 (Tekeli, 1992).

heavy burden on the minority groups, mainly Armenians, Jewish, and Greeks. As a result, property ownership and demographic structure of Beyoğlu changed dramatically. In order to pay their taxes, non-Muslim minorities were forced to sell their properties, which led to a substantial decrease in population of ethnic and religious groups within the district. Similarly, with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Jewish population decreased in the district. In addition, the “September 6-7 Events” in 1955, when people revolted against minority groups in Istanbul, and the goods and properties of minorities were looted, sped up the abandonment of a variety of minorities from the district. Therefore, starting from the 1940s and 1950s, Beyoğlu gradually lost its reputation for having a cosmopolitan and sophisticated atmosphere, especially its ethnic diversity.

The socio-economic developments at the country level in the second half of the 20th century also affected the socio-spatial and demographic characteristics of the area. Since the 1950s, due to achieving a high level economic growth, and the commercialization and mechanization of agriculture, big cities in Turkey, especially Istanbul, faced with large waves of migration from the rural areas of the country. Due to the lack of formal mechanisms for employment, and social housing policies and programs, the migrants who came to the city developed their own solution and selected the historical dilapidated neighborhoods to inhabit, especially the inner-city historical neighborhoods in Beyoğlu District. As mentioned in Sakızlıoğlu (2014), the abandonment of non-Muslim groups coincided with this rural-urban migration, especially after the 1960s. Due to the political events and developments emerged against minority groups, many non-Muslims had to sell or rent their own properties to new immigrants.

As a result, the demographic and social structure of Beyoğlu drastically changed. Beyoğlu, having important cultural, arts, and entertainment places, began to lose its importance until the mid-1980s. At the same time, Tarlabaşı area became an important destination for incoming migrants beginning with this period (Dinçer and Enlil, 2003). Throughout years, due to the replacement of minority groups from

Beyoğlu, diverse neighborhoods within the district became Muslimised and Turkified to a large extent (Şahin and Çağlayan, 2006).

7.2.2. The Socio-Spatial Development in Beyoglu between 1980s and 2000s

Istanbul has gone into a major economic, social, and spatial restructuring during the neoliberal era of the post 1980s. During this period, two important visions were attached to the city. First, since the 1980s, by both the local and central authorities, the rhetoric of making Istanbul a ‘global city’ has been recognized as an important vehicle for achieving national economic development. Second, the central and local governments aimed to upgrade the image of Istanbul, as an important historical and tourism city, by the ‘tourism-led revitalization projects and interventions’ in the historical center of the city (Gürler, 1999 as cited in Sakızlıoğlu, 2007).

In order to make the city a point of attraction for national and international investments, the central and local governments accelerated the urbanization processes and the development of housing by introducing large-scale infrastructure and real-estate projects (Öktem, 2005; Öktem, 2011). Local authorities have allowed investors to develop new commercial and residential areas within the city by providing financial incentives and credits, making infrastructure investments, and significant changes in urban plans, and allocating the public land.

As part of this wider restructuring process undertaken in the city to make Istanbul the ‘global city’, Beyoğlu and its neighborhoods have gone into a major, economic and socio-spatial restructuring process, witnessing major interventions within the period between 1980s and 2000s. In this respect, to make Istanbul one of the most important commerce, finance and tourism center in the world, the central government, local authorities many times expressed the requirement of a new and strong commercial center in Istanbul, and undertook several commercial projects for the creation of a new central business district (CBD) within the city. For this purpose, the central and local governments stimulated the private sector to generate the new CBD along the Levent-Maslak axis (Öktem, 2011) with the growth of new high-rise office towers,

hotel complexes and shopping centers. After the formation of a new CBD along the Levent-Maslak axis, where many headquarters of inter-national companies, trading and tourism companies, banking and finance services began to locate in the 1980s, Galata and Beyoğlu in the old city center started to lose their historical importance of being the major centers of commerce, real-estate, and finance (Özdemir, 2000). Therefore, to revitalize the Beyoğlu District, a set of large-scale projects and interventions were undertaken with the initiatives of the central and local government. After the 1984 municipality elections, when Bedrettin Dalan from the liberal conservative party became the first metropolitan mayor of Istanbul, Beyoğlu Municipality went highly proactive and entrepreneurial (Aksoy and Robins, 2011). Dalan engaged in significant entrepreneurial interventions, to revitalize the city's economy, and increase its importance on the global scale (Ekinci, 1994). The aim was to stimulate private capital influx, by promoting real-estate and tourism investment, and developing finance and business (Aksoy and Robins, 2011, Sönmez, 1996; Özdemir, 2000). Within the period between 1984 and 1989, important projects were conducted in Beyoğlu district initiated by the metropolitan municipality, which affected the social structure and diversity within the district severely.

To revitalize Beyoğlu, large-scale infrastructure, commercial, and urban transformation projects were undertaken based on the Beyoğlu Restoration Plan. In accordance with the plan, two major interventions deeply shaped and changed the socio-spatial characteristics of Tarlabası (Dinçer and Enlil, 2003). First, İstiklal Road was pedestrianized and the buildings along the street were restored, and transformed into cultural, touristic, and entertainment uses, including arts galleries, cafes, hotels, cinema halls, shopping facilities, and business centers. Second, and the most radical intervention was the widening of Tarlabası Street and the opening of Tarlabası Boulevard in 1986 by demolishing many historical buildings¹⁶ in the area. The aim was to link Beyoğlu to the new CBD created in the Levent and Maslak Districts.

¹⁶ 368 buildings, 168 of which had high historical value and were registered as cultural and historical assets, were demolished.

However, while it increased the attractiveness of the area in the vicinity of İstiklal Road, it cut off Tarlabası area from the rest of the district. These interventions, as a result, created a barrier which separated and isolated the neighborhoods of Tarlabası, and led to the socio-spatial segregation of the communities, social polarization, and worsening levels of poverty, accompanied by crime-related and illegal activities (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). All these resulted in the deprivation of the area both physically and socio-economically (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014).

Meanwhile, as a result of the armed conflict between the Turkish army and PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) which began in 1984, Istanbul witnessed a massive immigration. Especially starting from the 1990s, the Turkish Government forced many Kurdish people to leave their homelands in the eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey, due to national security reasons and the territorial unity of the state. During this period, 30.000 villages were emptied by the Turkish forces, which resulted in a massive migration flow from these rural regions to big cities, primarily to Istanbul (Türkün, 2011). A majority of the immigrants inhabited and became the tenants of low-cost houses in decaying historical neighborhoods in the city center, especially the neighborhoods in Tarlabası area (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001; Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). The newcomers, who were too impoverished to settle elsewhere in the city, inhabited in the dilapidated and/or abandoned apartments within these neighborhoods, mixing in with the local Romani population.

In addition, within this period, the district was also largely inhabited by international informal employment immigrants from Africa, the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Balkans, and the former Soviet Bloc (Duymaz, 1995; Sönmez, 1996; Yüksek, 2003), who found themselves unwelcoming in other parts of the city. Although the share of industrial employment began to decline and large-scale industrial investments left the city, small-scale manufacturing, mostly in the textile and clothing sector, maintained as an important source of income for large segments of the low-skilled population, which are mostly the informal employees, and the newcomer low-skilled immigrants in low-income neighborhoods and squatter settlements (Aksoy, 1996; Sönmez, 1996).

As a result of these processes, the district had already become a concentration of ‘absolute poverty groups’ in the early 1990s (Şenyapılı, 2004 as cited in Sakızlıoğlu, 2014, p. 172). The 1990s onwards, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and district municipalities developed and implemented various redevelopment and rehabilitation projects in different parts of the city. The historical areas in Istanbul particularly attracted the attention of both central and local government authorities and thus, large-scale projects have been prepared to renew and rehabilitate decayed historic urban neighborhoods. Throughout the 1990s, urban transformation and revitalization projects were undertaken by the Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoğlu Municipality. However, these projects started to bring along gentrification processes within certain neighborhoods in Beyoğlu, including Cihangir, Galata, Asmalımescit and Tophane. The displaced groups, including low-income groups, transvestites, transsexuals, and recycling workers, who were living and working in these neighborhoods, were forced to leave these neighborhoods, and moved to Tarlabası (Saybaşılı, 2006; Sakızlıoğlu, 2014), where they found cheap living in terms of housing and low-skilled jobs in the city center.

Therefore, before the 2000s, the district was home to low-skilled migrant groups, and low-income disadvantaged groups, living in dilapidated neighborhoods and suffering from poverty, unemployment, physical and socio-economic deprivation, and social exclusion. Beyoğlu was accommodating many ‘displaced bodies’, who were excluded from the society, and left outside the labor market, formal networks, and possible housing facilities. These groups included Romani people, Kurdish people, transvestites, recycling workers, the early migrants, and non-Muslim minorities (Saybaşılı, 2006). On the other hand, between the 1990s and the 2000s, transformed and ‘gentrified’ neighborhoods within the district, including Cihangir, Ömer Avni, and Gümüşsuyu were growingly being inhabited by high-income groups, including young couples, single households, and elementary families (Özüş and Dökmeci, 2005), and professionals, cultural elite and artists, especially in Cihangir.

7.2.3. The Socio-Spatial Development in Beyoglu after 2000s

Neoliberal urban development policies of 1980s have been maintained throughout the 2000s, with special focus on urban renewal. During the early 2000s, it was figured out that the physical transformation undertaken in the vicinity of İstiklal Road and the main routes to reshape the center necessitated the transformation of surrounding residential areas. For that purpose, new developments took place in the center, which have changed the pattern of daily interactions, and the structure of diverse groups resided in surrounding areas.

Starting from 2002, when AKP (the Justice and Development Party) won the general elections, the focus on urban renewal projects has gained priority in urban policies (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). The ‘so-called’ aim of these projects has been defined by the central and local authorities as stimulating economic performance, upward social mobility, and quality of living of the residents in less developed areas, by upgrading the built environment. In this respect, the government has supported these projects since they paved the way for ‘social transformations’ in a positive way.

The local governments, in parallel with the central government, have been engaged in the creation of attractive locations for further investments, entrepreneurial and competitive activities, and tourism purposes. The central government provided the legal and regulatory changes to enable the local entrepreneurialism and endowed local municipalities with more power and responsibilities (Aksoy, 2009). In this respect, the Municipality Law No. 5393 was enacted in 2005, which devolved power to the municipalities to implement urban regeneration and redevelopment projects (Can, 2013). In addition, in this period, the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ) has gained considerable power in terms of utilizing public lands and intervening in squatter areas for urban transformation activities. Moreover, the Law No. 5366 (The Law on Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties) enacted in 2005 has prepared the ground for the transformation of historical areas and deteriorated historical and cultural sites. The law has given power and enabled local bodies to declare urban

renewal areas, and expropriate properties in dilapidated areas to implement development plans, and undertake renewal projects-without the consent of the householders (Aksoy and Robins, 2011). It has given municipalities the power to suspend and overrule decisions by the *Councils for Preservation of Historical and Cultural Sites*, and declare a certain area a '*sit alanı*', or *protected historical area*, similar to the process which has happened in Tarlabası. This law has also enabled Mass Housing Administration to implement urban regeneration and transformation projects in historical areas (Can, 2013). Furthermore, in 2008, the jurisdiction area of the Mass Housing Administration has been made ever larger.

After these legislative regulations, two major municipal urban renewal projects in Tarlabası in Beyoğlu District and Sulukule neighborhood in Fatih District have been initiated by the Beyoğlu Municipality and Fatih Municipality. Following the enactment of the Law No. 5366, and the removal of the juridical and planning-related barriers, Beyoğlu Municipality declared the Tarlabası Renewal Project in 2005. With Tarlabası Renewal Project, the efforts to clean out the area from low-profile groups including low-skilled immigrants, ethnic communities, and other low-income and disadvantaged groups have become visible, pointing the way to displacement experiences of the residents. Due to considerable appreciation in values of properties and increasing rents, many people have been forced to leave the area.

In 2011, Beyoğlu Conservation Area Plan has been introduced by the Beyoğlu Municipality. The aim of the plan is the improvement of the image and identity of Beyoğlu (Aksoy and Robins, 2011). For that purpose, greater commercialization including new up-market leisure such as shopping centers and consumption spaces, and the promotion of tourism have been given high priority. The plan had a primary emphasis on the real estate and property development, which is mostly parcel-based.

The plan has identified three areas, namely Haliç Shipyard Area, Tepebaşı District and Tophane for which important changes have been offered. According to the plan, Haliç Shipyard Area and Tepebaşı District have been assigned to major private

companies, for Haliç to be transformed into an industrial museum complex, and for Tepebaşı to be transformed into an opera house.

The partial and project-based approach of the plan was harshly criticized by the neighborhood associations in 2011. The plan decisions were criticized for showing the political priorities of the central and local governments, creating gentrified, cleaned-out and upscale built environment, and protecting the benefits of investors, rather than being a conservation plan (Aksoy and Robins, 2011; Birik, 2014). It was also blamed for damaging the existing urban pattern, defining characteristics, and historical tissue of Beyoğlu (Birik, 2014). The Beyoğlu Urban Conservation Plan was taken to administrative court by Cihangir Güzelleştirme Derneği and Galata Derneği, and cancelled due to ‘not being compliant with upper scale plan decisions and not consisting of participatory planning models’ (10th Administrative Court, Istanbul. Decision Number: 2013/1665, Issue: 2011/1094, as cited in Birik, 2014, p. 3).

Moreover, besides the historical settlements in Beyoğlu, such as Tarlabası area, waterfront areas and public spaces of the Beyoğlu Peninsula including the Haliç Shipyard area, Perşembe Pazarı, Karaköy Port and Galata Port have still been under discussion for urban transformation. In January 2015, Beyoğlu Municipality has declared that, after Söğütözü-Örnektepe and Dolapdere regions, a new urban renewal project will start in Karaköy area, which aims to turn the area into a major touristic center and attract big tourism investments. For this purpose, existing buildings are already being restored and major hotel projects are being undertaken within the area. As the Mayor of Beyoğlu Municipality has declared that the half of the buildings in Karaköy (229 of the 551 buildings) has been taken up transformation by private sector companies, and 320 million dollars investment has been made so far (Bahadır, 2015) and due to transformation, the prices have already risen up to 50-times. Moreover, the Galataport Project, including the privatization of Salıpazarı Port and the creation of hotels, shopping centers, offices, and restaurants in the project area, has already increased the rents considerably in Galata, Tophane and Karaköy areas. Moreover, the project has been threatening the small business owners located in nearby areas, which are vital and productive spots of the city for centuries.

Table 7.1 Changing urban policies and planning interventions in Beyoğlu and the effects on diversity (The Author)

Period	Policies and planning interventions affecting urban development	Effects on diversity: Beyoğlu
Before the 1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Urban development policies and practices coding Beyoğlu as the main trade and finance center, Tarlabası and surrounding neighborhoods as residential areas *Beyoğlu and Galata became the locus of Westernization policies and initiatives *With the establishment of Turkish Republic (1923), Ankara became the capital and most of the central elements of Beyoğlu moved to Ankara *Industrial areas, small-scale ateliers located near Beyoğlu and needed labor *Lack of enough, affordable housing resulted in urban sprawl and ghettoization in Beyoğlu and surrounding 	<p>Pre 1923:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Non-muslim ethnic minorities as the majority of residents: long-term trade and intellectual networks with Beyoğlu Center, mostly middle income *High levels of social networks, social mobility and cohesion due to the strong relations with Beyoğlu *Voluntary migration : Especially single men or couples working at Beyoğlu or enjoying Beyoğlu's benefits, low-income <p>Post 1923:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Homogenization of Beyoğlu: exchange agreements with non-muslim countries *Ethnic groups leaving Beyoğlu, especially Tarlabası area: due to increasing taxes, non-muslims moved to cheaper areas with political conflicts targeting non-muslims *Massive flows from undeveloped provinces, low income groups *Ethnic groups became the minority of residents
1980-2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * İstanbul as a competitive, global city *Revitalization projects for Beyoğlu which lost its their historical importance of being the major centre *A set of large-scale projects and interventions with the initiatives of the central and local government *Investments on infrastructure and construction; new highways, CBDs *Efforts to stimulate private capital influx, by promoting real-estate and tourism, finance, business *Large-scale infrastructure, commercial, and urban transformation projects divided and cut off the relations between Tarlabası and Beyoğlu Center *Massive investments on urban transformation and renewal *Establishment of Mass Housing Administration getting active in urban transformation processes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Influx of migrants from eastern parts of Turkey, low-income, lowly-educated immigrants with crowded families *Forced migration: massive flows from eastern parts of Turkey due to political conflicts, inflow of Kurdish people *Immigrants as the tenants of low-cost houses in decaying neighborhoods *Concentration of professionals, artists, cultural elite in gentrified neighborhoods, such as Cihangir, Asmalimescit, Ömer Avni, Gümtüşuyu *Displaced groups of earlier urban renewal areas came to Tarlabası, including transvestites, transsexuals, and recycling workers; Tarlabası as a physically and socio-economically deprived area, the home to people excluded from the society, left outside the labour market, formal networks *Many neighborhoods: a concentration of 'absolute poverty groups': little chances of social mobility and cohesion, increasing crime, poverty and deprivation
After the 2000s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Many areas in Beyoğlu as prior urban renewal areas with growingly diverse population and dilapidated physical environment and poor social infrastructure, i.e. education, healthcare facilities, including Örnektepe, Sıtlıce, Tarlabası and Tophane; a boom of urban transformation projects *Attracting investors by upgrading city image via ambitious urban renewal and transformation projects such as Galataport, Privatization of Salpazarı *Changing patterns of daily interactions, transactions, and the structure of diverse groups resided in surrounding areas of Beyoğlu with new developments took place in the center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Beliefs on "urban renewal would lead to social mobility and higher economic performance" seemed to fail at societal level *Residents against urban renewal with the fear of displacement *State-led gentrification *Urban renewal leading to urban clearance: efforts to displace low-profile groups (unskilled migrants, people of illegal affairs, ethnic groups, Roma people, etc.) *Tenants and low-income people with no properties become the victims of urban renewal *Social problems as a characteristic of many areas, tensions between residents and government and between different social groups *Proliferation of non-governmental organizations working on social issues, basic rights and freedoms; formal and informal associations, bottom-up arrangements

7.3. Existing Spatial, Socio-Economic, Cultural, Ethnic and Demographic Landscape of Beyoglu

7.3.1. Location of Beyoglu

After the historical peninsula, Beyoğlu is the oldest part of Istanbul. It is located on the European side of Istanbul and separated from the historical peninsula by the Golden Horn (Figure 7.1). Galata Bridge, Atatürk Bridge and Golden Horn Metro Bridge connect Beyoğlu to the historical peninsula.

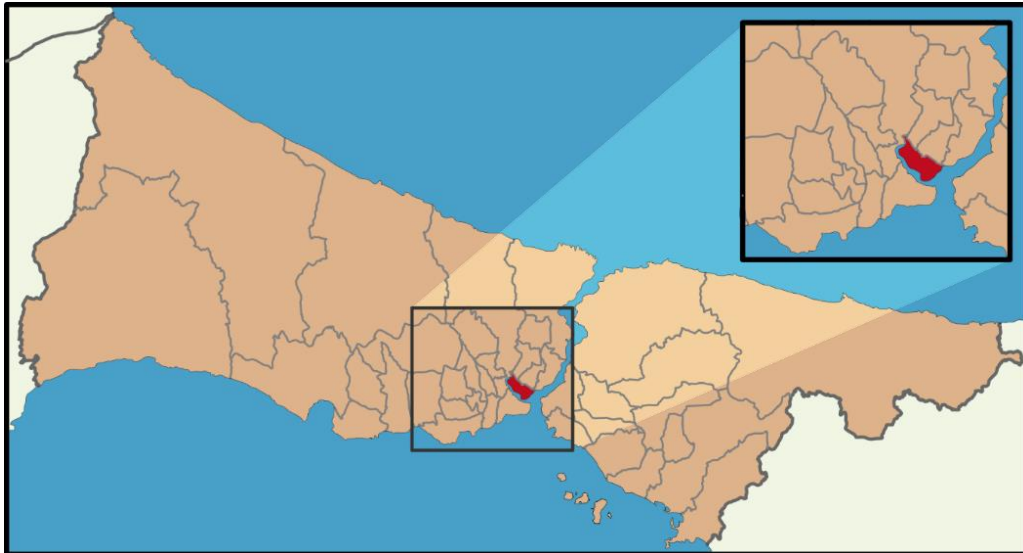


Figure 7.1 Location of Beyoğlu District in Istanbul, (Girişken, 2013)

The Beyoğlu District is surrounded by the Şişli District in the north, the Bosphorus and the Beşiktaş District in the east, the Eyüp District in the west, Haliç and the Fatih District in the south (Figure 7.2).



Figure 7.2 Beyoğlu and surrounding districts

(Istanbul Şehir Rehberi, December 2014, <http://sehirrehberi.ibb.gov.tr/map.aspx>)

The district is composed of 45 neighborhoods, and according to Population Census in 2014, the population of the district is 241.520 (TÜİK, 2014). Since Beyoğlu is the historical, cultural and commercial center of Istanbul, the daytime and night-time population reaches to several millions every day.

7.3.2. Urban Layout and Land Use

Beyoğlu is not only diverse in terms of its heterogeneous population and daily visitors, but also its differentiated and mixed land use. The land use map of the Beyoğlu District represents that the commercial activities are concentrated along the Istiklal Road, in the vicinity of the Taksim Square, and along the coastline (Figure 7.3). One of the main residential areas locates in the northwest of the district and lies on the northern side of Tarlabası Boulevard. The other main residential area locates in the southeast of the district.

Although there are pure residential uses, most of the housing areas are combined with commercial activities. There are also mixed used areas which are composed of residential areas, commercial uses and manufacturing activities. The district has also institutional land uses, including large governmental areas, consulates, and educational facilities.

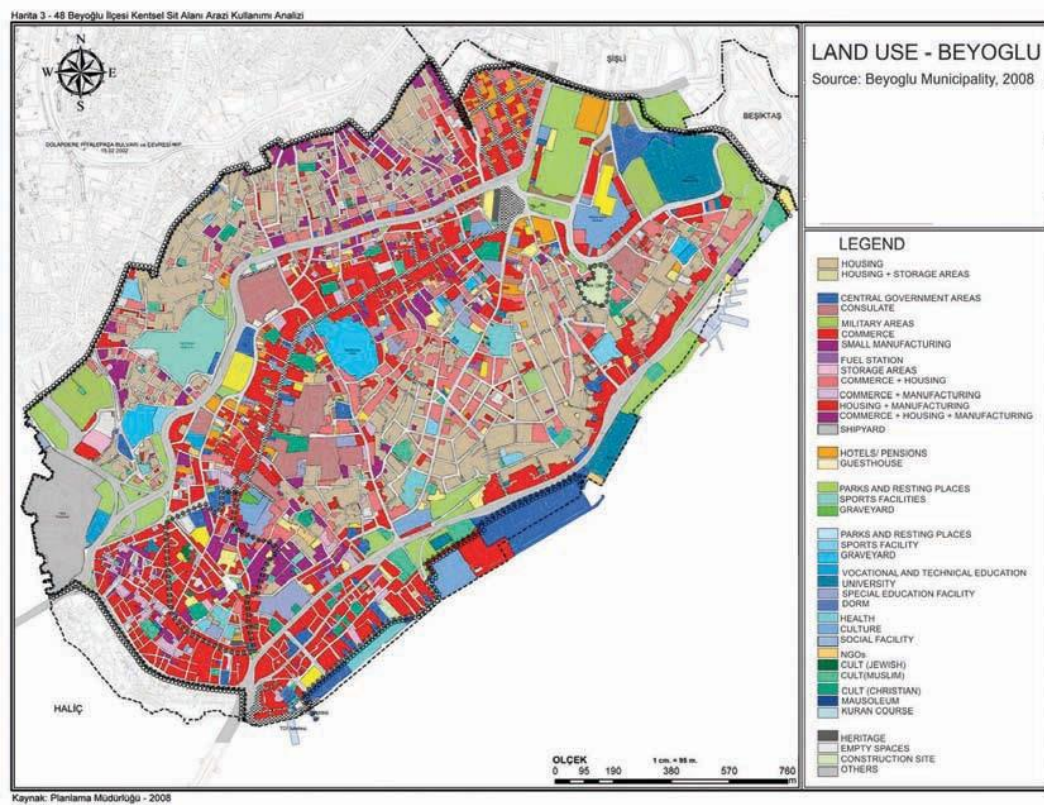


Figure 7.3 Land use of Beyoğlu in 2008 (Geambazu et al., 2013)

The whole area shown in the map in Figure 7.3 includes only a part of the district, since the Beyoğlu Municipality provides the land use of the older, more central and traditional part of the district. The other part of the district mostly covers the residential areas, including Sötlüce, Örnektepe, Halıcıoğlu, and Kasımpaşa neighborhoods (Figure 7.4).



Figure 7.4 Map of Beyoğlu

(Beyoğlu Municipality, 2011, from: <http://www.Beyoglu.bel.tr/download/yolharita2011.jpg>)

7.3.3. Population Density

Population density, in terms of the number of people living in each square kilometer, is quite high within the district (Arredondo et al., 2014). According to the map that represents the population density of the Beyoğlu District, the residential neighborhoods in Tarlabaşı that are located in the northern side of the Tarlabaşı Boulevard are the most densely populated areas (Figure 7.5). On the other hand, the neighborhoods along the coastline, including Bedrettin, Emekyemez, Arapcami, and Kemankeş (which are mostly the port-related areas), and the neighborhoods on the northwest of the district, such as Gümüşsuyu and Ömer Avni (which include public open spaces, hotels, Gezi Park and Taksim Square), have the least densely populated areas.

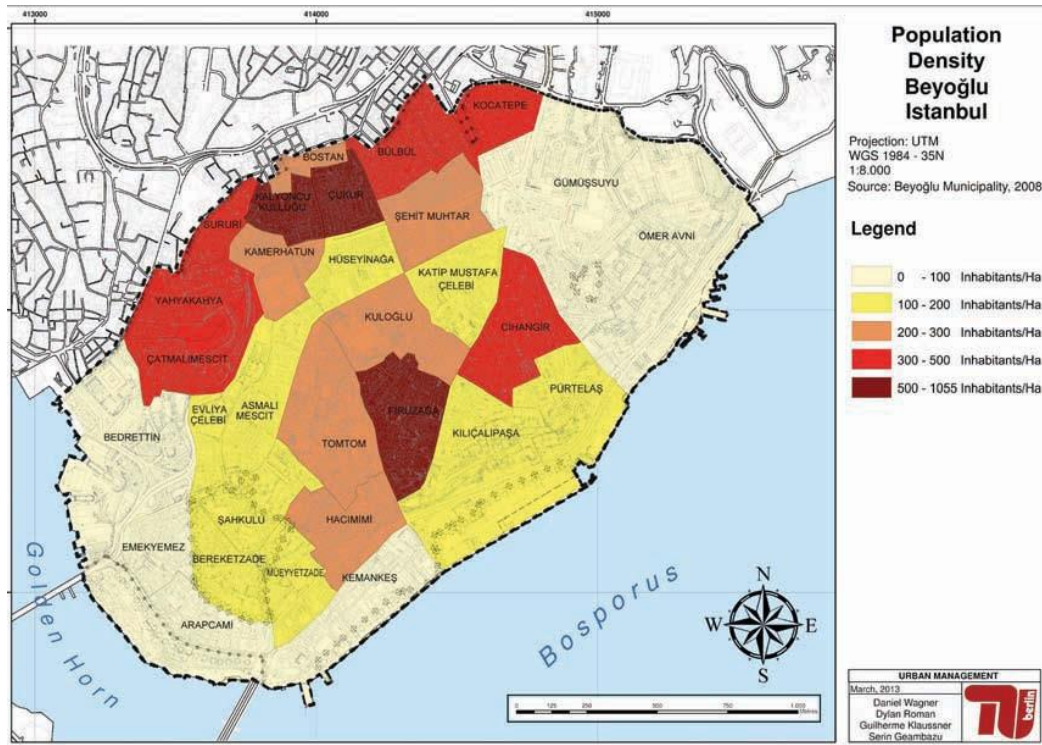


Figure 7.5 Population density of Beyoğlu in 2008 (Geambazu et al., 2013)

7.3.4. Demographic Trends

Beyoğlu, the historical, commercial, and cultural centre of Istanbul with its cultural heritage, creative industries, diverse activities and lifestyles, has been accommodating people from different cultural, ethnic, demographic and socio-economic backgrounds living together for centuries.

According to the 2014 population census, the population of the Beyoğlu District is 241.520 (TÜİK, 2014). A majority of the population is from Istanbul origin, with a population of 35.461 people in 2014. Therefore, among the population of the district, 14.7 % of people were born in Istanbul, and the rest of the population was born in other Turkish provinces or abroad, who has come to Beyoğlu either migrating from different regions and provinces of Turkey, or from abroad. The 2014 official figures show that among the population of Beyoğlu, a large part of people have origins of the provinces in the Black Sea Region, including Giresun, Sivas, Rize, and Kastamonu,

and the provinces in the eastern and southeastern regions of the country, predominantly Mardin and Erzincan.

Beyoğlu has an intensive daily population during the day and night, especially in the vicinity of İstiklal Road and Taksim Square. The population of the district is 241.520 in 2014 according to the population census of 2014. On the other hand, the total population of the district in terms of its settled inhabitants is in decreasing trend within the recent years (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.6).

Table 7.2 Population of Beyoğlu between 2007 and 2014 (The Author)

Years	Total Population
2007	247256
2008	245064
2009	244516
2010	248084
2011	248206
2012	246152
2013	245219
2014	241520

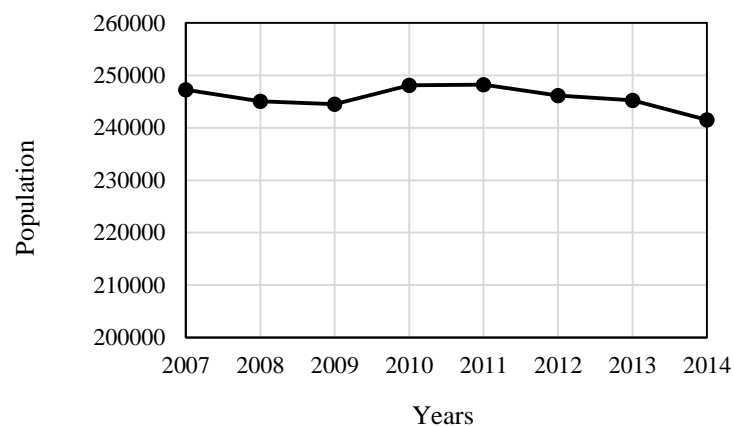


Figure 7.6 Population change in Beyoğlu among years 2007 – 2014 (The Author)

The Figure 7.7 shows the percentage distribution of population by age groups in Beyoğlu, derived from Address-Based Population Registration System in 2014. The Figure 7.8 indicates the changes in the population by age groups in Beyoğlu between 2007 and 2014. Accordingly, the populations of 0-14 and 15-29 age groups show decrease, and the populations of 45-64 and 65+ age groups show increase in years.

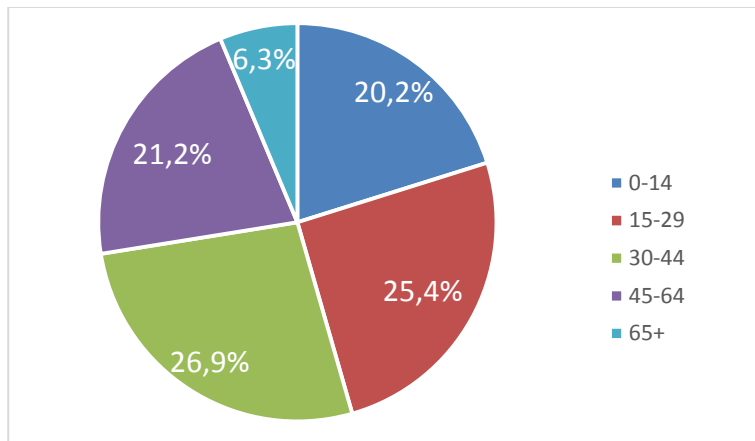


Figure 7.7 Percentage of population by age groups in Beyoğlu, 2014 (The Author)

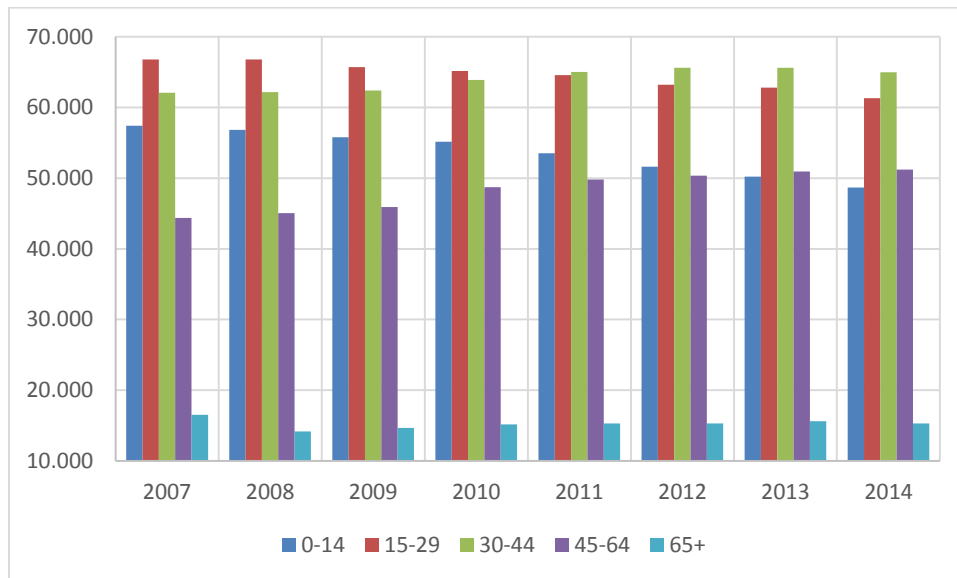


Figure 7.8 Change of population by age groups in Beyoğlu, 2007 – 2014 (The Author)

The population pyramids of Turkey, Istanbul and Beyoğlu in Figure 7.9, Figure 7.10 and Figure 7.11 respectively, show that in a similar trend with Istanbul, Beyoğlu has higher percentages of young and middle-age groups compared to Turkey. They also show that the fertility rates in Istanbul and Beyoğlu are lower than Turkey's average.

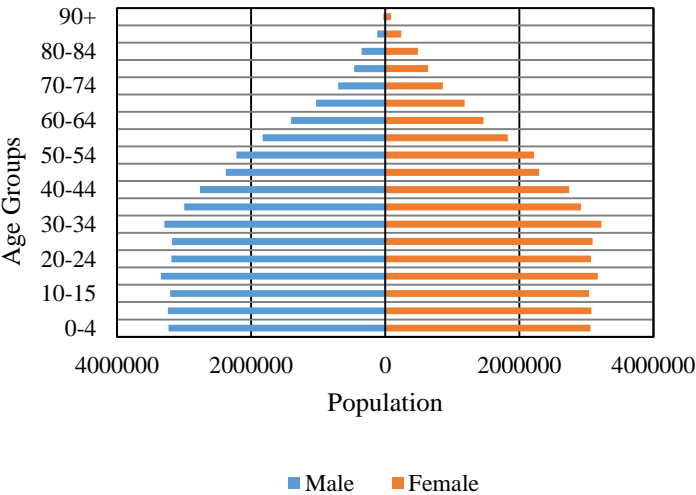


Figure 7.9 Population pyramid of Turkey in 2014 (The Author)

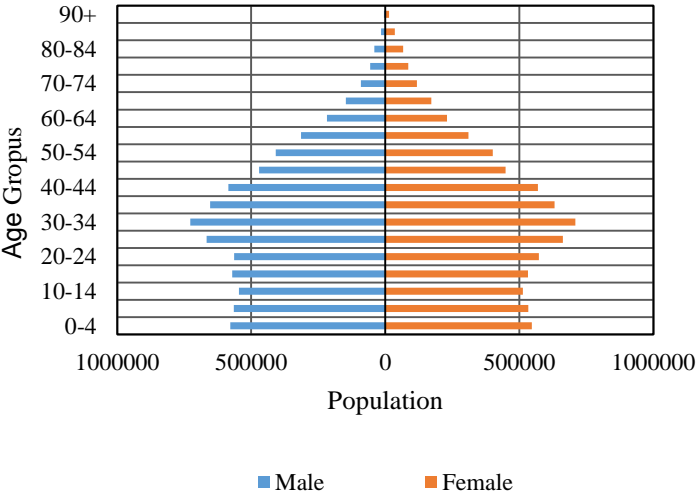


Figure 7.10 Population pyramid of Istanbul in 2014 (The Author)

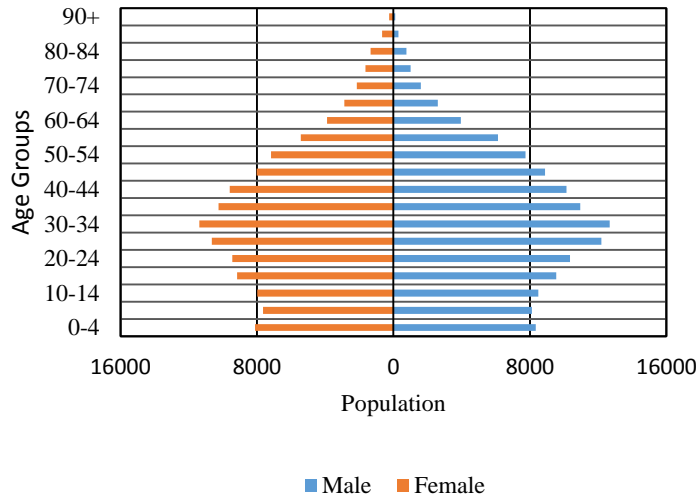


Figure 7.11 Population pyramid of Beyoğlu in 2014 (The Author)

7.3.5. Socio-Economic Characteristics

The Beyoğlu District has been differentiated to a large extent in terms of socio-economic status of its residents. Although, the statistical data on demographic and socio-economic conditions across neighborhoods is very limited, except the educational attainment data on the neighborhood level, an evaluation can be made based on observations, and the previous studies carried out in the district. As shown by Daniş et al. (2009) as cited in Arredondo et al. (2014) in Figure 7.12, while the east and southeast of the district have upper levels of socio-economic level, including Ömer Avni, Gümüşsuyu, Cihangir, Kılıçalı Paşa and Pürtelaş Hasan Efendi neighborhoods. This part of the district accommodates neighborhoods with upscale residential areas and higher socio-economic levels in terms of income and education.

The neighborhoods in the west and northwest of the district have lower socio-economic level. Within the neighborhoods, including Sötlüce, Piyalepaşa, Fetihstepe, Kaptanpaşa, Kulaksız, and Küçük Piyale, socio-economic conditions are relatively lower (Daniş et al., 2009 as cited in Arredondo et al, 2014). On the other hand, within the neighborhoods, including Çukur, Bülbül, Bostan, Sururi Mehmet Efendi, Tomtom, Hacıahmet, İstiklal, Örnektepe, Yenişehir and Kalyoncu Kulluk, which are

mostly located in Tarlabası and Dolapdere quarters, socio-economic profile of the residents is remarkably low, accompanied by poverty, physical and socio-economic deprivation, poor infrastructure, unemployment, informal working, and higher illiteracy rates (Arıkan Akdağ, 2012). Therefore, similar to Istanbul, the district is divided into particular regions and socio-economic classes, creating different patterns of segregation with clear cores, transitional zones and peripheral areas.

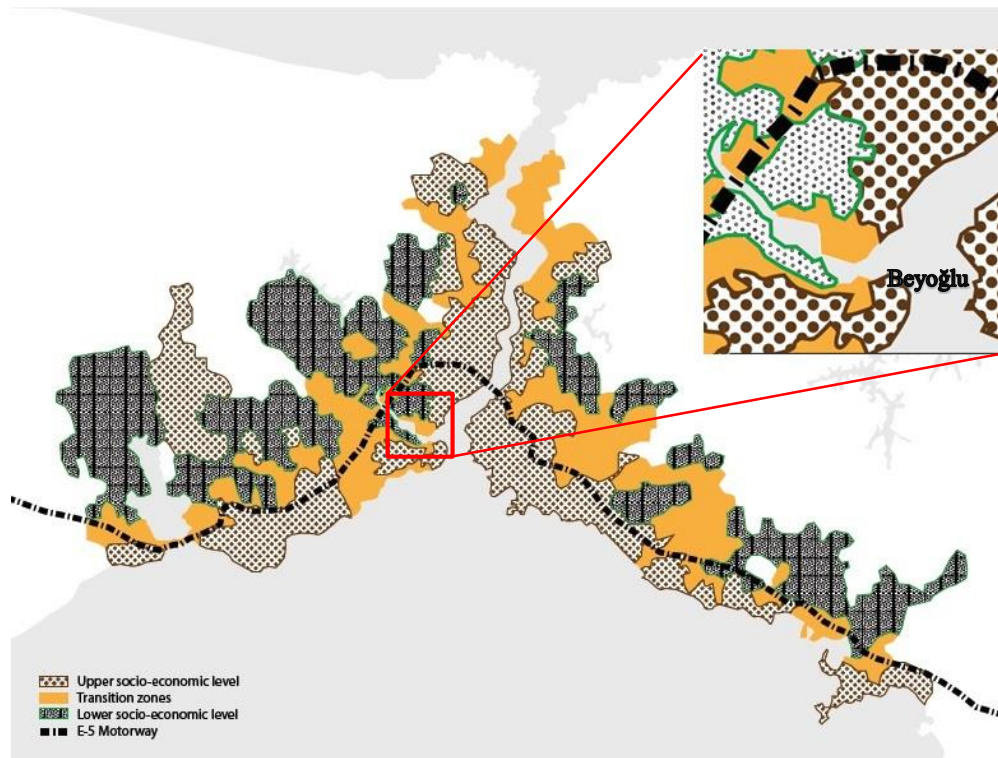


Figure 7.12 Schematic map of aggregate socio-economic character of neighborhoods in Istanbul and Beyoğlu (The Author, adopted from Danış et al., 2009 as cited in Arredondo et al., 2014).

7.3.6. Educational Level

According to TUIK statistics of 2012 showing the highest level of education attained in Beyoğlu based on Address-Based Population Registration System, the illiteracy rate of Beyoğlu with 10.1 % is higher than the rate of Istanbul (6.9 %) and the rate of

Turkey (5.7 %). Different than Turkey's and Istanbul's education level profile, Beyoğlu has relatively higher percentages of primary and secondary school graduates (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Percentage of population according to the highest level of education attained (+6 age) in Beyoğlu, based on Address-Based Population Registration System (The Author)

Rate of:	Türkiye	Istanbul	Beyoğlu
Literacy	94.3 %	93.1 %	89.8 %
Illiteracy	5.7 %	6.9 %	10.1 %

Rate of:	Türkiye	Istanbul	Beyoğlu
Literacy without Passing-Out	20.3 %	18.7 %	19.2 %
Primary School Graduate	21.2 %	21.9 %	25.6 %
Secondary School Graduate	24.6 %	25.0 %	25.8 %
High School and Equivalents Graduate	21.7 %	21.5 %	20.3 %
College and Bachelor's Degree	11.1 %	11.5 %	8.1 %
Master's Degree	0.8 %	1.2 %	0.8 %
Doctorate Degree	0.2 %	0.3 %	0.2 %

These show that Beyoğlu has high percentages of illiterate and low-educated people among its population. Although the percentage of college and bachelor's degree is considerably lower than the percentages of Turkey and Istanbul, the percentage of people with master's and doctorate degree is the same with Turkey, since there are highly educated people with master's and doctorate degree living in certain parts of the district.

The map in the Figure 7.13 has been prepared based on total years of education completed by the population in the neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. The education level data is derived from the statistics of the highest level of education attained in Beyoğlu (+6 age) based on Address-Based Population Registration System in 2012.

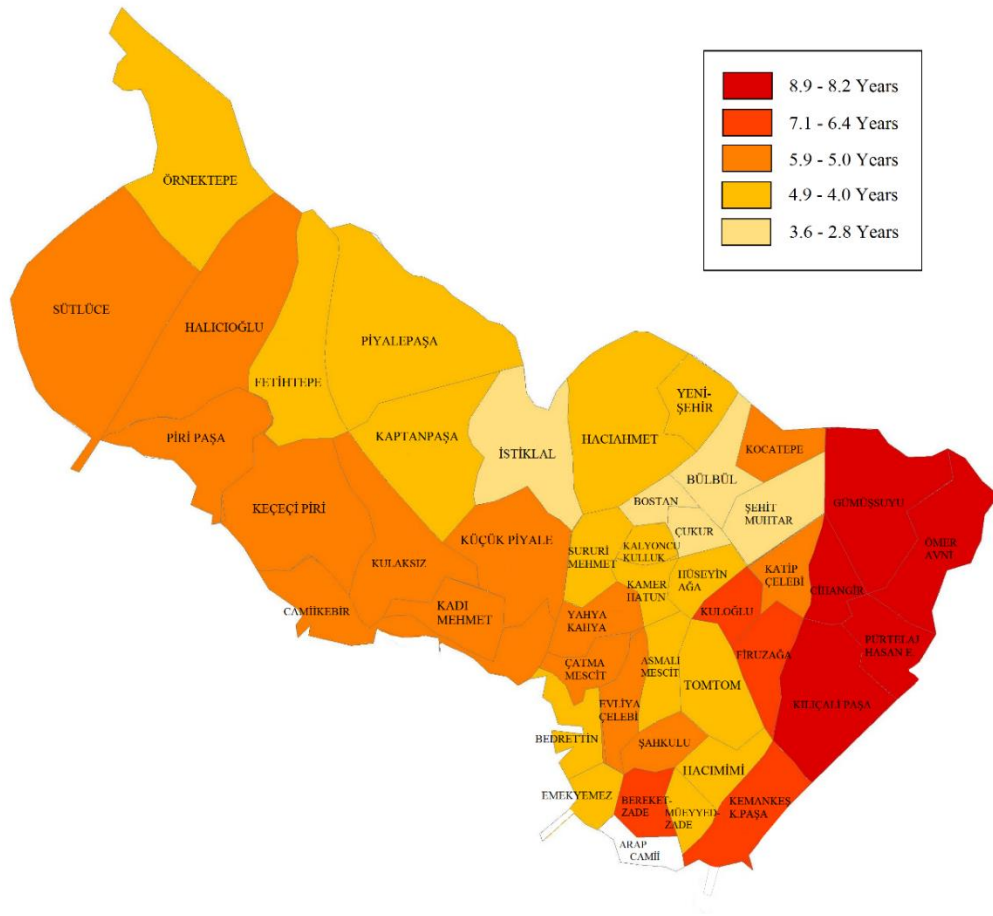


Figure 7.13 Classification of education levels in neighborhood of Beyoğlu (The Author)

The map shows that the gentrified neighborhoods of Beyoğlu such as Cihangir, Gümüşsuyu and Ömer Avni, in which high-income groups, professionals and people of creative sectors live, have highly educated population compared to other neighborhoods. The nearby neighborhoods such as Fırzağa and Kuloğlu neighborhoods have also relatively higher education level. On the other hand, the neighborhoods in Tarlabası and Dolapdere quarters, have lower-educated population, where low-income groups and immigrants live.

7.3.7. Migration Trends

Although there is no statistical data on international migration, the internal migration statistics based on Address-Based Population Registration System show that Beyoğlu attracts population from different regions of Turkey. In 2013, the population of Beyoğlu was 245.219 based on the Address-Based Population Registration System. During 2013, the number of immigrants were 6645, while 6288 people were reported to have left Beyoğlu. According to the percentage distribution of in-migration by regions in 2013 shown in Figure 7.14, Black Sea Region has the highest percentage among other regions. Black Sea Region is followed by Central Anatolia Region and South Eastern Anatolia Region.

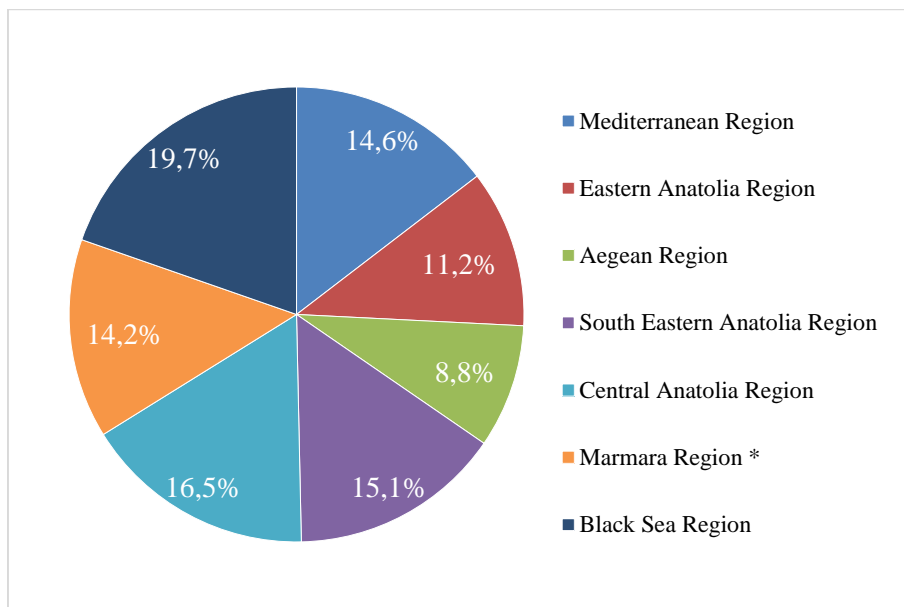


Figure 7.14 Percentage distribution of in-migration to Beyoğlu by regions, based on address-based population registration system, TUIK, 2013 (*Istanbul is not included within Marmara Region). (The Author)

According to the percentage distribution of out-migration by regions in 2013 shown in Figure 7.15, Black Sea Region has the highest percentage among other regions. Black Sea Region is followed by Marmara Region and Central Anatolia Region.

These data show that Beyoğlu has a considerable population circulation with Black Sea Region. In addition, Eastern Anatolia, South Eastern Anatolia, and Mediterranean Regions have relatively high positive net migration compared to other regions in 2013.

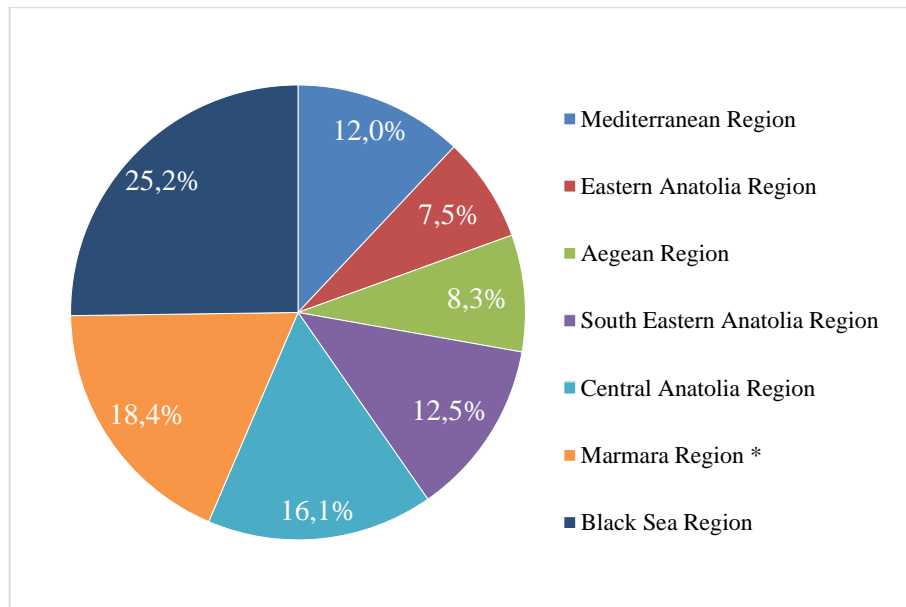


Figure 7.15 Percentage distribution of out-migration from Beyoğlu by regions, based on address-based population registration system, TUIK, 2013 (*Istanbul is not included within Marmara Region). (The Author)

7.3.8. Employment

Commercial activities and services sector have spread to a large part of the district. In parallel with Istanbul, Beyoğlu has shifted from industry into a more service sector-oriented economy, including commercial and tourist-oriented services. The concentration of cafes, restaurants, shopping stores, and other commercial businesses

along the İstiklal Road and its vicinity, and along the coastline in the south of the district, and a great number of hotels and tourism facilities in Talimhane Area and the vicinity of Taksim Square create high amounts of employment in the service sector.

As indicated by Girişken (2013), an examination of 2009 Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Records shows that wholesale and retail trade sectors have significant share in the central activity distribution of CBD of Beyoğlu in 2009, with the percentage of 37.27 % among the total (Figure 7.16). On the other hand, the manufacturing activities have still been occupying a significant place in general workplace composition in the district, with a percentage of 15.95 % in total. Moreover, professional, scientific and technical activities (9.88 %) and construction sector (5.80 %) are other important activities in Beyoğlu.

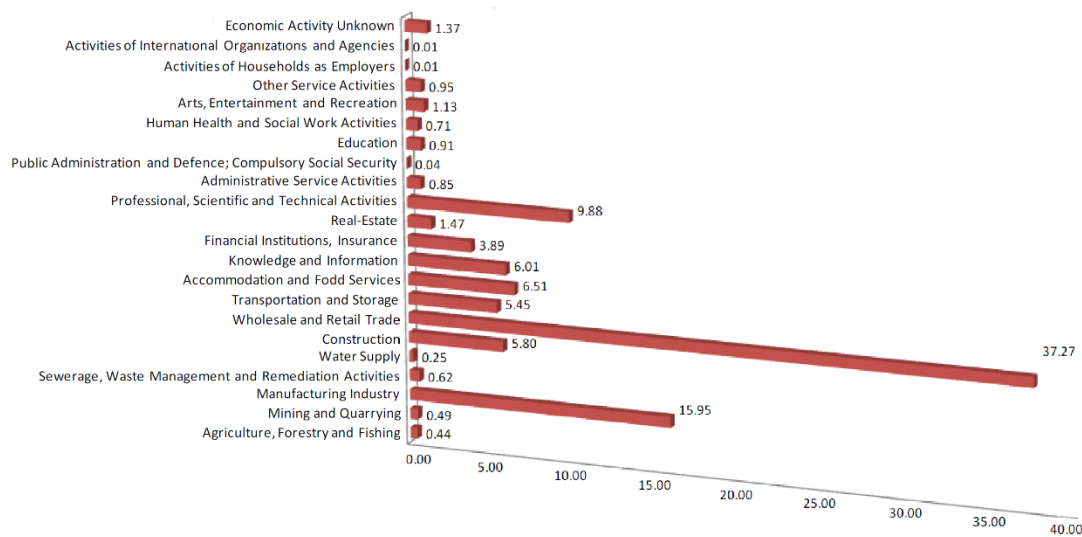


Figure 7.16 Sectoral distribution of the workplaces in Beyoğlu according to the percentages of offices (Girişken, 2013)

According to a map of workplaces in Beyoğlu (Figure 7.17) prepared based on the 2009 records of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (Girişken, 2013), a high concentration of CBD services, commercial, health, cultural, art and entertainment activities, and other service operations exists within the neighborhoods around the

İstiklal Road, between Taksim and Tünel, including Cihangir, Fırzuğa, Kılıçlı Paşa, Kalyoncu Kulluk, Tomtom, Şehit Muhtar, Çukur, Katip Mustafa Çelebi, İstiklal, and Kamer Hatun. Different from these neighborhoods, household services can be seen in Kuloğlu and Hüseyinağa neighborhoods, additively. Further, in Gümüşsuyu, and Ömer Avni neighborhoods, the dominant activities are also concentrated on CBD services, and cultural and art activities, but accompanied by mining, transportation and storage. Located along the coastline, but relatively away from the center, Hacımimi, Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa, Müyyedzade neighborhoods specialize in mining, transportation and storage.

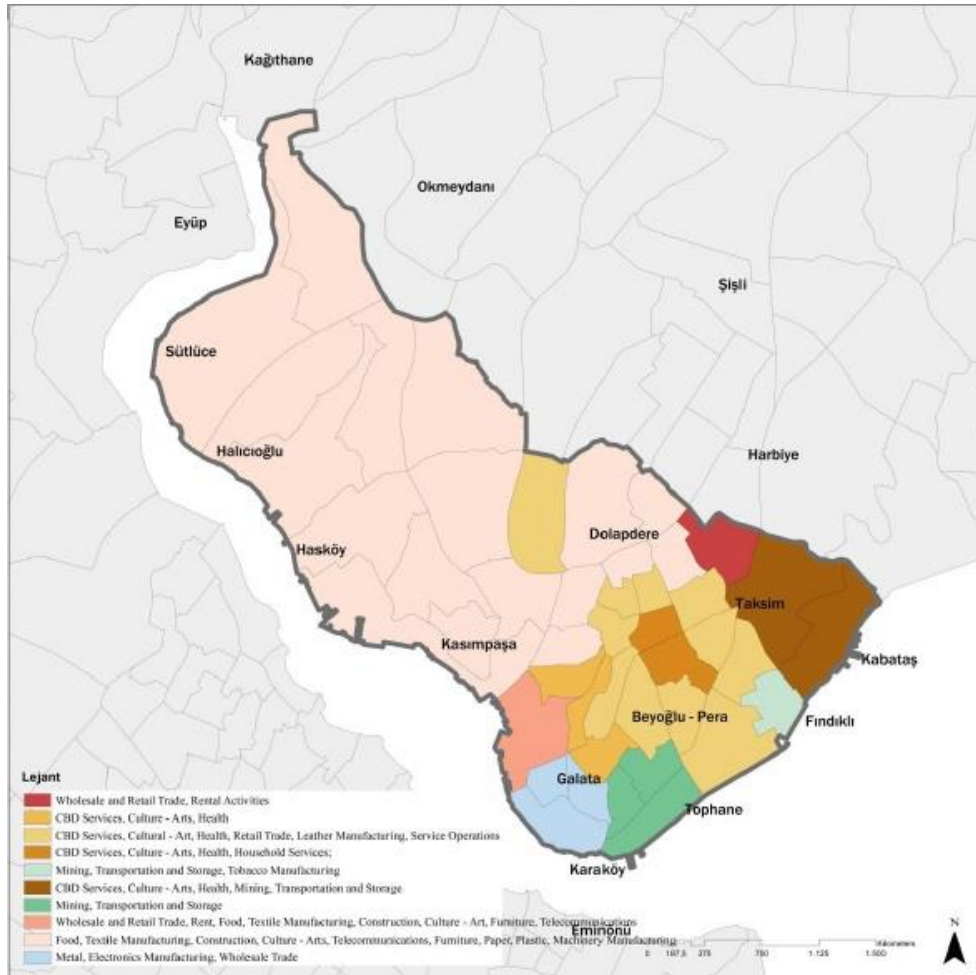


Figure 7.17 Beyoğlu workplaces 2009: General economic neighborhood profiles (Girişken, 2013)

On the other hand, within the neighborhoods, including Hacıahmet, Kaptanpaşa, Kadı Mehmet Efendi, Piyalepaşa, Fetihtepe, Bülbül, Küçük Piyale, Bostan, Sötlüce, Örnektepe, Piri Paşa, Yahya Kahya, Keçeci Piri, Halıcıoğlu, Kulaksız, Yenişehir, Camikebir, Sururi Mehmet Efendi, which are relatively far from the İstiklal Road and Taksim, food, textile manufacturing, construction, furniture, plastic, paper, and machinery manufacturing activities are predominant. Moreover, Bereketzade, Emekyemez, and Arap Cami neighborhoods have a different character in terms of dominant activities and sectors, dominated by metal and electronics manufacturing and wholesale trade.

7.3.9. Revitalization and Urban Renewal Areas

After the 1990s, major redevelopment and revitalization projects have been undertaken in the area. Many historical urban areas in Beyoğlu have become the targets for urban transformation. The area entered into a restructuring process after the 1980s, including the creation of new boulevards, transformation of old manufacturing areas, and the redevelopment of waterfront areas. The Table 7.4 shows the renewal and redevelopment areas undertaken in Beyoğlu after the 1980s, and the map in Figure 7.18 shows the urban renewal areas in Beyoğlu declared by the Beyoğlu Municipality in 2005.

The large scale urban renewal and urban transformation projects have resulted in social, economic, and spatial transformation in Beyoğlu, by affecting urban fabric, economic and commercial activities, inhabitants of the district and their socio-economic conditions. The projects and new investments result in changes in land use and functions, increase in the number of the construction projects, restoration and renovation works, and the loss of historical values within the district. Moreover, the restructuring process undertaken within the district has been leading to the rise in housing prices and rents, changes in ownership structure, high occupancy rates, increasing demand, and the proliferation of new investment firms. Moreover, while these processes increase the attractiveness of certain areas and the property prices,

they result in decreases in the population of the district. The district has been witnessing displacement experiences of many long-term, and mostly low-income residents, since they do not afford to live in these new, luxury, and expensive urban areas, thus eventually leave these neighborhoods.

Table 7.4 Urban renewal and redevelopment projects in Beyoğlu after the 1980s (The Author)

Year	Renewal projects	Legal Basis (related laws, amendments and plans)	Implementation
1986	Opening of Tarlabası Boulevard	Beyoğlu Restoration Plan	Widening of Tarlabası Street into Tarlabası Boulevard by demolishing many historical buildings
1986	Pedestrianization of İstiklal Road	Beyoğlu Restoration Plan	Restorations along the road and its vicinity, construction of restaurants, cafes, shopping malls
1990s	Revitalization processes in Cihangir, Gümüşsuyu, Ömer Avni neighborhoods	Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property Law No 2863 in 1983 1999 the Cultural and Natural Assets Conservation Board issued decree number 11437	Redevelopment of residential areas, changes in functions
1990s	Tourism and culture-led revitalization interventions in Galata	Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property Law No 2863 in 1983	Transformations of buildings by owners
1990s and 2004	Tourism-oriented transformation project in Talimhane Area, and Talimhane Area Pedestrianization Project	Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property Law No 2863 in 1983 1999 the Cultural and Natural Assets Conservation Board issued decree number 11437	Tourism investments, construction of hotels and commercial establishments
2003	French Street Project	Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use (Law No. 5366)	Changes in functions, restoration of buildings and pavements, opening of shops and restaurants

Table 7.4 (Cont'd) Urban renewal and redevelopment projects in Beyoğlu after the 1980s

Year	Renewal projects	Legal Basis (related laws, amendments and plans)	Implementation
2005	Declaration of Renewal Areas, including Tarlabası - Cezayir Çıkması (French Street) and its vicinity – Tophane District – Galata Tower and its vicinity – Beyoğlu Municipality Building and its vicinity – Bedrettin Neighborhood	Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use (Law No. 5366) in 2005	Declaration as renewal zones
2006	Tarlabası Renewal Project	Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use (Law No. 5366)	Renewal in Tarlabası area, comprising 9 blocks and 278 plots, construction of hotels, shopping places and residences, renovations of buildings
2011	Declaration of Renewal Projects in Haliç Shipyard Area, Tepebaşı District and Tophane	Beyoğlu Conservation Plan	Transformation into touristic centers, commercial and tourism facilities
2009	Kasımpaşa Urban Renewal Project	Municipality Law No. 5393 Article 73 Amendment in Article 73 (17/6/2010-5998/1)	Restoration and redevelopment of buildings
2012	Sütlüce-Örnektepe Neighborhoods Urban Renewal Project	Law on the Regeneration of Areas Under Disaster Risk (Law No. 6306)	Demolishment of risky buildings, redevelopment
2005	Privatization of Salıpazarı Port, Galataport Project	Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (Law No. 2863)	Privatization of Salıpazarı Port, creation of hotels, shopping centers, offices, and restaurants
2015	Urban renewal project in Karaköy	Declaration of Beyoğlu Municipality Mayor on January 2015	Construction of hotels, tourism facilities, renewal of the area

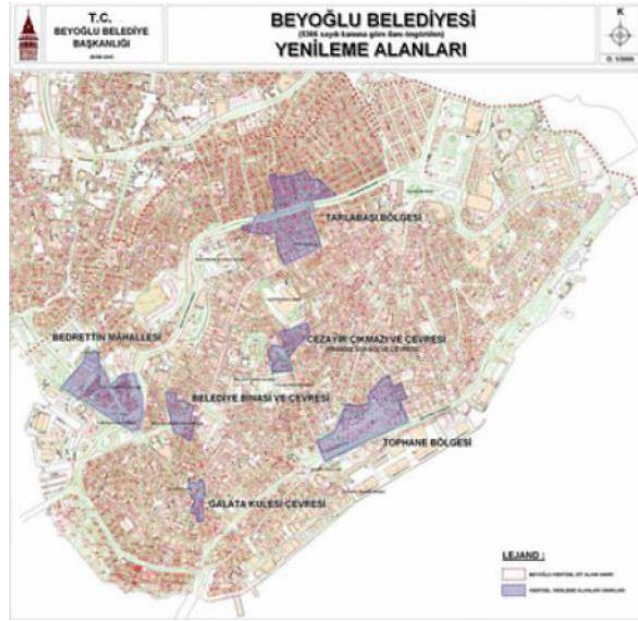


Figure 7.18 Urban renewal areas in Beyoğlu declared by Beyoğlu Municipality in 2005
(<http://www.beyoglu-bld.gov.tr/>)

7.4. Diverse Groups in Beyoglu

Beyoğlu has been a special area where different lifestyles and identities live together, from the reach to the poor, from affluent people to excluded and disadvantaged groups, and people of different races, cultures and ethnicities. Although Beyoğlu has quite diversified neighborhoods, accommodating various socio-economic, ethnic, cultural and demographic groups, some groups are concentrated in certain neighborhoods within the district. Networks are very important in this respect, especially based on relatives, similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds, same city of origin, and friendship. Kurdish people, Romani people, compatriot groups, creative communities including professionals, artists, and cultural elite, Syrian immigrants, and African immigrants are generally concentrated in certain neighborhoods within the district.

Social groups in Beyoğlu, which contribute to the diversity of the area, can be divided into two categories. The first group mostly includes international immigrants as

newcomers, and domestic immigrants comprised of people, who have migrated to the district from different regions of Turkey, predominantly from Black Sea Region and Central and Eastern Anatolia Regions, including Kurdish people and compatriot groups. There are also very recent in-migrants with distinct characteristics and diverse lifestyles, including people from creative class and high-skilled professionals, highly educated immigrants and students, who are interested in living in diverse and cosmopolitan neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. The second group includes those who have been living in the district for more than 50 years, as long-term residents. This group is also internally differentiated, but the common point is that a majority of them are segregated from the rest of the society, or are in a disadvantaged position due to their identity (Armenian people, Romani people, LGBT community, etc.).

7.4.1. Newcomers as ‘Diversifiers’

This part introduces the diverse groups living in Beyoğlu, their characteristics, specific problems, and their places of residence. Since there is not any data on ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds of people, income status, etc. on neighborhood level, the assessment on the places of residence and concentration areas of diverse groups is based on the existing literature and studies conducted in Beyoğlu, the semi-structured interviews conducted with governance actors within the scope of this study, and on-site observations. The small maps showing the spatial concentrations of diverse groups are schematic representations, are not based on any statistical data, and do not show exact locations or neighborhoods.

International Immigrants and Asylum-Seekers

There are various international immigrants in Beyoğlu who has come from the Middle East and African countries including Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Palestine, and Senegal, especially after the 1980s, and enriched the ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic diversity of the district. African immigrants, for example, are concentrated in Taksim and Tarlabaşı Area, especially in Bülbül neighborhood, as

well as in Dolapdere Region, since these areas have been offering cheap housing and accommodating diverse identities and marginal lifestyles that newcomers feel socially and socio-economically validated and identified among similar groups (Figure 7.19).

Moreover, the district has faced with the inflow of Syrian asylum-seekers since the Syrian war has started in 2011. According to the official figures declared by the UNHCR in 2014, the number of Syrians has reached to 330.000 in Istanbul. This figure has been very likely to increase since many Syrian asylum-seekers continue to come to the city. Most of the Syrian people and families live in poor conditions. The Syrian immigrants are highly diverse considering their socio-economic characteristics. While a majority of Syrian immigrants are low-skilled and lowly-educated people, who are living in deprived neighborhoods and working in informal jobs, there are also educated and higher-income Syrians, who can afford to buy houses and set-up their own businesses in the district (Scott, 2014; Sunata et al., 2014). The Syrians in Beyoğlu mostly settle in neighborhoods in Tarlabası Area, including Çukur and Bülbül neighborhoods, Taksim, and in the vicinity of Okmeydanı Area and Piyalepaşa neighborhood in Kasımpaşa.

Although a majority of international immigrants are of lower socio-economic backgrounds, there are also international immigrants who have higher income and education levels, mostly coming from the United States and European countries. These groups generally include international university students and educated immigrants working at high-skilled jobs, who choose to live in the district because of its international and cosmopolitan atmosphere and diversified environment (Eraydın et al., 2015). Moreover, some of the better-educated international immigrants are specialized in creative professions, including arts and cultural sectors.

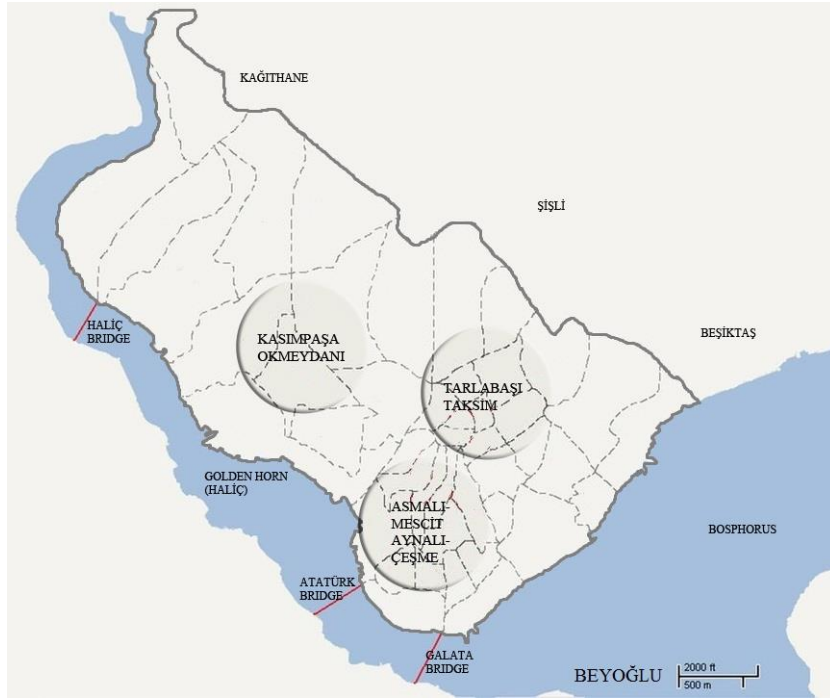


Figure 7.19 Areas of international immigrants (as newcomers) concentration in Beyoğlu

Domestic immigrants from a different ethnic and cultural background

Kurdish people: Beyoğlu accommodates a concentration of people of Kurdish origin, especially in its neighborhoods with low socio-economic profile, and poor living conditions, including the neighborhoods in Tarlabası such as Çukur, Bostan, Şehit Muhtar and Bülbül, Tophane, and the neighborhoods in Dolapdere quarter, such as Hacıahmet (Figure 7.20). According to Arıkan Akdağ (2012), the Beyoğlu District in 2010 had an estimated population of 38.174 Kurdish people (immigrated predominantly from the provinces of Mardin and Batman), corresponding to approximately 16 % of the total population of the district.

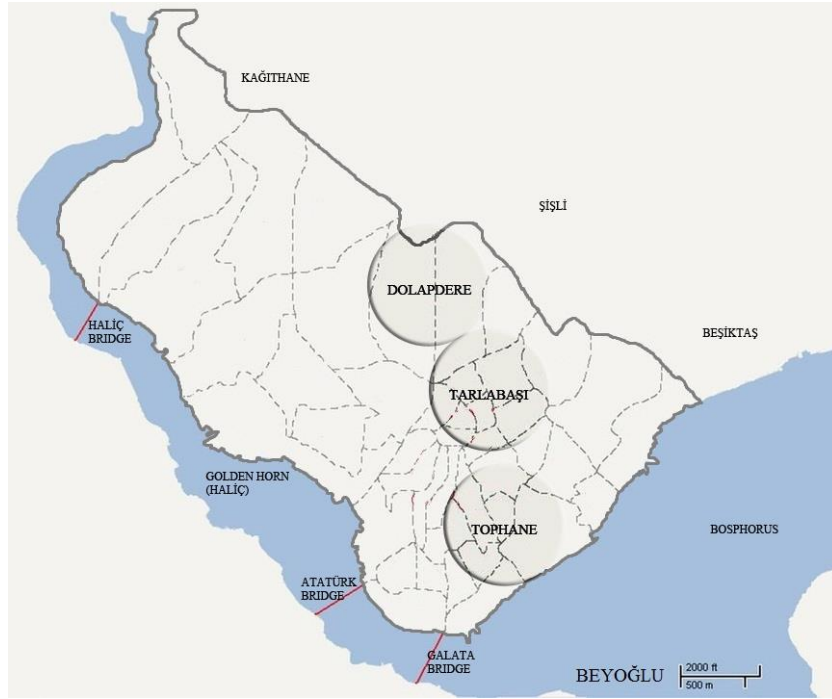


Figure 7.20 Areas of Kurdish population concentration in Beyoğlu

Compatriot groups: Relations among compatriots are quite important in certain neighborhoods in Beyoğlu, among those who have migrated from different regions and cities of Turkey. There is a sustained significance of compatriotship (*hemşehrilik*) within the district. The number of immigrants as compatriot groups is very high in Beyoğlu, especially concentrated in neighborhoods in Kasımpaşa Area, such as Kaptanpaşa, Fetihtepe, and Piyalepaşa neighborhoods, and in some neighborhoods of Tarlabası Area (Figure 7.21). The relationships and social networks in those neighborhoods are generally based on hometown origin. These groups have immigrated to Istanbul to find higher standards of living and better opportunities, intensely from the Black Sea Region, and Central Anatolia Region of Turkey.

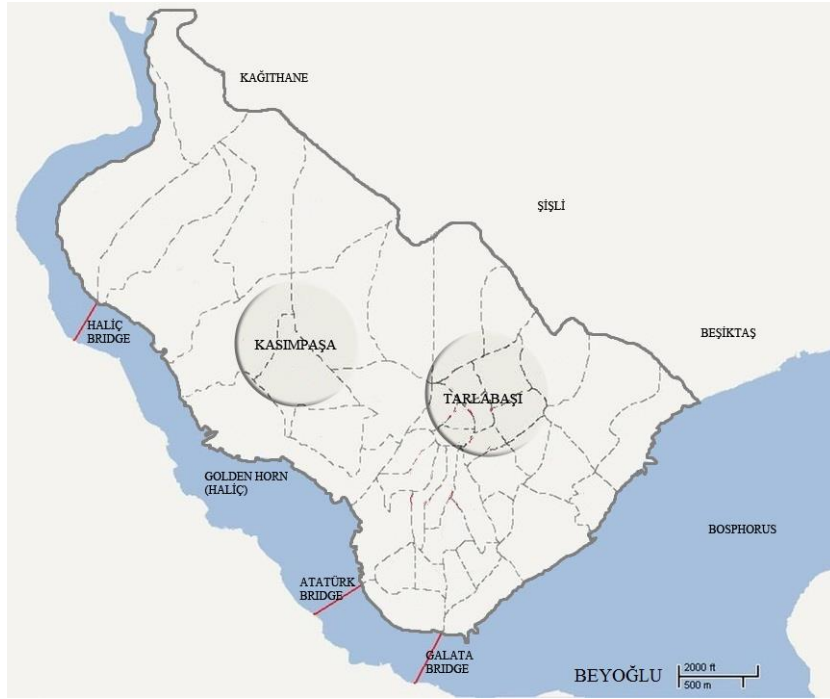


Figure 7.21 Areas of compatriot groups' concentration in Beyoğlu

Professionals, artists and the cultural elite: Besides these groups, especially starting from the 1990s, there has been a growing interest among the people from the creative class, including artists, local and foreign musicians, art professionals, architects, people working in the entertainment sector, and other middle and high-class educated professionals and artists to live in Beyoğlu, and to settle in some neighborhoods of Beyoğlu, such as Cihangir, Asmalımescit (Kahya, 2014), Çukurcuma, Firuzağa, Aynalıçeşme and Galata (Sözen, 2010). As shown in the Figure 7.22, these neighborhoods and the vicinity of İstiklal Street are the areas where the art and cultural events and activities are concentrated within the district.

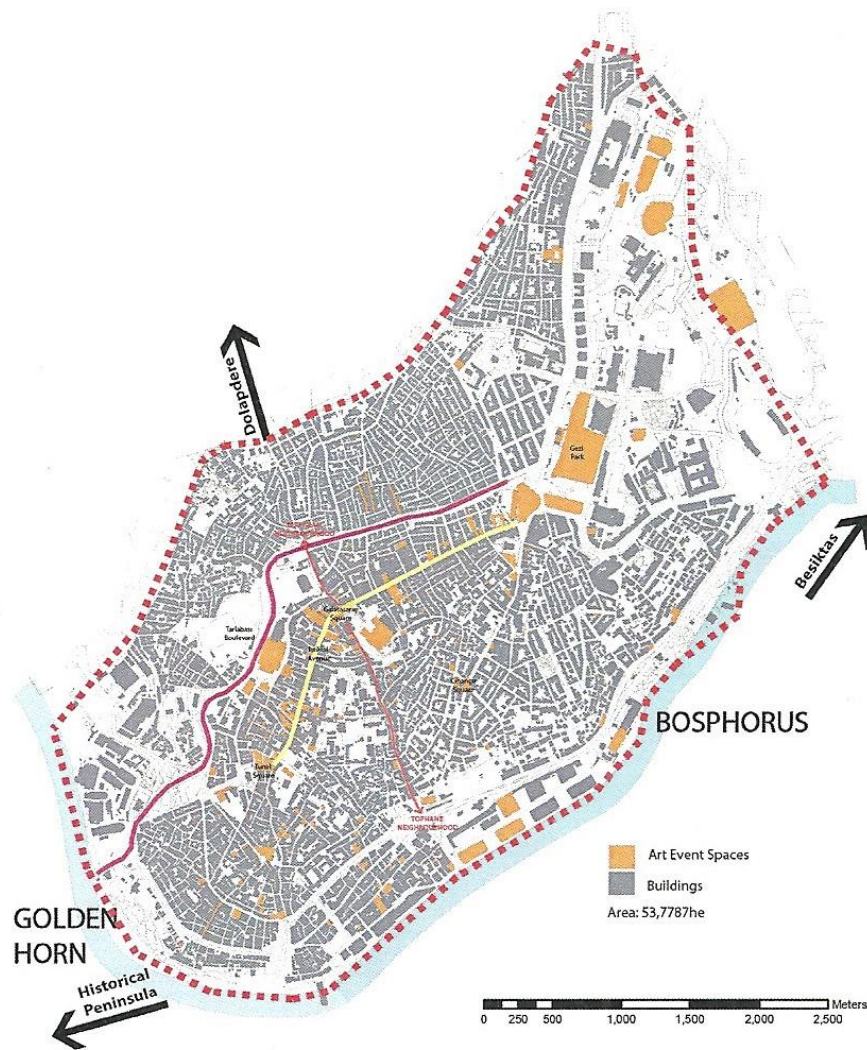


Figure 7.22 Art and cultural events and their locations in Beyoğlu (Kahya, 2014)

These groups are mostly gentrifiers, who have come to the area after the 1990s, and settled in redeveloped and renewed neighborhoods within the district. The creative class groups including artists, designers, photographers and producers and highly skilled professionals mostly live in Cihangir, Çukurcuma, Firuzağa, Galata, Asmalı Mescit neighborhoods (Figure 7.23). Those people are with demographic and socio-economic characteristics of middle or high income, high education levels, small household sizes, and occupation in positions of high-skilled jobs, as well as creative, artistic, and cultural professions.

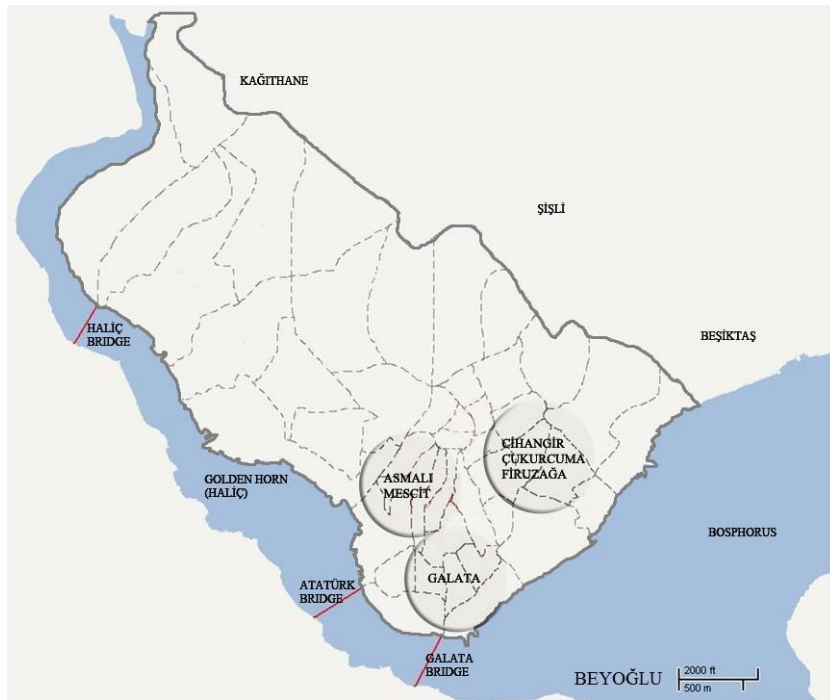


Figure 7.23 Areas of creative groups' concentration in Beyoğlu

On the other hand, some studies show that especially in the gentrified neighborhoods of Beyoğlu such as Çukurcuma, Cihangir, Aynalıçeşme, and Galata, interactions between these groups and the disadvantaged, low-income and marginalized inhabitants, including international immigrants from Iraq, Iran, and African countries, domestic migrants with lower socio-economic status, Kurdish people, Romani people, and LGBT communities are quite limited (Sözen, 2010).

7.4.2. Diverse Groups Already Living in the District

People of different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds

A series of events and political developments including the First World War, deportation of Armenian intellectuals, population exchanges, the Cyprus conflict, the

Wealth Tax, and the Events of 6-7 September¹⁷ seriously affected and decreased the non-Muslim populations in Beyoğlu.

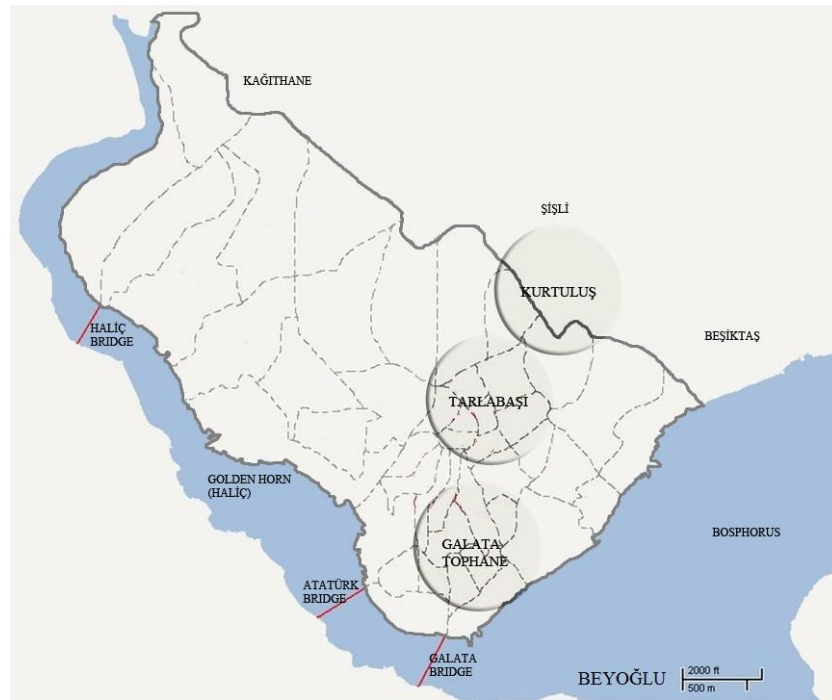


Figure 7.24 Areas of ethnic, cultural and religious groups' (as long-term residents) concentration in Beyoğlu

However, the district still holds a considerable number of non-Muslim population. According to Karakuyu and Kara (2011), there are around 2500 Greeks, 20000 Jews and 47700 Armenians live in Istanbul. Existing minorities living in Beyoğlu District concentrate in certain neighborhoods, most of which are long-term residents of certain neighborhoods (see Figure 7.24).

¹⁷ On 6-7 September 1955, Orthodox churches, community-schools, cemeteries of the Greek population and private properties belonged to minorities were attacked and ruined, and acts of violence were committed in neighborhoods where Istanbul's non-Muslim population was concentrated.

As Sunata et al. (2014) indicate, there are around 2000-3000 Armenian people and 1000 Rum inhabited in Beyoğlu's neighborhoods, especially concentrated in Kurtuluş, Pangaltı and Feriköy sub-districts. Although these quarters are administratively parts of the Şişli District¹⁸, some of their neighborhoods are still within the borders of the Beyoğlu District. These residential areas accommodate many neighborhoods in which a majority of Istanbul's non-Muslim population lives (Sunata et al., 2014). The fieldwork and interviews of this study also show that the neighborhoods in Galata, Tophane and Tarlabası quarters accommodate many Jews, Rum, and Armenian people.

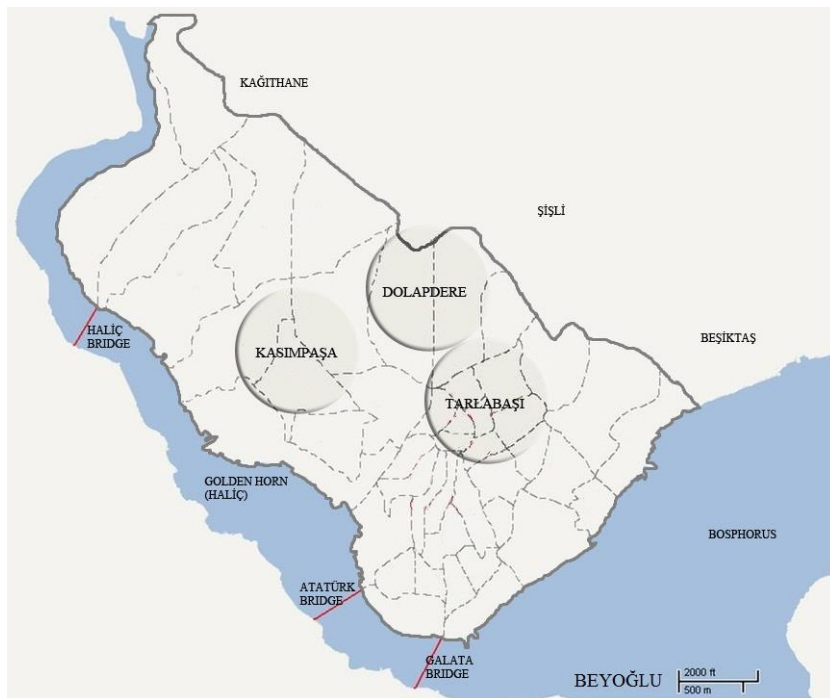


Figure 7.25 Areas of Romani population concentration in Beyoğlu

¹⁸ Şişli District was administratively a part of Beyoğlu District in the first years of the Turkish Republic (Sunata et al., 2014).

Romani people

Romani people in Beyoğlu intensively live in Bostan neighborhood in Tarlabası Area. There are also Romani people living in Kasımpaşa, Dolapdere, and İstiklal neighborhoods as shown in Figure 7.25, known as Hacıhüsrev, which are mostly inhabited by socio-economically disadvantaged and marginalized populations.

A large part of Romani people work in entertainment and music sector in Beyoğlu. On the other hand, a majority of Romani people within the city have problems such as poverty, higher rents and increasing costs of living due to gentrification, displacement, and exclusionary attitudes from the society, as well as from the central and local governments.

LGBT Individuals

Beyoğlu hosts members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite and transsexual (LGBT) communities. Sourced from its cosmopolitan character, people having diverse sexual identities intensely choose to live in Beyoğlu, since they can be open about expressing their sexual orientation and gender identities in certain neighborhoods in the district, which offer them a sense of freedom (Sözen, 2010, Eraydın et al., 2015).

The LGBT groups are also very active in the associations formed by gays, lesbians, transsexuals and transvestites, and also other civil rights organizations. A majority of gay people either live in, or spend their time to socialize within the district, especially in Cihangir and Asmalımescit neighborhoods. As shown in Figure 7.26 Beyoğlu, starting from the Taksim square, along the İstiklal Road, and all the way down to Galata and Haliç has cafes, nightclubs and bars.

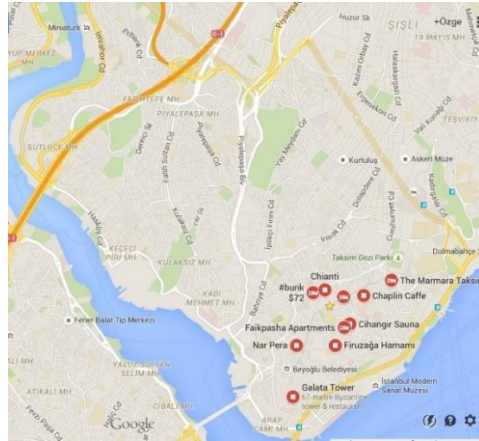


Figure 7.26 A map showing some places of entertainment and leisure-time activities of LGBT population in Beyoğlu

CHAPTER 8

RESEARCH FINDINGS

8.1. Introduction

To understand how urban diversity is perceived and practiced in a certain urban setting, it is vital to find out the roles and interest areas of different governance actors. It requires a detailed analysis and an evaluation to understand what their focus are, in which diversity-related areas they mostly function, and how they are organized.

Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to present the research findings based on the study conducted to analyze the roles of different governance arrangements in terms of discourses, policies and practices regarding urban diversity in Beyoğlu, Istanbul. It sets out the important role of governance arrangements, and clarifies whether they point to problem areas where the central or local governments are not interested in, or they are not efficient enough. In this framework, this chapter introduces the roles of different governance actors with respect to diversity, including both the governmental and non-governmental actors based on the case study conducted in Istanbul and Beyoğlu. The analysis is based on the in-depth interviews carried out with key governance actors, a roundtable discussion carried out by the selected governance arrangements, and a document analysis including an overview of related policy documents, activity reports, performance programs, strategic plans and other documents of the related institutions and initiatives.

According to the evaluation of the research findings, some key points should be underlined. First, the central government in Turkey has a quite cautious and conservative attitude towards diversity. Although there has been a growing discourse on diversity voiced by the key decision-makers recently, it is far from being reflected on the existing urban policies and practices. There is a gap between the discourse and the practice. Second, main concerns of the central and local governments regarding

diversity-related issues are limited to the support of disadvantaged groups, and overcoming material inequalities between different socio-economic groups. While addressing socio-economic differences to some extent, governmental actors disregard cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. Third, the withdrawal of the governmental actors from diversity-related issues has encouraged the proliferation of new governance arrangements. Fourth, the approaches, roles and activities of governmental and non-governmental arrangements with respect to diversity differ to a large extent. Non-governmental actors including the academics, professional organizations, and NGOs criticize the state, and its policies and urban practices for disregarding increasing diversity within Turkish cities, and Istanbul, particularly. Last but not least, while this study has offered a broader perspective on the definition of governance arrangements focusing on urban diversity, including policy networks, informal collaborations involving horizontal types of decision-making or activities, bottom-up arrangements developed as a cooperation between state and civic actors, or purely private or civil society based initiatives, the scope of the definition is highly limited in Turkey, Istanbul and Beyoğlu in particular. Governance arrangements, in this sense, mostly include civil-society initiatives working in diversity-related issues, and the collaborations between different governance actors.

The chapter, first, presents the governmental and non-governmental discourses and policies regarding urban diversity. Then it introduces main diversity-related fields, activities, main focus, perceptions of different governance arrangements regarding diversity, and main factors influencing success and failure of governance arrangements, derived from an assessment of in-depth interviews and round-table discussion conducted with the selected governance arrangements and initiatives.

8.2. The Recent Governmental and Non-Governmental Discourses and Policies Regarding Urban Diversity in Turkey, Istanbul and Beyoglu

Within the scope of the research, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with various governance actors, including governmental, private and non-

governmental organizations (Figure 8.1). The interviews show that different governance actors at various levels, namely neighborhood, district, city-wide and regional/national have different points of view regarding urban diversity.

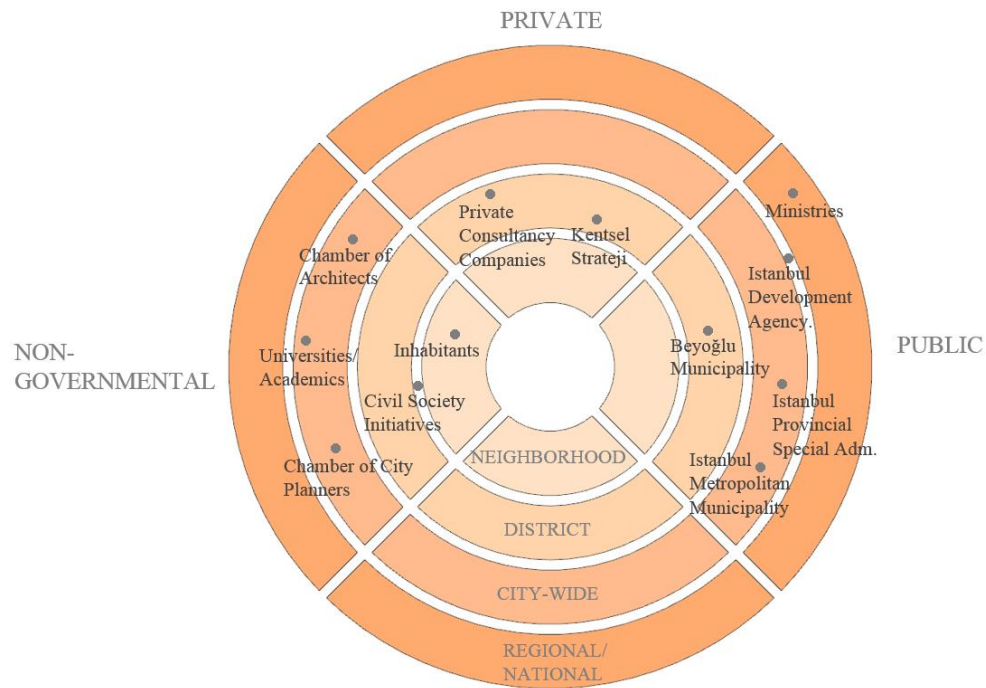


Figure 8.1 Interviewed governance actors regarding urban diversity (The Author)

8.2.1. Central Government

The key ministries, which define the main policies, strategies and practices regarding the issues of diversity in Turkey, are the Ministry of Development, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Employment and Social Security.

Among these ministries, four interviews were conducted with four experts. Two of the interviews were conducted with two experts from the Ministry of Development, one from the Social Sectors and Coordination General Directorate, and one from the

Regional Development and Structural Adjustment General Directorate. Two of the interviews were conducted with two experts from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, who are working at the Directorate General of Spatial Planning.

Both the documentary analysis and the interviews demonstrate that, with their social policies and practices, the related ministries mainly focus on disadvantaged groups, including children, young people, women, elders, the poor, and the disabled people. In this respect, diversity is conceptualized within a limited concern, from the perspective of disadvantages. Empowering these groups and ensuring their involvement into social and economic life stand as the primary objective of the ministerial bodies, aimed to achieve through education, training, and providing employment as the main strategies. However, the concern over the international immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers are rather limited.

During the interviews, it is observed that the state officials have cautious approaches towards diversity. One of the interviewees from the Ministry of Development emphasizes that “*Community and diversity are two concepts that are not compatible with each other.*” According to the viewpoints of many governmental actors, diversity is a negative aspect of communities which potentially creates social tensions and problems, thus needs to be overcome through the promotion of common values within communities.

Among the regional and provincial bodies of the central government, two interviews were conducted with two experts from the Istanbul Development Agency, which is the relevant organization of the Ministry of Development in Istanbul, and responsible for developing policies and intervention tools for the Istanbul Metropolitan Area.

The interviews and the document analysis based on a review of the Regional Plans shows that Istanbul Development Agency puts a special emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged parts of the society, especially concentrating on elders and disabled people. Unlike the central government, the Agency also defines immigrants as a disadvantaged group, and addresses immigrants in its plans and strategy documents. The social policies of the Agency center upon the inclusion of the disadvantaged

groups. Within the 2014-2023 Regional Plan, social policies put a special emphasis on the needs of immigrants, unemployed people and low-income families, and introduce integration measures, including counseling services oriented towards immigrant families, educational and training support, and vocational counseling services. It is emphasized by one of the experts from the Agency as *“We prepare our Regional Plans by taking all people living in Istanbul into consideration. Although there was relatively less attention to diversity in the first regional plan, we highlighted the significance of diversity more in the second plan, by introducing more comprehensive policies and strategies to support diversity.”*

The Development Agency seems to have a more open and a comprehensive approach towards diversity through its social inclusion policies compared to the ministries. It also addresses cultural and ethnic diversity to some extent, different than the other governmental bodies. One of the interviewees emphasizes that *“Istanbul Development Agency takes into account the needs and problems of all social groups within the city, although some of them are not among the priority groups. We develop policies with a special focus on Romani people, and introduce social projects for children, young people, and disabled people. Through our Social Inclusion Workshops that we organize each year, we specify a focus group, and during the year, we introduce policies and strategies for this group.”*

It is also important to note that, although the Agency has a special focus on immigrants and some ethnic groups like Romani people, since the Governorship of Istanbul is the coordinator of the Central Government Directorates at provincial level, including the migration-related actions, the Agency’s authority and the implementation of its programs are highly questioned.

8.2.2. Local Governments

Among the local government bodies in Istanbul, three interviews were conducted with an expert from Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, an expert from the

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, and one of the vice mayors of Beyoğlu Municipality.

The local governments in many countries undertake significant roles in the governance of diversity. As discussed within the theoretical arguments, there are many examples especially in Europe, in which local governments adopt open and positive approaches towards ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and demographic diversity, and support it through different policies, programmes and activities. Many examples show that local authorities can be successful in accepting urban diversity as an asset, and using it as a source of cultural attractiveness, higher economic performance and upward social mobility for individuals, and more creative, innovative and entrepreneurial labor force.

However, the research in Istanbul and Beyoğlu shows that diversity is not a primary concern of local governments, namely the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the district municipalities. While the emphasis is on socio-economic differences between different social groups, ethnic and cultural diversity is not taken into consideration. On the other hand, although they remain inefficient in many social issues, it can still be inferred that local governments are relatively more sensitive to diversity issues compared to the central government authorities.

*Istanbul Provincial Special Administration*¹⁹

The provincial special administrations in metropolitan provinces have been abolished following the local elections in 2014. Before the abolishment of the institution, an

¹⁹ With the Law No. 6360, Law on the Establishment of Thirteen Metropolitan Municipalities in Thirteen Provinces and Twenty-six Districts and Amending Certain Laws and Decree Laws, published in the Official Gazette on 6 December 2012, the Special Provincial Administrations and the villages in metropolitans will be abolished with the 2014 local elections.

interview was conducted with the head of Social Services Department of Istanbul Provincial Special Administration.

The Directorate of Social Services adopted policies to facilitate the social integration of disadvantaged people (IPSO, 2012). These policies had particular emphasis on disabled people, and in that respect, the institution introduced policies and strategies to provide special education and training services for disabled people, vocational courses, physical and mental rehabilitation services, social and health centers, as well as regulations to make the built environment more accessible for the physically handicapped people. Besides disabled people, the interviewee also emphasizes that the department supports women and children, who are in need of help. This support includes training courses and sheltering for women who suffer from violence, and nursery schools for children of poor families. Moreover, he particularly emphasizes that the institution does not have any specific policies and support for the immigrants in Istanbul.

The interviewee indicates that *“These policies and supports have nothing to do with diversity. Rather than diversity, it is better to use ‘cultural mosaic’. Although diversity is an attractive term, Turkish society is not ready to acknowledge the wide meaning of it, and there is not institutional and organizational basis in Turkey to support different voices and help marginalized communities.”* The interviewee adds that it is not easy to discuss ethnic and religious diversity in Turkey, since these dimensions of diversity are seen as taboos.

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

The Metropolitan Municipality in Istanbul has a very powerful position within the city regarding the identification of main urban policies and practices. In line with the ministries, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality focuses on socio-economic (different income groups, poor, unemployed people, etc.), and demographic diversity (children, young people, elders, disabled people, women) with a particular emphasis on disadvantaged parts of the society. The problems and specific needs of immigrants,

and ethnic, cultural and religious groups are not addressed within the existing policy documents and plans.

An interview was conducted with the Coordinator of Social and Cultural Affairs Department of the Metropolitan Municipality. The interviewee presents a more conscious approach by admitting and emphasizing that the governmental authorities in Turkey do not take diverse groups much into consideration when developing and introducing urban policies and planning interventions. He states that *“While preparing our spatial plans, we take diversity-related issues into consideration, as it is not possible to think the city independently from its demographic and social structure. However, I have to admit that we do not draw much attention to identify and plan for the needs and demands of culturally and ethnically diverse communities. Even if we concern diversity in our reports and policy documents, plans and planning practices do not reflect any concerns or perspectives on diversity. We hope we may be able to put more emphasis and attention on urban diversity in our policies and plans in the future.”* The analysis of the 1/100.000 scale Istanbul Environmental Plan, which was prepared in 2006 by the Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Design Centre²⁰, also shows that the statement *“the need to support and enhance diversity of this metropolitan area”* is defined in a general way, and there are no specific measures and planning tools regarding this discourse.

Moreover, during the interview, the expert has emphasized the need for the integration of diverse and disadvantaged communities into society. He also criticizes the urban renewal projects and their negative impacts on diversity by stating that *“Although some of the policies seem to support urban diversity, what actualizes is exactly the opposite. Recent urban transformation and renewal projects are particularly functioning against diversity. These projects exclude people with diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.”*

²⁰ Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Design Centre was established in 2005 as an affiliate company of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Uzun, 2010).

District Municipality

Within the scope of this study, an interview was conducted with one of the vice mayors of Beyoğlu Municipality. In line with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the district municipality in Beyoğlu also puts special emphasis on disadvantaged groups. The interviewee indicates that the primary aim of the social policies of Beyoğlu Municipality is to support low-income families, disabled people and students through the social support schemes and programmes. The support for disadvantaged groups is aimed to be actualized through the establishment of neighborhood halls and community health centers, provision of allowance to low-income families who are not able to meet their needs, such as coal aid, food aid, cleaning services, medical aid for disabled people, and school supplies aid for children. Although these social assistances are important to support people who are in need of help, they are far from adopting a comprehensive approach to increase the equal and active participation and inclusion of disadvantaged people into urban life. In addition, according to the budget programmes of the last five years, the amount of resources allocated to provide social support and cultural services for disadvantaged groups are rather limited.

Moreover, during the interview, the interviewee states that he does not prefer to use the word ‘diversity’, since the notion does not mean anything and not make much sense, although he mentions significant processes of participation, conciliation, and dialog within the urban renewal projects undertaken in the district. He particularly mentions Tarlabası Renewal Project, and highlights how the project contributes to the area and its residents. He believes that Tarlabası Renewal Project and other renewal projects are quite successful efforts to solve the social problems of vulnerable groups living in the redeveloped areas, although his views do not much reflect the reality. While the concepts of equal opportunity and participation are highly emphasized both by the interviewee and within the strategic plans, the concepts do not take place in existing urban practices, especially within the redevelopment projects initiated by the Municipality.

8.2.3. Non-Governmental Organizations

To analyze the non-governmental approaches towards diversity in the governance structure of Istanbul, and Beyoğlu in particular, several interviews have been conducted with professional organizations, academics/universities, a private consultancy firm, and various civil society organizations.

Private (Consultancy) Companies

In Beyoğlu, there are many governance arrangements, including civil society organizations, professional services, and consultancy companies that function as mechanisms to inform local people about urban renewal projects undertaken within the district, increase the participation of people within these projects, and/or organize people against the negative impacts of such projects. Within the scope of the study, an interview has been made with the manager of a private consultancy firm in Beyoğlu, namely Urban Strategy (Kentsel Strateji), which provides advisory services to the public and private sectors, and local people in the fields of urban regeneration and urban transformation processes. The company aims to increase the participation of local residents into redevelopment processes ongoing in Beyoğlu, such in Tarlabası. Considering the Tarlabası Renewal Project, the selected company, acts as a mediator between three main parties of the project, namely the Beyoğlu Municipality, the construction firm, and the inhabitants of the project area.

Urban Strategy has adopted a conciliation process comprised of 6 main steps (6B), namely information dissemination, raising awareness, conjoining all stakeholders, managing the expectations, removal of uncertainties, adoption of the project by all stakeholders. The company has also prepared a ‘Strategic Social Plan’ which aims to compromise the expectations of the municipality, the developer, the residents, and civil society organizations. The plan emphasizes the historical, social, demographic and cultural diversity of the area, and the potential of creating opportunities out of this diversity.

On the other hand, although the aim of the whole conciliation process was to ensure the participation of all parties, prevent unfair gains from the renewal process, and minimize the possible unjust treatment and disadvantaged positions of the inhabitants sourced from increase in costs and dislocation, the current impacts of the renewal project in Tarlabası show that the outcome has been far from these.

The interviewee emphasizes that *“Although urban redevelopment and renewal projects take the needs and demands of different social groups into consideration to some extent, diversity of populations and project areas is not the main concern in planning practices. Projects focus on real estate development, and disregard social aspects.”* According to the conciliation manager, socio-economic, ethnic or cultural diversity is not taken into consideration within the existing policies and practices. Therefore, plans and measures cannot achieve to maintain the diversity of certain parts of the city. He also emphasizes that *“Urban diversity should be supported at every scale and by all governance actors, from the central government to civil society actors, from national policies to neighborhood level practices. However, it is not the case in Turkey. National and local policies and practices are disconnected.”*

In addition, he was not clear about the level of contribution that his company would make to protect the diversity of the Tarlabası area. He thinks that non-governmental actors mostly remain weak and ineffective in such processes in which diversity and social structures of urban areas are severely affected.

Universities/Academics

Two in-depth interviews have been conducted with two academics from different universities in Istanbul, namely, Bilgi University and Yıldız Technical University. The academics emphasize that urban diversity has been a popular political and academic discourse, however, it is not included in existing urban policies and planning practices. By disregarding the growing diversity of communities in policy-making and practices, the existing central and local government authorities produce

increasing social and spatial segregation within communities, which seriously threatens the future of Turkish cities, and Istanbul, as the most particular case.

The two interviewees harshly criticize the major interventions used to revitalize or redevelop historic sites and neighborhoods, and urban transformation projects undertaken by the government since 2012 and carried out in partnership with the private sector. The academics state that these projects negatively affect the ethnic and cultural diversity in these neighborhoods by harming the historical structure, and the composition of populations, especially immigrants, through gentrification/urban clearance processes. The interviewee from Bilgi University states that *“Urban areas that attract high levels of immigrants, accommodate low-income people, and include socio-economic, ethnic and cultural diversity are seen by the authorities as deteriorated and deprived areas that have to be redeveloped. However, urban transformation should be undertaken with the involvement of people who live in the redeveloped areas. Urban space and its inhabitants constitute a whole, thus should be treated as integrated elements.”* As indicated by the interviewees, urban renewal projects undertaken in Istanbul and Beyoğlu through top-down processes harm and eliminate social networks and neighborhood relations. They add that although civil society is very active in informing people about the negative impacts of such projects, creating awareness and organizing people at local level, in most cases they are not able to change the adverse outcomes, as seen in Sulukule and Historical Yedikule Gardens transformation projects.

According to the academics, approaches and policies of the central and local governments regarding urban diversity are limited to delivering services to low-income groups, as well as the interventions on the built environment, including the construction of huge residences and cultural centers, which are not much related to the support of diversity and a multicultural society. On the other hand, the interviewees emphasize that local governments can be effective to some extent by helping the poor through neighborhood centers (semt merkezleri) and social aids such as food aid, nursing homes for the elderly, and some special services for disadvantaged children and women. However, the scholars indicate that the needs of

certain diverse groups are mostly ignored by policy-makers, such as immigrants, which obstructs their integration into the society and urban life. They emphasize that the local government in Beyoğlu, namely the Beyoğlu Municipality, does not address illegal immigrants from African, Asian and the Middle East countries, and does not involve them into their service provision schemes, including accommodation, food aid, and special services for disadvantaged groups such as elder people and children. Moreover, while the academics draw attention to the need for responding to demands of all diverse groups and to the inclusion of disadvantaged groups and immigrants into the urban life within the framework of the concept of ‘the right to city’, they find existing government policies homogenizing and discriminating. As they add, such homogenization is clearly seen in religious practices, which focuses on ‘Sunni Islam’ values, and explicitly excludes other beliefs.

Professional Organizations

Based on the interviews conducted with the representatives of the professional organizations in Istanbul, namely the Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of City Planners, the common idea is that although the discourse of diversity has recently been increasing in Turkish society, it does not become integrated with the existing policies and practices. As emphasized by the representatives of these professional chambers, there is a growing gap between the discourse and the practices of central and local governments. In that sense, the representatives of the professional organizations agree with the academics.

The interviewees emphasize that the main concern of the political decision-makers is to hold the power in the transfer of urban rent to certain groups while disregarding the needs and demands of other groups. It manifests itself in the recent urban transformation projects undertaken in Istanbul which increasingly result in the loss of historical and cultural heritage, and negative effects on socio-economic, cultural and ethnic groups in redeveloped neighborhoods, as seen in gentrification processes and dislocation of many disadvantaged groups to the outskirts of the city.

In addition, the representatives also draw attention to the attitudes of the central and local governments towards different sexual identities, including lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals. The interviewees indicate that there are no policies for these groups to meet their demands and prevent their discrimination within the society.

According to the representative from the Chamber of Architects Istanbul Branch, the state pursues a clear assimilationist policy with respect to diversity, and it has become the most apparent in recent years. This policy has been mostly manifested through religious practices, including compulsory courses on religion in schools, the growing number of mosques constructed in Istanbul, the efforts to open up public places to religious practices (such as transformation of Hagia Sophia into a mosque, and establishment of new associations for this purpose, etc.), and the neglect of claims of religious groups for places of worship. As indicated by the interviewee, the central government imposes on conservative values in Turkey.

As both interviewees emphasize, as the professional chambers of architects and city planners, their role regarding diversity is to foster participatory processes in urban projects and planning decisions by bringing different governance actors (local governments, civil society organizations, business organizations, universities, etc.) together through meetings, workshops and forums. The most important role is defined as highlighting the problems and the negative impacts of various urban projects on diverse groups through these participatory activities, preparing reports, and creating awareness among the society. However, as emphasized by the interviewees, the opinions and reports of the chambers are mostly ignored by the central and local policy-makers and planners, since they are in most cases not in line with the interests of the governmental actors.

Civil Society Organizations

During the first fieldwork, two interviews were conducted with the representatives of two selected civil society organizations, namely Galata Association, and the

Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu, which focus on different dimensions of diversity located in Beyoğlu. In the second part of the fieldwork, in-depth interviews have been made with the representatives from 21 civil society organizations. Together with the two NGOs from the first fieldwork, in total, 23 interviews have been conducted with the selected NGOs and local initiatives, which are located in Beyoğlu.

A majority of the selected initiatives have a legal status of non-governmental organizations, either association or a foundation. On the other hand, a small group of the selected initiatives has no legal status, and they are mostly organized as grassroots arrangements, or umbrella platforms. The selected 23 civil society organizations work for vulnerable, disadvantaged, and diverse groups including women, children, disabled people, people with different sexual orientation and gender identity, ethnic and cultural groups, international immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers and compatriot groups. In addition, in Istanbul, and Beyoğlu in particular, there are many right-based organizations in forms of associations, foundations, or advocacy groups working for promoting fundamental rights and freedoms, and fighting against discrimination and human rights violations. Three initiatives, in this respect, focus on the support of basic human and freedoms, and the fight against discrimination.

As already mentioned, the definition of governance arrangements mostly covers the civil-society organizations in Turkey. Therefore, in the rest of this chapter, governance arrangements refer to these civil-society actors and governance initiatives, and the relationships and collaborations between those actors.

8.3. Diversity Related Fields of Governance Arrangements

The governance arrangements comprised of non-governmental organizations mostly work in the fields in which the central and local governments have little interest and support. These areas include empowerment of disadvantaged groups, international migration, representation of ethnic, cultural, and religious groups, representation of

diverse sexual orientations and gender identities, promotion of human rights and freedoms and prevention of discrimination, neighborhood-based support including and targeting the physically and socio-economically deprived neighborhoods, improvement of the physical image of the district, and the support of compatriot groups.

8.3.1. Migration

Immigrants and Asylum-Seekers

Among the selected organizations, three of them define their target groups as immigrants and asylum seekers (Table 8.1).

ASAM Istanbul works for providing support to the Syrian refugees by providing them legal, social and psychological help and consultancy services. Syrian asylum-seekers According to the official figures of UNHCR (2015), the number of Syrian asylum-seekers has already reached 1.5 million in January 2015, and this number is estimated to reach 1.7 million at the end of 2015. Since 2011, when the conflicts started in Syria, the Syrian people who came to Istanbul live in vulnerable positions, struggling with extreme poverty, homelessness, poor and unhealthy conditions, informal working and labor exploitation, and sheltering in the deprived, and derelict buildings of disadvantaged neighborhoods, especially in Tarlabası area. Therefore, initiated in 2014 by the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), ASAM Istanbul has been working in collaboration with UNHCR as an implementing partner. The initiative endeavors to respond to the needs of Syrian people, especially in increasing their access to social and healthcare services. Moreover, as emphasized by the project coordinator during the interview, the support provided by ASAM Istanbul is sensitive to hyper-diversity within the asylum-seekers, which takes into consideration the needs of the most vulnerable, namely the disabled, children, women, LGBT individuals, and other diverse groups among the Syrian people who come and ask for support from the initiative.

Table 8.1 Local initiatives focusing on migration related fields (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture Göç Edenler Sosyal Yardımlaşma Ve Kültür Derneği (GÖÇ- DER)	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği (SGDD)	Caritas Turkey Caritas Türkiye
Focus	Meeting the basic needs of people experienced forced displacement, finding solutions to their accommodation, health, education, communication and language-related problems and helping them in terms of economic and legal support * GÖÇ-DER is working in cooperation with the central and local government authorities. * The organization works with the private sector as well as national and international NGOs especially those working in the issues of migration.	Aiming to defend the human rights of international migrants in Turkey (refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons regardless of race, religion, nationality or political conviction) * ASAM İstanbul is working in collaboration with UNHCR as an "implementing partner". * ASAM İstanbul works with many partners and has strong network relations with 196 national/ international NGOs working on migration issues.	Providing services in the fields of emergencies, health, education, social adjustment and employment to migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers and minorities
Involvement of Stakeholders			Caritas Turkey works in collaboration with other Caritas members such as Caritas Italy, Spain, Germany, France, the Netherlands (Cordaid) in carrying out its humanitarian work..
Target Audience	Disadvantaged groups including people who have experienced forced displacement and ethnic groups	Refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced people * For ASAM İstanbul, the only target audience is Syrians.	Refugees, migrants, international migrants, ill-treated women, children, the elderly, handicapped people and minorities
Understanding Diversity	Diversity is a positive feature that should be supported, although the recent policies try to standardize and homogenize the people within the society. Working areas of the association directly relates to ethnic and cultural diversity as well as diversity of different opinions.	All kinds of diversity (socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural) are at the core of the projects. The organization also concerns the diversity within it's focus group (Syrian migrants).	The diversity understanding of the organization is based on socio-demographic and ethnic differences. Caritas Turkey's focus groups are asylum-seekers and migrants. Especially women and children migrants are at the core of their immediate/ after-crisis projects, since they are the most vulnerable ones among others.
Goals / Activities	* Giving help to migrants both in kind and in cash * Conducting studies related to migration and publish reports to publicize the activities of the association * Helping migrants in preparation and submission of petitions to the National Parliament and other authorities for the compensation of material and psychological losses and for creation of necessary conditions for returning back to their villages	* Developing projects for public awareness * Improving the living conditions of migrants (education, health, sheltering etc.). * Establishing communication networks between asylum-seekers * Providing consultancy services (psychological, legal, educational) for Syrian asylum-seekers * Defending the rights of different ethnic groups who apply for consultancy or guidance	* Providing services in the fields of emergencies, health, education, social adjustment and employment to the disadvantaged groups. * Providing medical and food assistance and legal advice, helping children with their education and searching employment opportunities for adults * Providing diverse kinds of consultancy (legal, psychological).
Resources / Funding	The resources of the organization are coming from membership fees and donations	The major resources are coming from the UNHCR and the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. Funds and grants from EU projects are the secondary sources of the organization. Non-fiscal helps of local bodies such as İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the municipalities of Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu, individual donations and membership fees are the other financial resources.	Not answered

The Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (GÖÇ-DER), on the other hand, endeavors to support immigrants in socio-economic, cultural, and legal issues and defend the rights of ethnic groups and disadvantaged immigrants, namely the Kurdish people, who have experienced forced migration and displacement from their homelands in the east and southeastern regions of Turkey after the 1990s. The association tries to find solutions to the accommodation, health, education, communication and language-related problems of immigrants, and help them in terms of social, economic and legal support. It also helps the migrants in preparation and submission of petitions to the National Parliament and other responsible authorities, such as the petitions for the compensation for their material losses and psychological problems (GÖÇ-DER, 2013). As stated by the head during the interview, the organization also works for the implementation of required regulations and legislations for the conditions for migrants' return to their villages.

Caritas Turkey aims to provide services to migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers in the fields of emergencies, health, education, social adjustment and employment. The initiative is established in 1991, as a branch of Caritas Internationalist, which is a confederation of 162 Catholic donators. Among its activities, there are projects for assistance in security, providing food aid for the needy, and response to urgent events such as flooding, earthquakes and refugee influxes. Recently, Syrian asylum-seekers have been at the agenda of the organization. Since 2013, Caritas Turkey has developed many projects for Syrians' integration process.

As the representative of the initiative states, women and children immigrants are at the core of their immediate/after-crisis projects, since they are the most vulnerable. Therefore, the organization has the priority in the provision of food, shelters, and healthcare and education services. The initiative also develops projects with a special focus on these immigrant groups. The interviewee gives the example of Women Group Project launched in 2006 as being the only cultural and social event that enables migrant women to know each other and the host country, during various touristic journeys. Migrant women apply for the journey and choose one of the destinations that Caritas Turkey suggests. The most preferred destinations are being

selected, and before the journey, all the applicants are being informed about the activities and basic characteristics of the area. These journeys include entertaining activities (touristic tours and dinners), language courses (Turkish and English), and some basic art studies like wood painting.

Moreover, to create public awareness, the initiative organizes “The Refugees’ Day” celebrations. These events take place every year in a selected church, and popular music groups and artists perform all day. It is carried out for creating a space of encounter for immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as native population, and promoting communication and cultural exchange among newcomers and settled residents.

8.3.2. Empowerment of Disadvantaged Groups

In Beyoğlu, there are many local and city-level initiatives work for the empowerment of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. Among the selected initiatives, there are three prominent target groups, namely the women, children, and disabled people (Table 8.2). On the other hand, some of the governance arrangements do not focus on a specific target group, but target disadvantaged groups in general, however with a wider definition of disadvantaged groups, including women, children, disabled people, young people, international immigrants, asylum-seekers, refugees, and ethnic, religious and cultural groups.

Women

Four of the initiatives directly work for women as their target groups, but each focusing on different aspects of women’s problems. These are Mor Çatı Women’s Shelter Foundation, Women’s Solidarity Foundation, the Foundation for the Support of Women’s Work, and Gökkuşığı Women Association. Mor Çatı Women’s Shelter Foundation works for fighting violence against women, and empowering women’s solidarity. The initiative offers consultations, legal assistance and psychological

support for women facing violence, provides shelters to keep women safe from violence, and consultation centers for women. It also organizes workshops, trainings, and conferences for sharing of experiences and information.

Gökkuşağı Women Association focuses on ethnic and immigrant women, especially Kurdish women, and aims to create joint platforms for specific problems that ethnic and immigrant women face, namely sexual abuse, violence, lack of access to employment and discrimination, etc. The organization endeavors to develop solidarity networks against all kinds of violence and discrimination of women, provides cultural activities and training facilities, as well as support the opening and development of workspaces such as workshops and producer cooperatives for women to enable them to have their economic independence.

Women's Solidarity Foundation (KADAV) aims to foster women solidarity, create tools and facilities for economic and social empowerment for structurally discriminated women, and increase social and economic participation of women. In this respect, the initiative provides psychological and legal consultancy, secure residence, medical care support, job trainings, vocational courses, and social and cultural activities for women. A priority of KADAV is to join national and international women's platforms, seminars, and campaigns through which different aspects of women issues are handled, including violence, problems of foreign women and refugee women, women's participation into employment, as well as problems of LGBT individuals, and sex workers.

Similarly, the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (KEDV) aims to support women through capacity building for social and economic empowerment and improve women's and children's quality of life, especially living in deprived and disadvantaged urban areas. For this purpose, the initiative offers educational, training and leadership improvement services. In addition, it provides micro-credits to women's cooperatives, and manages a commercial enterprise called "NAHIL" to sell the products of women cooperatives, as well as runs a micro-credit institution 'MAYA' to offer credits to women to start or improve their businesses.

Table 8.2 Local initiatives focusing on empowerment of diverse and disadvantaged groups (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation <i>Mor Çatı Kadın Sigırtma Vakfı</i>	Galkayağı Women Association <i>Galkayağı Kadın Derneğı</i>	Women's Solidarity Foundation (WSF) <i>Kadınlarda Dayanışma Vakfı (KADAY)</i>	Foundation for the Support of Women's Work <i>Kadın Emegini Değerlendirme Vakfı (KEDV)</i>
Focus	Aiming to strengthen the fight against women's violence and creating solidarity networks to end the violence against women	Aiming to eliminate the inequality of women in the society and solving the problems of women by enabling them to be actively involved in social, political, legal, economic and cultural spheres of life	Increasing women solidarity and raising awareness in society to act in solidarity with women	Supporting women through capacity building for empowerment and improving women's and children's quality of life especially living in the most deprived parts of Turkey
Involvement of Stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The foundation runs its independent shelter project with the support of Şişli Municipality, The European Commission Delegation of Turkey. * There is cooperation between Mor Çatı and other national and international women-based NGOs. * It collaborates with international organizations such as EU and several consulates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The organization is actively working with women platforms (e.g. KEİG) and NGOs (e.g. Mor Çatı). Besides, the organization also works with local administrative bodies in policy making (consultancy for local governments) and organizing joint seminars. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The organization works with local public bodies such as municipalities, governorships, universities, other NGOs, joint platforms of women's movement such as Women Platform Against Sexual Violence etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The foundation works with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, local public bodies (municipalities), governorships, national and international NGOs, women's collectives and private companies through project partnerships.
Target Audience	Women and children facing violence	Women (focus on Kurdish women)	Women, Children, Migrants, Refugees and Asylum-Seekers	women and children
Understanding Diversity	Different needs created from different material conditions should be equally treated and this reflects how Mor Çatı perceives and deals with diversity. No matter what their ethnic origin, culture, socio-economic status, lifestyles, opinions, habits or characteristics are, they can apply Mor Çatı.	The organization is more concerned with gender and ethnicity related differences but it also works on other dimensions of diversity such as socio-economic, demographic, cultural diversity under the heading of "women".	The target audience of KADAY is mainly women, but it conducts projects and produces policies on children, ethnic groups, people who are involved in crime and LGBTT individuals. KADAY's perception of diversity is that 'no group has any right to have domination over another group'.	The works of KEDV focus on socio-economic diversity as they are mostly carried out in the poorer areas. KEDV works with many different women groups from any region of the country regardless of their country or origin.
Goals / Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Strengthening the fight against domestic violence and creating solidarity among women * Providing consultations, legal assistance and psychological support for women facing violence * Providing shelters to keep women safe from violence * Providing consultation centers for women * Organizing workshops, trainings, conferences and conventions for sharing of experiences and information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Developing a solidarity network against all kinds of violence and discrimination of women * Providing support to open women's shelters * Supporting the opening and development of workspaces such as workshops and producer cooperatives for women to enable them to have their economic independence * Providing any kind of cultural and training facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Creating tools and facilities for economic and social empowerment that lead to power and liberation for structurally discriminated women. * Providing psychological and legal consultancy, secure residence, medical care, job training and employment and other social, cultural and economic needs of women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Supporting women cooperatives * Providing early child care and education services * Managing the commercial enterprise called "NAHİL" to sell the products of women cooperatives * Running a micro-credit institution MAYA to offer credits to women to start or improve their businesses
Resources / Funding	Grants provided by EU-based projects, donations from individuals and different institutions, support by Şişli Municipality, own revenues of the foundation and resources from the commercial enterprises of the foundation, grants from Urgant Action Fund for Women's Human Rights	The resources of the organization are largely composed of the organization's own revenues from book-selling etc. and grants coming from EU projects. Membership fees also contribute to overall revenues of the organization.	Funds and supports from ACT Netherlands and CORDAID, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), NGO Kobe, UMCOR, ECHO-Mercy Corps, Istanbul Hollanda Konsoloshu, Başbakanlık Teşvik Fonu SKAP Programı ve National Endowment for Democracy (NED)	Project-based grants from EU and other international funding bodies, as well as resources from temporary supporters and project partners in the private sector and from donations (individuals and private companies), earnings from NAHİL, MAYA are the main resources of KEDV.

Table 8.2 (Cont'd) Local initiatives focusing on empowerment of diverse and disadvantaged groups

Name of the Initiative	The Association of Children of Hope <i>Umut Çocukları Derneği</i>	The Association of Disable People Turkey - Istanbul <i>Türkiye Sakatlar Derneği, İstanbul</i>	Social and Cultural Life Association <i>Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşam Geliştirme Derneği (SKYGD)</i>	Human Resource Development Foundation (HRDF) <i>İnsan Kaynakları Geliştirme Vakfı (İRGV)</i>
Focus	Aiming to improve the living conditions of children, adolescents, young people and adults who live in the streets and under adverse conditions	Representing the people with physical, visual, aural and mental disabilities and chronic disease	Supporting art and culture activities in regions where social and cultural life has been damaged or reexamining these activities in regions where weakened because of natural disasters, war, terror, etc. (to benefit from the restoring strength of art and enable the	Empowerment of vulnerable groups - performing any and all activities in order to contribute to the solution of health, education and employment problems which have a negative impact on the economic, social and cultural development of
Involvement of Stakeholders	*The organization makes social projects by establishing strong networks with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality & district municipalities, Ministry of Family and Social Policies, universities (Özyeğin University etc.), other NGOs (The Association of Street Children- Turkey, etc.) and private firms. The Association of Children of Hope, NGOs and universities conduct joint projects	*The Association of Disable People-Turkey works in collaboration with local governments (nearly with every district municipality in Istanbul). They are having monthly joint meetings to determine the needs of the disabled people and to search for possible solutions.	*The organization works in cooperation with regional, national and international NGOs, private sector, and public institutions.	* Collaboration with central and local government authorities (İMM, District Municipalities, İstanbul Governorship), private sector, national and international NGOs, intergovernmental organisations such as UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Organisation for Migration, etc. * Implementing partner of UNHCR and UNFPA; member of national and international networks and commissions including Network to End Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children etc.
Target Audience	Children, adolescents, young people and adults in street	People with physical, visual, aural and mental disabilities and chronic disease	Groups subjected to social and/or economic exclusion such as children under difficult conditions, people diagnosed mentally ill, prisoners, women, old age people, homeless people, LGBT people, etc.	Women, children, youth, migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, ethnic groups, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, sex workers
Understanding Diversity	The organization's diversity understanding revolves around "disadvantaged groups" with a special focus on children and youngsters, but other people are also very welcome to benefit from the organization's services	"A diverse community" for the organization means the society that consists of non-disabled and disabled people. The association attaches special attention to the diversity among disabled people. Since the organization is the only NGO interested in all kinds of disability, it considers the special needs of every different group.	The association supports different dimensions of diversity such as cultural, social, economic, ethnic, gender etc. Recently, the association has widened its scope and included every group of people exposed to all types of exclusion, such as children, elderly, young, women, ethnic groups, sex workers, LGBTT people, etc.	The diversity understanding of the organization is centered upon three dimensions of diversity: cultural, ethnic and sexual identity. The works mostly touch upon socio-demographic, ethnic diversity and the differences in lifestyles (in terms of transgender people).
Goals / Activities	* Determining and informing the related institutions for children working under difficult conditions and compelled to beg * Making regional studies to identify substance abuse and convincing the people to be treated at rehabilitation centers * Providing cooperation with experts and institutions during the process of integration into society and rehabilitation Starting education and employment oriented projects for the needy people	* Creating a contemporary social model where disabled people can be integrated with other members of the society, which can show that disabled can be able to cope with the necessities of daily life without help. * Reaching millions of people and making disabled people know each other to prevent the sense of loneliness.	* Supporting art and culture activities in regions where social and cultural life has been damaged or reexamine these activities in regions where weakened due to natural disasters, war, terror, etc. * Carrying out projects with groups under risk or subjected to social and/or economical exclusion * Conducting art workshops with children under difficult conditions, people diagnosed mentally ill, prisoners and groups subjected to social and/or economical exclusion	* Empowering the human resource through advocacy, training and service provision * Developing and implementing programs for irregular migration, human trafficking problem, community development and empowerment of women, promoting reproductive health and rights, etc. * Providing legal, psychological and social support to refugees and victims of human trafficking * Promoting reproductive health and rights trainings * Working with sex workers to empower them and to raise their awareness on sexual health
Resources / Funding	The resources of the organization are composed of grants from EU-based projects, donations from public, non-fiscal contributions of local governments (provision of food or sheltering for short periods) and membership fees which are very small in amount.	The resources of the organization consist of temporary sponsor supports (media channels and private firms), donations from society, membership fees and local governments' non-fiscal contributions (provision of space for meetings). All these revenues are being used to cover administration and activity costs.	Human Rights In Mental Health Initiative, Civil Society In The Penal System Association, Anadolu Culture	The resources are comprised of donations, state support, project-based grants from international sources such as UN, EU, UNDP, UNHCR, Embassies of different countries such as US, Netherlands, etc., Consultants, UNTRUST Fund, ILO, IOM, etc.

Children

Children of Hope Association (Umut Çocukları Derneği) aims to help and provide support to street children and young people who are in need of help, separated from their families, forced to work in the streets under bad conditions, exposed to violence and abuse, and/or addicted to drugs and alcohol. The organization endeavors to get these children and young people off the streets, reunite them with their families, rehabilitate and educate them against bad habits. The association informs related institutions about the children working in the streets and compelled to beg, and gets in cooperation with experts and institutions during the process of integration into society and rehabilitation. The projects cover the rehabilitation and integration processes of children living in street, the provision of shelters, food, clothes, etc., especially in cooperation with the central and local governments, and private organizations. The organization also contributes to the educational improvement of children and young people living in street by providing training and vocational courses that contribute them to find a proper job according to their skills.

According to the head of the organization, they work for overcoming the biased attitude towards children living in streets. To enable that, he says, the projects of the initiative primarily aim to show that these children are not harmful for society once they have the chance of being rehabilitated, and being involved into the society. The head adds, in that way, their different experiences, cultures will directly contribute to their inclusion, and social diversity in a positive way.

Disabled People

Built environment and public areas are not accessible. Although with the Law No. 5378 enacted in 2005, the local governments had to fulfill the requirements in seven years regarding the accessibility for disabled people, the regulations and adjustments are far from being satisfactory. Moreover, the reports of many national and international organizations show that disabled people suffer from discriminatory treatments, public ignorance, violence, and abuse in Turkey and Istanbul in particular

(EŞHİD, 2011). The Istanbul Branch of the Association of Disabled People in Turkey works for providing solutions to the problems of disabled people, including all people with physical, visual, and mental disabilities, and creating participatory platforms for disabled people. The support of the association includes the food allowance, financial support, non-refundable grants for disabled students, and donations of medical instruments for physically disabled people. The organization provides art, music, and rhythm courses, vocational courses such as packaging, soap making and jewelry design, as well as organizes monthly entertainment nights for all disabled people. As one of the members of the administrative board states, the organization attaches great importance to these activities in order to increase social mobility and social inclusion of disabled people, as well as to enable disabled people to live in better social and economic conditions. They also organize informative meetings, prepare educational publications, and social assistance projects.

Disadvantaged Groups (with no specific target group)

Although these are typically targeted groups of the selected governance arrangements, some of the governance arrangements do not focus on a specific target group, but target disadvantaged groups in general. For example, Human Resource Development Foundation works for the empowerment of vulnerable groups. For this purpose, the organization performs activities to contribute to the solution of health, education and employment problems of the disadvantaged communities, including women, children, young people, immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, ethnic groups, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, and sex-workers. It develops and implements programs for irregular migration, human trafficking problem, and provides legal, psychological and social support to refugees and victims of human trafficking. In addition, to empower of women, the foundation promotes reproductive health and rights through training programs. It also works with sex workers to raise their awareness on sexual health.

Similarly, Social and Cultural Life Association targets vulnerable groups who are subjected to social and economic exclusion such as children under difficult conditions, mentally disabled people, prisoners, women, elders, homeless people, and LGBT people. In this respect, the organization puts its main objective as supporting art and culture activities in areas where social and cultural life has been damaged, and reanimating these activities in regions where these activities weaken due to natural disasters, war, terror, etc. The aim is to benefit from the restoring strength of art and enable the skills, perceptions and relationships that have been interrupted.

8.3.3. Representation of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and Cultural Groups

Ethnic, Cultural, Linguistic and Religious Groups

Although the population of ethnic and non-Muslim groups decreased after a series of political events especially before the 1980s, various groups still constitute a significant part of Beyoğlu's population, and play an important role in the current diverse character of Beyoğlu. Therefore, another target group of the selected initiatives is identified as the ethnic, religious and cultural groups. The withdrawal of the governmental actors from the issues related to ethnic, cultural and religious diversity has encouraged the proliferation of local initiatives and NGOs, as clearly seen from the Beyoğlu case.

Activities to increase their integration into society without repression of their identity are important, and the initiatives aim to make them more visible, which can be considered an important step in their integration without discrimination. Therefore, local initiatives and NGOs as in different organizational forms have been working to protect the rights of ethnic and cultural groups, mainly including Rum, Armenian, Romani and Kurdish people in Istanbul, who are concentrated within the different neighborhoods of Beyoğlu. In this respect, the Roma People Platform aims to enhance the involvement of the Romani people into the society by creating a common ground in which people voice their problems and needs regarding their

representation, and support their democratic rights, enhance their access to public services, as well as to sheltering and employment (see Table 8.3). It is an umbrella platform, which gathers separate Romani people's associations under the same roof, and creates collective actions against any kind of violation to rights of Romani people. Romani people, who have long been living all across Turkey but do not have legal minority status, suffer from poverty, and displacement as a result of urban transformation projects, as in the case of Sulukule. Therefore, Roma People Platform gives priority to raising awareness for the problems of Romani community, especially resulting from urban renewal projects and socio-spatial segregation, and informing society about the displacement of Romani people across Turkey via media channels and press briefs.

Table 8.3 Local initiatives focusing on representation of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Anadolu Culture <i>Anadolu Kültür</i>	Roman's Platform <i>Roman Platformu</i>
Focus	Supporting the production and sharing of culture and art in the cities across Turkey and abroad; aiming to set up bridges between different ethnic, social, religious and regional groups through cultural and art activities; supporting regional initiatives, emphasizing cultural diversity and cultural rights and consolidating interregional collaboration	Gathering all separate Roman associations under an umbrella platform to make collective actions against any kind of violation to human rights of Roman people; informing Roman people about their legal and civil rights; raising awareness to Roman's problems generated from the displacement processes arising from the urban renewal projects
Involvement of Stakeholders	The organization works in collaboration with different national and international organizations such as Hrant Dink Foundation, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Open Society Foundation, British Council, European Commission, Eurasia, Chrest Foundation, Goethe Institut, European Cultural Foundation, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Association, Swiss Academy for Development, as well as local and central government bodies.	There is a collaboration between different Roman associations (joint meetings, press briefing, collective actions etc.). The platform also carries out joint projects with human rights promoting organizations like IHD Turkey.
Target Audience	Children, adolescents and young people	Roman people
Understanding Diversity	Anadolu Culture dreams a society freed from prejudice and tolerant to different communities. Therefore, it finds nourishment and enrichment through differences and where cultural diversity is not perceived as a source of conflict but wealth. Diversity understanding of Anadolu Culture is mainly based on cultural diversity and cultural human rights.	Roman's Platform's perception of diversity is based both on ethnicity and human rights. Platform rejects adaption policies that force people belonging different ethnic origins to follow a robotic, standardized way of living. According to the platform, instead of minorities and other small groups having their own culture, the majority of the society should "adapt" to others.
Goals / Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Supporting individuals and institutions working in the field of art * Organizing cultural and art projects in cities where the social and cultural life are less or not supported * With the aim of bringing people from different part of Turkey together; supporting collaborative film and photography activities with young people, drawing and writing workshops with children (mostly with Armenian and Kurdish) * Increasing the consciousness of people on human rights via exhibitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Raising awareness for the problems of Roman people, especially for the ones resulting from the urban renewal projects. * Informing society about the displacement of Roman's across Turkey via media channels and press briefs. * Visiting different cities for the investigation of Roman neighborhoods and having face-to-face conversations to examine the needs and problems of Roman people.
Resources / Funding	The resources of the organization are composed of the grants from EU-based projects, donations from public and private institutions and temporary sponsor supports (media channels and private firms).	The Platform does not have a separate financial resource. The associations within the platform cover the expenses.

On the other hand, Anatolian Culture is another platform that aims to develop mutual understanding and communication among different cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious groups through supporting the production of art, and creating social and cultural activities among people that belonged to diverse identities and backgrounds, mainly including Armenian and Kurdish communities. The initiative supports individuals and institutions working in the field of art, organizes cultural and art projects in areas where the social and cultural life are less or not supported, provides collaborative film and photography activities for young people, drawing and writing workshops for ethnic children, mostly Armenian and Kurdish. In addition, its project of bilingual children books aims to raise awareness among school-aged children about the diverse nature of their communities. Although the initiative cannot get support from the central and local governments due to the attitudes towards ethnic diversity and the use of ethnic languages, the works of Anatolian Culture are very important regarding its efforts in supporting diversity.

8.3.4. Representation of Different Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities

LGBT Community

LGBT (lesbians, gays, bisexual, and transgender) individuals choose Beyoğlu to live, since they mostly think that the areas like Cihangir, Tarlabası, and Kurtuluş are the places for marginal people and others, where they can live together at peace, without any unwelcoming and hostile attitude. It is also because living in Beyoğlu makes it easy to organize. Taksim Square has long been the gathering space for LGBT community where they can organize their protests, although the central government and the municipality do not support these demonstrations and events. The support and representation of different sexual identities is a taboo issue in Turkey in which the governmental authorities do not have any interest, and what is worse, the speeches of the key government officials intensify the sense of exclusion, otherness and marginalization of LGBT individuals. Therefore, another target group is LGBT community, which constitutes one of the most diverse and vulnerable parts of society,

being exposed to social exclusion. LGBT individuals have long been facing legal challenges, discrimination, harassment, violence, and hate crimes in Turkey. Among the selected governance arrangements, Istanbul LGBTTT Solidarity Association is a non-governmental organization, which is located in Beyoğlu, focus on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals and their problems, including discrimination, sexual abuse, violence, public ignorance, and struggle against homophobia and transphobia, as well as so-called hate crimes (see Table 8.4). As the representative from the initiative emphasizes, *“Istanbul LGBTTT aims to provide a non-hierarchic social environment for lesbians, gays, and transgender individuals, and to address their problems which they face in the society and in the public life, including discrimination, public ignorance, employment related problems, and sexual abuse.”*

Table 8.4 Local initiatives focusing on representation of different sexual orientations and gender identities (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Istanbul LGBTTT Solidarity Association
Focus	Aiming to defend lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals' rights. Creating a non hierarchic space for Trans and focusing on their specific problems in Turkish society
Involvement of Stakeholders	*The organization works with various kinds of partners including private firms having trans-gender employees, national& international NGOs, international LGBTTT organizations. Istanbul LGBTTT is in collaboration with other national LGBTTT's in Turkey.
Target Audience	Gay, lesbian, bi and trans-genders and other minorities
Understanding Diversity	Gender-based diversity is the main concern, but the organization also attaches importance to ethnic, cultural and socio-economic diversity.
Goals / Activities	* Fighting against transphobia and homophobia * Stopping homophobic and transphobic motivated killings and so-called hate crimes and creating pressure groups for investigation of the crimes * Providing legal and psychological support for LGBT individuals that suffered by police and community violence and discrimination.
Resources / Funding	LGBTTT Istanbul carries out its activities with the help of donations and funds provided by Eu-rope Union and other countries. The main financial resource is delivered by multi-partnered EU projects. Government and local authorities do not make any financial or non-fiscal support to Istanbul LGBTTT.

The creation of non-hierarchic spaces for transgender people is a primary objective of the organization. The initiative each year organizes Trans Pride Week in which marches, performances, demonstrations and different activities are held. The activities of Istanbul LGBTTT and other LGBT organizations are very crucial especially in Turkey, where sexual identities and preferences are not commonly accepted and recognized, both by the governments and the society, due to their existence is against morality, Turkish values, honor, family and religion.

8.3.5. Promotion of Human Rights

Different forms of governance initiatives (foundations, associations, advocacy groups, etc.) locate in Beyoğlu which aim to promote basic rights and freedoms, and fight against discrimination and human rights violations, as well as defend equality and equal opportunities (Table 8.5).

Human Rights Association concentrates on all kinds of human rights violations. The main objectives of the organization are put as supporting freedom of expression, defending equal opportunities, observing human rights violations and preparing reports to announce them to the public as well as to relevant national and international institutions. Through its different commissions each working on different fields, including freedom of thought and expression, protection of children's rights, women's rights, prevention of racism and discrimination, the organization provides counselling services, organizes campaigns, monitors human rights violations, prepares reports and announces them to public. As the representative from the initiative indicates, the organization also creates public awareness on unjust treatments and negative social impacts of the urban transformation projects, which are quite common in Beyoğlu.

Saturday Mothers (Cumartesi Anneleri) asks for justice for the disappearances in detention in Turkey and works for creating a reaction act through silent protests by mothers of the people lost in detention and died in unsolved murders. The initiative demands concrete information from the Turkish state on the fate of their children, or

Table 8.5 Local initiatives focusing on promotion of human rights (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Association for Monitoring Equal Rights <i>Eşit Haklar İzleme Derneği (EŞİHD)</i>	Human Rights Association <i>İnsan Hakları Derneği (İHD)</i>	Saturday Mothers <i>Cumartesi Anneleri</i>	Civil Society In The Penal System Association <i>Ceza Infaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum Derneği (CISST)</i>
Focus	Eliminating the violation of rights and all forms of discrimination (especially against the disadvantaged groups within the society including women, disabled people, ethnic minorities, religious minorities, lesbian, gay bisexual and transgender people)	IHD has focused on all kinds of human rights violations.	Asking for justice for the disappearances in detention in Turkey and creating a reaction act through silent protests by mothers of the people lost in detention and died in unsolved murders	Identifying the problems of the prisoners and endeavoring to find appropriate solutions for those problems
Involvement of Stake	The organization works in collaboration with national and international NGOs and other international human rights promoting organizations	The Association works with various kinds of partners including local, national and international organizations.	*Since the group works in a highly specific field, it does not work in collaboration with other organizations. Saturday mothers do not have any support from any institution or organization in Turkey, except the Human Rights Association.	The organization works in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice, which gives permissions to the CISST representatives to monitor the existing conditions in prisons. CISST collaborates with international and national NGOs giving support in strengthening the penal system in Turkey. The organization also works together with the administration of prisons.
Target Audience	Disadvantaged groups including women, disabled people, ethnic minorities, religious minorities, lesbian, gay bisexual and transgender people	Any person subjected to human rights violations	(Mothers -and relatives- of) the victims of disappearances and unsolved murders in Turkey	The Prisoners
Understanding Diversity	The association has developed a perception of diversity within the framework of equality. In that sense, all people should live in equality without any restrictions since each and every people has a right to access and use these rights equally. The organization works for every one for whom equality does not exist.	IHD declares that "not only Kurdish problem, but also the other problems emerging from language-related, religious, ethnic and cultural differences can be solved by means of pluralism principle of democracy".	For the organization, diversity stands for the expression of "colours of the life" and the reflection of those colours on the city. Every colour, every identity should have a reflect on the city and if not, that city is standardized where the existence of democracy and human rights are highly questioned.	CISST mainly aims to protect the all prisoners' rights and improve the existing conditions of prisons. However, the organization also gives a special attention to ethnic groups, LGBTTT people, etc. since those groups are regarded among the vulnerable groups within the society. They may also have different needs in prisons.
Goals / Activities	* Working for the creation of a democratic society by conducting monitoring and systematic reporting works * First, the organization monitors discrimination acts and violation of rights. Second, it monitors elections to observe whether everyone has an access to use their rights to vote and to be elected or not.	* Freedom of expression, peace, amnesty that aims to social peace. * Preventing of execution, defending equal opportunities. * Observing violations and preparing reports to announce them to the public as well as applies to relevant national and international institutions.	* Drawing attention to disappearances in custody and (political) murders by unknown assailants * Demand for concrete information (from the Turkish state) on the fate of their children, or missing family members * Demand for the determination of the perpetrators of the disappearances and trials of the those responsible for those disappearances	* Monitoring the rights of people those with special needs * Improving the social life in prisons * Providing information to the civil society about the prisons' living conditions * Ensuring internships in certain issues to the college students in prisons * Mobilizing civil society support to bring international standards to the prisons in Turkey * Making prisons more transparent and increasing their links with civil society
Resources / Funding	The resources are comprised of the grants from projects (mostly EU-based) and membership fees.	The financial resources of the organization are comprised of the grants, aids, donations and membership fees.	There are not any financial resources. People in group cover the expenses themselves.	The financial resources of CISST consist of the temporary sponsorships, grants from EU-based projects and the Consular (the Netherlands and other EU countries' consular) and donations from public.

missing family members, and asks for the determination of the perpetrators of the disappearances, and trials of those responsible for the disappearances.

Civil Society in the Penal System Association (CISST) endeavors to identify the problems of the prisoners and seek to find appropriate solutions for those problems. The main objectives of the initiative are to monitor the rights of people those with special needs in prisons, improve the social life in prisons, provide information to the public and civil society about the prisons' living conditions, mobilize civil society support to bring international standards to the prisons in Turkey, and to make prisons more transparent and increase their links with civil society.

Association for Monitoring Equal Rights works for eliminating the violation of rights and all forms of discrimination, especially against the disadvantaged groups within the society including women, disabled people, ethnic minorities, religious minorities, and LGBT individuals. In this respect, the organization monitors discrimination acts and violation of rights. In addition, it monitors the elections to observe whether everyone has an access to use their rights to vote and to be elected.

It should be noted that these organizations do not focus on a specific area, they rather adopt nation-wide approach. However, they particularly choose Beyoğlu, since the district is central in terms of its location, and it is easy to be organized in this district where the civil society is also quite active. Moreover, as also indicated during the interviews, Beyoğlu accommodates various diverse groups whose rights and freedoms need to be supported, which justifies their selection of location in Beyoğlu.

8.3.6. Neighborhood-Based Initiatives

A majority of the selected local initiatives have specific target groups. On the other hand, some of the initiatives concentrate their activities on certain neighborhoods. Tarlabası Community Centre is one of them, which does not have a particular target group, but focuses on particular neighborhoods in Tarlabası area that accommodate

a variety of socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, and demographic groups as shown in Table 8.6. The center aims to improve the living quality of the people in Tarlabası area, by providing legal counselling, and educational, social and psychological support especially focusing on children, women, young people, and unemployed individuals, but also ethnic groups, immigrants, and LGBT community. Tarlabası Community Center provides educational and cultural activities, including music groups, drawing ateliers, foreign language and literacy courses, etc. The activities of the center is very important in the sense that it forms solidarity networks and cooperation among the residents, and promotes their equal and active socio-economic participation into urban life, thus helps to enhance their social mobility and social cohesion. While the initiative through its training activities, workshops and vocational courses help the vulnerable groups gain new skills and employment opportunities, it also creates common ground where people with diverse backgrounds can come together and interact, which helps their social inclusion.

As mentioned before, there are many governance arrangements in Beyoğlu that aim to inform local people about urban renewal projects, organize residents against the negative impacts of these projects, and protect their rights. In this respect, the Association for Solidarity with Tarlabası Property Owners and Renters works for protecting the rights of property owners and renters against Tarlabası Renewal Project by informing and raising awareness, and searching for possible solutions to prevent unjust treatment of people due to the project. The target groups of the organization are the residents in Tarlabası area, including both the tenants and property owners. Although not being active anymore, the association has so far endeavored to protect the rights of inhabitants through negotiation efforts between Beyoğlu Municipality and the private company undertaken the renewal process, and by applying to international courts and organizations against violation of their rights. However, the renewal project has already negatively affected many residents due to expropriation of properties, increasing prices and rents, and displacement of households living in the area.

Table 8.6 Neighborhood-based local initiatives (Area-based support) (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Tarlabaşı Community Centre <i>Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi (TTM)</i>	Association for Solidarity with Tarlabaşı Property Owners and Renters <i>Tarlabaşı Mülk Sahipleri ve Kiracıları Kalkındırma ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği</i>	Galata Association Galata Derneği
Focus	Providing consultancy services for people from Tarlabaşı Area	Protecting the rights of property owners and renters against Tarlabaşı Renewal Project, informing and raising awareness and searching for the possible solutions to prevent unjust treatment of people due to the project	Raising awareness of people living in Galata about the urban, cultural and historical values of the area creating common activities and spaces of encounter where diverse social, ethnic, and cultural groups can represent themselves via their arts and culture
Involvement of Stakeholders	The organization carries out joint projects with national (e.g. AÇEV) and international NGOs, municipalities, Ministry of Family and Social Policies	The organization works in collaboration with other non-governmental organizations working against the urban transformation projects carried out in İstanbul.	The initiative organizes Galata Festival in collaboration with artists, actors, artists, performers, dancers, museums, universities, and different NGOs.
Target Audience	Tarlabaşı residents, women, children, different ethnic groups, LGBTT people, substance abusers	Property owners and renters in Tarlabaşı neighborhood	People living in Galata neighborhood
Understanding Diversity	All types of diversity should be accepted by the society without any priority or distinction. Therefore, its activities not only cover children, youth, women, who are the most vulnerable groups, but also immigrants, ethnic groups and LGBTT people.	Diversity has been seen as a positive feature of the neighborhood that should be preserved: "Diversity is inherent in life and a uniform structure of a single religion, ethnic origin, etc. does not exist in any part of the world, should not exist, either".	The decision-makers in Turkey do not have any concern on urban diversity. The existing policies marginalize diverse groups. Diversity in policies should be considered within the scope of human rights and democracy.
Goals / Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Social support for the ones consulting to the community center * Consulting services especially for children and women * Educational and cultural activities (music groups, drawing ateliers, foreign language teaching classes, art classes) * Consultancy for law affairs, municipal affairs or briefings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Informing and raising awareness of renters and property owners against the Tarlabaşı Renewal Project * Protecting the rights of the renters and property owners * Defending the rights of the people by trying to negotiate with the municipality and the construction company. * Applying to international courts and organizations to prevent violation of their rights. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Organizing cultural activities, concerts and exhibitions, and Galata Festival every year, in which different street activities, music and dance performances, acting workshops, etc. take place *Organizing against negative impacts of urban renewal projects undertaken within the neighborhood
Resources / Funding	Budget from İstanbul Bilgi University. Funds from EU-based projects, donations, Funds from international/ foreign foundations (USA, Sweden, Netherlands, UK)	There were not any financial resources. Personal incomes of the members were used to meet the needs and expenses.	Contributions of the members and support from local actors, temporary resources

As the founder of the initiative emphasizes during the interview, *“Many groups become the victims of urban renewal projects, since the government does not introduce legal arrangements to protect their rights and recognize their needs and problems.”*

Moreover, Galata Association, located in Beyoğlu, aims to raise awareness of people living in Galata about the urban, cultural and historical values of the area. For this purpose, the initiative organizes cultural activities, concerts and exhibitions, and Galata Festival every year in which different street activities, music and dance performances, acting workshops, etc. take place. The aim is to create a common activity and a space of encounter in which people with diverse social, ethnic, and cultural background can represent themselves via their arts and culture, and to create spaces of interaction between diverse groups.

8.3.7. Support of Compatriot Groups

There are various compatriot (hemşehri) groups living in Beyoğlu. The compatriot groups mostly include communities who came to Istanbul between the period 1950s and 1980s, when the country witnessed a rapid urbanization and a massive influx of domestic migrants from the rural parts to metropolitan cities. In this respect, especially the migrants from the Black Sea Region inhabited in the districts in Istanbul including Şişli, Beyoğlu, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, and Kağıthane (Bayraktar, 2003). Many of these immigrants had problems in terms of housing, employment, education and social security. Since the policies and measures to integrate them into urban life and find solutions to their problems were rather limited, these immigrants starting from the 1980s, have sought to create informal solidarity and cooperation networks among each other to find solutions to their problems, regarding poverty, unemployment, housing, and education. This solidarity has evolved into formal solidarity networks, mostly in form of associations and foundations. The outcome was a proliferation of compatriot organizations in Beyoğlu, especially in Kasımpaşa area, most of which has been established by people from Giresun, Sivas, Tokat, and

Elazığ. Therefore, another category of the selected governance initiatives is compatriot organizations in Beyoğlu.

Among the selected initiatives, Alucra Development and Education Foundation (see details in Table 8.7) aims to support immigrants from Alucra, which is a district of Giresun Province. The organization enhances solidarity networks among people from Alucra, and tries to create a network and a common ground in which people voice their adaptation and employment problems and help each other, thus facilitates improvements in their social mobility and economic performance. The foundation organizes social and cultural activities, such as “Ekin Festivali”, every year. In addition, the foundation provides scholarships for university students, who are children of people from Alucra, and in need of financial support.

Table 8.7 Local initiatives focusing on support of compatriot groups (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Alucra Development and Education Foundation <i>Alucra Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı (ADEF)</i>
Focus	Aiming to improve the economic and moral development of Alucra; organizing a variety of cultural, vocational activities, to increase solidarity between people born in Alucra
Involvement of Stakeholders	The foundation works with different partners including central and public government institutions.
Target Audience	People born in Alucra
Understanding Diversity	The foundation’s main aim is to enhance solidarity between people from Alucra and mitigate the problems of their region.
Goals / Activities	* Contributing the region's economic, social cultural& art life and improving environmental and health conditions * Providing educational, social, and health assistance for students with limited financial resources
Resources / Funding	The financial resources of the foundation are the grants, aids, donations and sometimes state-provided financial assistance for the festivals.

8.3.8. Improvement of the Physical Image of the District

There are many civil society organizations in Beyoğlu, which work for upgrading and improving the physical appearance of certain areas within the district. These initiatives are different than other governance arrangements in the sense that they use spatial tools for their aims.

The Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu, in this respect, works for improving the built environment of Beyoğlu (Table 8.8). To create healthy and upgraded physical environment, the association has undertaken lightening projects, placement of urban furniture in the streets, and the operation of “Nostalgic Tram” on Istiklal Road. As emphasized by the head of organization during the interview, these projects initiated by the association are expected to attract new businesses to the area, and create new employment and income opportunities for existing local residents.

Although the association took important steps to upgrade the built environment in Beyoğlu, its activities are strongly criticized recently for being one of the actors that try to attract big investments and businesses to the district, undertake redevelopment projects, especially transforming the historical buildings into shopping centers and large stores, and gentrify the area. Its most recent “Tramvay Sahne” project supports this argument which shows advertisements of big commercial companies on the tram, with commercial music for advertising, and big posters.

The head of the Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu states that EU Negotiation Process and the adoption of adjustment laws will positively contribute to diversity policies. In this context, the ongoing process of returning of the confiscated real estate properties to minority foundations signals positive developments regarding diversity. In this sense, he is more optimistic about the central government’s approach regarding diversity issues and the related legislative regulations.

Table 8.8 Local initiatives focusing on the improvement of the physical image of the district (The Author)

Name of the Initiative	Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu (Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme ve Koruma Derneği)
Focus	Improving the built environment and physical image of Beyoğlu
Involvement of Stakeholders	The organization carries out joint projects with Beyoğlu Municipality, also works in collaboration with Mimar Sinan University.
Target Audience	Residents of Beyoğlu
Understanding Diversity	Diversity is richness and colours of life. It is a value, thus should be used and treated in the most correct way. However, diversity in Beyoğlu has diminished due to policies and implementations of governments.
Goals / Activities	*Carrying out projects to improve the physical image of Beyoğlu, including lighting, placement of street furniture, Tramvay Beyoğlu Project *Organizing culture and art activities, exhibitions and art galleries
Resources / Funding	The financial resources are provided by sponsors.

8.3.9. Summary

The fields of interests of governance arrangements and related initiatives are given in Table 8.9 as a summary. The diversity-related fields of governance arrangements include empowerment of disadvantaged communities, international migration and support of immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, support of diverse sexual identities, promotion of human rights and freedoms, support of compatriot groups, improvement of the physical environment, area-based support of diverse, disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and support of diverse ethnic and cultural communities.

Table 8.9 Summary of interest fields (The Author)

Fields of Interest	
Empowerment of disadvantaged groups	* Human Resource Development Foundation * Social and Cultural Life Association (SKYGD)
Women	* Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation * Women's Solidarity Foundation (KADAV) * Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (KEDV) * Gökkuşığı Women Association
Children	* Children's Hope Association
Disabled People	* The Association of Disabled People Turkey Istanbul Branch
Disadvantaged Prisoners	* Civil Society in the Penal System Association (CISST)
International Migration (Support of immigrants, forced immigrants, asylum-seekers and refugees)	* ASAM Istanbul * GÖÇ-DER * Caritas
Representation of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and Cultural Groups	* Anatolian Culture * Roma People Platform
Representation of different sexual orientations and gender identities	* Istanbul LGBTT
Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms	* Human Rights Association * Association for Monitoring Equal Rights * Saturday Mothers
Area-Based Support	* Tarlabası Community Center * The Association for Solidarity with Tarlabasi Property Owners and Renters * Galata Association
Physical Focus/Improvement of the physical image of the district	* The Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu
Support/Representation of Compatriot Groups	* Alucra Development and Education Foundation

The Table 8.10 shows the diversity-related fields in which the central and local governments lack efficiency. The governance arrangements comprised of non-governmental organizations mostly work in the fields in which the central and local governments have little interest/support. These areas include the international migration, the representation of ethnic, cultural, and religious groups, the support of human rights and freedoms and prevention of discrimination, and neighborhood-

based support including and targeting the physically and socio-economically deprived neighborhoods. In some areas, the governments have interest, but lack efficiency. Empowerment of disadvantaged groups (with governmental authorities' definition, including women, children, young people, elders and disabled people, and sometimes unemployed people) is the most prominent example in this group.

Table 8.10 Diversity related fields shown in relation with state's interests and responsibilities
(The Author)

The fields that the state has interest but lacks efficiency	
Empowerment of disadvantaged groups	* Human Resource Development Foundation * Social and Cultural Life Association (SKYGD)
Women	* Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation * Women's Solidarity Foundation (KADAV) * Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (KEDV) * Gökkuşığı Women Association
Children	* Children's Hope Association
Disabled People	* The Association of Disabled People Turkey Istanbul Branch
Disadvantaged Prisoners	Civil Society in the Penal System Association (CISST)
The fields that the state has little interest/little support	
International Migration	* ASAM Istanbul * GÖÇ-DER * Caritas
Representation of Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic and Cultural Groups	* Anatolian Culture * Roma People Platform
Human Rights and Freedoms	* Human Rights Association * Association for Monitoring Equal Rights * Saturday Mothers
Area-Based Support	* Tarlabası Community Center * The Association for Solidarity with Tarlabası Property Owners and Renters * Galata Association
The fields that the state has no interest	
Representation of different sexual orientations and gender identities	Istanbul LGBTT
The fields that the state has much interest (supported by these initiatives)	
Improvement of physical image of the district	The Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu
Support/Representation of Compatriot Groups	Alucra Development and Education Foundation

On the other hand, the central and local governments do not have any interest in the field of representation of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities. Finally, there are also governance arrangements which work in the fields that the central and local governments have much interest respectively, namely the improvement of the physical image of the district, and the support of compatriot groups.

8.4. Focus of Governance Arrangements

The local initiatives in Beyoğlu can be grouped based on their focus, namely fostering social cohesion, promoting upward social mobility, and stimulating economic performance. In this respect the governance arrangements endeavor to empower disadvantaged groups, foster social inclusion, increase economic well-being of individuals and promote entrepreneurship, and provide assistance for upward social mobility of diverse groups.

8.4.1. Social Cohesion

A majority of the selected civil society initiatives defines their main focus as fostering social cohesion. In fact, most of the selected civil society initiatives focus on social cohesion in a sort of way, even not always as their main focus. To enhance social cohesion, the governance arrangements aim to increase solidarity and cooperation between their target groups and foster interaction between different social groups, as well as support disadvantaged groups and ensure their equal and active participation into social and economic life, and increase their access into public services. In this respect, the goals of minimizing inequalities and disadvantages, and reducing social conflicts, inequalities and social exclusion are shared by most of the local governance arrangements.

Table 8.11 Contribution of local initiatives with regard to three main focus
(***: high, **: medium *: low) (The Author)

Name of the initiatives	Social Cohesion	Social Mobility	Economic Performance
Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM)	***	**	*
Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (GÖÇ-DER)	***	**	**
Caritas	***	*	*
Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation	***	**	
Gökkuşığı Women Association	***	**	**
Children of Hope Association	***	**	*
Association of Disabled People Istanbul Branch	***	**	*
Istanbul LGBTT Solidarity Association	***	*	
Anatolian Culture	***	*	
Roma People Platform	**	*	
Human Resource Development Foundation	**		
Social and Cultural Life Association	***	**	*
Tarlabaşı Community Centre	**	***	**
Association for Solidarity with Tarlabaşı Property Owners and Tenants	*	***	**
Galata Association	***	*	
Association for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu			
Alucra Development and Education Foundation	**	**	***
Women's Solidarity Foundation	*	**	***
Foundation for the Support of Women's Work	**	**	***
Human Rights Association			
Saturday Mothers			
Civil Society in the Penal System Association	*		
Association for Monitoring Equal Rights			

8.4.2. Social Mobility

Some of the governance initiatives define their focus as promoting upward social mobility of the target groups. In this respect, their goals include increasing the standards of living of their target groups, providing educational and social support, training and vocational programmes, and offering support in finding employment and better job opportunities. It should be noted that the organizations with focus on social mobility mostly provide area-based support, targeting disadvantaged and diverse groups in a certain area or neighborhood. In this respect, Tarlabası Community Center and the Association for Solidarity with Tarlabası Property Owners and Renters work in Tarlabası area, each with different focus. The aim of Tarlabası Community Center is to foster the upward social mobility of certain disadvantaged groups, namely poor people, ethnic women and children, immigrants who suffer from migration-related social problems, poverty and unemployment. Through its activities, the initiative endeavors to create better standards of living for local people and increase their upward social mobility through better income, job and employment opportunities. The aim of the other initiative is to protect the rights of local residents against the negative impacts of Tarlabası Renewal Project, and create possible solutions to prevent unjust treatment due to the project. In that way, this initiative also tries to protect the diversity of the neighborhood and encourage social mobility of local communities.

8.4.3. Economic Performance

A part of the selected civil society initiatives indicate that they aim to foster economic well-being and economic participation of their target groups through fostering entrepreneurship, productivity, innovation, leadership, and business establishment capacity. Among the governance arrangements, supporting women's participation into economic life and labor market is very important for some initiatives. For this purpose, these organizations provide vocational courses, leadership skills

development programmes, and training programmes for starting or expanding business. For example, the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work encourages women to start their own businesses through providing credits to women who want to start or expand their businesses, offering leadership training programmes, and assisting women cooperatives. Another example is Alucra Development and Education Foundation, which aims to enhance economic well-being of immigrants from Alucra, through creating solidarity networks. It is important to note that these initiatives see the increasing economic performances of their target groups as a means of upward social mobility.

8.5. Perception of Diversity

The interviews demonstrate that the governance initiatives adopt similar attitudes towards the concept of diversity. The common approach is that "Differences shape and enrich the society, therefore these differences must be protected and supported." Diversity is accepted as a positive aspect, and an important tool for fostering social cohesion, and promoting upward social mobility.

Most of the civil society initiatives pursue an equity-based approach towards their target groups, in which differences are embraced, but should not become the source of privileges, or the reasons of discrimination. Within this framework, the interviewee from Mor Çatı defines the fundamental principle of the organization as "The different needs of women facing violence are treated equally, and all kinds of diversity, including all differences based on age, class, culture, gender identity, sexual orientation, socio-economic background, ethnicity, etc. are respected and treated equally."

On the other hand, representatives of civil society organizations criticize the government policies and practices, which are far from protecting urban diversity. They strongly emphasize that it is not possible to protect and support urban diversity

where the central and local authorities maintain an attitude which ignore and obscure differences, and adopt homogenizing and assimilating policy approaches.

8.6. Factors Influencing Success and Failure

Semi-structured interviews included several questions on the main internal and external factors influencing the success and/or failure of the governance arrangements.

8.6.1. Factors Influencing Success

Accordingly, *determination of target groups* is identified as an important factor influencing success of the governance arrangements. As emphasized by many interviewees, the awareness of disadvantaged groups about their problems and demands, and their determination in finding solutions enable the initiatives to reach the target groups easier, and carry on their works more effectively.

The importance of *the existence of volunteers* is often highlighted by the representatives of the selected governance arrangements. Most of the organizations continue their works without paid and continuous workers, but with volunteer workers.

According to many interviewees, *collective action and collaborative works* with other organizations enhance the efficiency of the works of governance arrangements. It is common among the initiatives working for similar purposes, and as indicated by the interviewee from Mor Çatı, the most notable example of the collaborative and cooperative activities is the solidarity and cooperation networks between various women organizations in Beyoğlu.

Organizational structure is identified as one of the important success factors. As emphasized by the representatives, bottom-up and non-hierarchical organization

structures of the governance arrangements enable them to better organize their activities and distribution of tasks.

As indicated by the interviewees, *a good knowledge of current policies and legal regulations* is crucial in finding solutions to the problems of disadvantaged/diverse groups, and meeting their demands. It is often emphasized that since the existing legal regulations in Turkey are not clear and not straightforward in many times, especially in migration-related issues, the knowledge and specialty become essential for the governance arrangements.

Trust relationships are regarded as another important factor influencing success. The trust-based relations among the initiatives working in similar fields, and between the initiatives and the target groups are vital for creating solidarity networks, and developing collective actions, which are the key elements of the civil society.

8.6.2. Factors Influencing Failure

Lack of financial resources is a main problem which is indicated by nearly all civil initiatives. Since the financial contribution of volunteers and other supportive mechanisms remain limited, many organizations engage in income-generating activities. Moreover, the financial support from the international organizations, especially from European Commission-through EU funded projects, has great importance for the governance initiatives.

Restrictive legal regulations are specified as another factor hampering the works of governance arrangements. Many interviewees state that the current legislative regulations do not support civil society organizations in most of the time, on the contrary, the bureaucratic procedures make things difficult, which creates another failure factor.

Negative attitude of the government towards civil society organizations is another factor. The representative from Tarlabası Community Center emphasizes that although the central and local governments remain inefficient in the fields of social

policies and the support of diversity, and do not have institutions to take over the responsibility in these areas, they adopt a skeptical attitude towards civil society organizations and their activities. As indicated by most of the interviewees, the underlying reason behind this attitude is that, the state officials do not perceive these organizations as governance actors that endeavor to fill gaps in government services, but mechanisms that try to organize people against government, and raise their voices to remonstrate against government policies.

8.7. Evaluation and Concluding Remarks

The document analysis and the in-depth interviews show that the central and local government officials have cautious and unfavorable attitudes towards diversity-related issues. While the term of diversity is not welcomed by the governmental officials, they emphasized that they would prefer to use *cultural mosaic*, *heterogeneous population*, or *cultural differences* instead. It becomes the most visible when ethnic diversity is referred during the interviews. The officials state that the notion of diversity may be misconstrued since it can be associated to the separatist movements experienced within the late Ottoman period. While the political decision-makers focus on socio-demographic differences and socio-economic inequalities, in most cases, ethnic or cultural diversity is not addressed. It does not go beyond the famous discourses “being open and tolerant to every cultural and ethnic group”, in a peremptory and patronizing attitude, as seen in most of the interviews with the key governmental actors.

Further, both the document analysis and in-depth interviews with the key governmental stakeholders show that the mostly referred policy discourses are fostering social cohesion, providing support for the disadvantaged groups, and overcoming the material inequalities. According to the policy documents and the statements of the authorities, the social policies of the central government and local governments are especially directed towards the redistribution of resources through the support of disadvantaged groups. However, this research shows that the outcomes

are questionable. Despite the emphasis on discourse, the required actions and practices are generally not addressed as concrete policy tools. The official figures declared by the Turkish Statistical Institution also do not support the policy discourses of equal distribution of resources and overcoming material inequalities. The Gini coefficient that shows the differences in income distribution has dramatically increased between the years 2007 and 2013 in Istanbul (TUIK, 2014). Moreover, as seen in the Beyoğlu case, the recent urban transformation and redevelopment projects undertaken in deprived neighborhoods and historical areas widen the gap between different socio-economic groups. While these interventions favor the already well-off, they create unfavorable conditions for low-income, disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and leave these groups to suffer from displacement experiences, socio-economic deprivation, stigmatization, and socio-spatial segregation. This is mostly due to the fact that the recent redistributive policies in Turkey seek to ensure investments through the privatization of public land and the production of built environment (Keskinok, 2006; Şengül, 2009 as cited in Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014), through property development and large urban redevelopment projects, rather focusing on reducing inequalities and disadvantages, and creating equal and just outcomes for all groups.

Equity is defined as the primary principle guiding all policy-making processes supported by the equal opportunities discourse, implying the provision of equal facilities and services to all groups. However, the existing legal regulations and its interventions in Turkey are not sufficient to create ideal communities in which every individual has equal rights and opportunities.

The in-depth interviews show that the governmental and non-governmental views regarding diversity differ to a great extent. While the governmental officials adopted more cautious and conservative attitudes, and sometimes do not even prefer to use the notion of diversity, non-governmental actors and local governance initiatives have more open and positive approaches.

As seen from the case study, in the governance of diversity, civil-society actors have considerable contribution. The governance arrangements that deal with diversity-related issues are mostly in form of civil-society organizations. According to theory, and as actualized in many European cities, governance arrangements and initiatives diversify to a great extent, ranging from a variety of urban policy networks to bottom-up arrangements that are initiated and developed as community actions or projects, or through informal networks between governance actors at different scales. However, the types of governance arrangements are rather limited in Turkish context, predominantly the civil-society actors in form of associations or foundations, rather than bottom-up initiatives developed as informal collaborations or as community-led initiatives. As mostly emphasized during the interviews and the roundtable meeting, after the beginning of the initiatives, they tend to gain a formal status and a legal entity of an association, foundation or a union. It is resulted from two reasons. First, having a legal entity of association or foundation enables the initiative to become more visible, establish closer contacts with central and local government bodies, and facilitates bureaucratic procedures, which in some cases may raise many difficulties in Turkey. Second, for the local governance initiatives, holding a legal entity is a necessary condition for an organization to get funding from local, national, and/or international bodies and organizations. On the other hand, as indicated by many representatives, obtaining a legal status may sometimes prevent an organization to act independently. Therefore, it constitutes a forcing factors for governance initiatives to formalize their activities instead of working on a voluntary basis or as a neighborhood or a community group.

The local governance arrangements and initiatives fill important niches in support of diverse and disadvantaged groups in terms of empowerment, support and social inclusion of these groups through a variety of activities that may create spaces of encounter and interaction between different social groups. The governance arrangements and local initiatives play important roles in increasing social harmony, fostering upward social mobility and stimulating economic performances of individuals and groups, thus using diversity of communities as an asset and positive

contribution to their inclusion and upward mobility. Local governance initiatives may deal with diversity in rather effective and innovative ways since they know the social problems and demands of local communities and individuals asking for support and help. Moreover, the research shows that governance arrangements mostly work in the fields that are not among the priority issues of the central and local governments, or in which they lack efficiency.

However, as seen in the Beyoğlu case, governance arrangements in Turkey may experience a variety of difficulties due to financial and organizational restrictions, as well as uneasy relationships with central and local governments. As emphasized by most of the interviewees, they are poorly supported by the central and local governments in terms of funding, legal and organizational support, partnership or collaborative works. It makes their contribution rather limited in many cases and their goals may be rather ambitious.

Moreover, although these governance arrangements are well-intentioned and undertake significant roles in supporting diverse groups, without efficient policy mechanisms, and planning practices that address problems and needs of diverse groups, governance of diversity remains highly ineffective in Turkey. It is a difficult task to recognize and sustain diversity, yet still pursue equality in Turkish cities, in which urban policy and urban planning increasingly fail to fulfil their social responsibilities in face of neoliberal urban practices and competitive urban development strategies.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOR URBAN POLICY AND PLANNING

Cities have become more diverse than ever before. Policy-makers at all levels have faced with new opportunities, but also new challenges sourced from this diversity. Today's urban governance has been characterized by new fluidities and rapidity of changes in population dynamics, new patterns of migration, new interactions and exchanges of ideas, cultures and lifestyles, which blur the line between the global and local (Valverde, 2012). Traditional and territorial-based approaches towards diversity have been challenged, and changed into an understanding in which diversity is sourced from more dynamic, relational and fluid processes.

In face of new complexities and challenges, and new forms of diversity, which are now defined as 'super-diversity', or 'hyper-diversity', the governments have failed to develop comprehensive and inclusive policies and urban practices that address growing needs, demands and expectations of diverse groups. The period after the 1980s has been driven by neoliberal deregulation and state rescaling, in which Keynesian welfare approach characterized by demand-led state interventions, and socially inclusive distribution-based policies has been shifted into market-oriented approach characterized by the search for further economic growth, and the promotion of economic competitiveness. The economic downturns, competition over the limited resources, and the priorities of becoming more globally competitive, the governments and their policy and planning mechanisms have growingly ignored the needs of new forms of diversity.

In this context, pursue of economic liberalism, economic restructuring and economic competitiveness within a global economy has led the governments to attach great importance to use the productive diversity as a source of economic growth. The presence of diverse population groups and diverse workforce has been recognized as

a competitive asset. In this neoliberalist version of urban diversity, the focus has been on high-skilled, more productive and entrepreneurial individuals and groups, and their contribution to urban and national economy. The policy focus and practices have concentrated on attracting high-skilled workers, investors, and entrepreneurs to cities. While it has provided highly qualified workforce for the highest positions in the labor markets, the metropolitan cities have been faced with the influx of low-skilled immigrants who accept to work in low-paying jobs often with flexible and low-quality working conditions with lower chances of job security. While some city and local authorities have developed more inclusionary policies to help the inclusion of low-skilled and low-income immigrants into labor market and social networks, mostly in order to benefit from their qualifications and productive diversity, a majority of policies and practices have marginalized low-income and low-skilled immigrants and other minority populations both within the labor market and the social networks. Therefore, certain dimensions of diversity, including diverse lifestyles and cultures, and disadvantaged positions, have systematically been neglected in the contemporary era.

Moreover, cities have become the most powerful marketing tool for countries (Aguirre et al., 2006), and the spaces of large-scale real-estate and tourism development, urban redevelopment, transformation and renewal projects. The neoliberal era and its ambitious policies have been characterized by large-scale urban (re)development projects, which affect both urban space and urban populations. Contemporary urban practices have been criticized for serving and being oriented towards profitable concerns and market forces, rather than the needs of inhabitants. The neoliberal urban practice has intensified uneven development at all spatial scales, it has created new forms of inequalities, social polarization and social exclusion. Pursuing market-friendly forms of diversity has neglected the problems and needs of ‘those whose particular diversities are not associated with new global and competitive image of the cities’ (Valverde, 2012). Low-skilled workers, low income groups, immigrants and other disadvantaged and marginalized groups, who constitute most

part of urban diversity mix, have been ignored by those boosting ‘the neoliberal vision of urban diversity’.

While these processes have created new gentrified and privatized spaces of ‘elite’, they have brought about the displacement and dispossession of certain groups. A great part of vulnerable and low-income households, who are suffering from financial problems and increasingly in need of affordable and social housing, are forced to have limited options on the social housing markets and move to cheaper and poor-quality houses in less attractive areas. Gentrification processes have been the parts of a wider project that aims to create homogenous socio-economic, ethnic, religious and cultural communities within disadvantaged and deprived neighborhoods, by pushing immigrants, low-income people and other vulnerable groups out.

In face of new complexities and challenges, and ever-growing social problems, central governments have rarely used legal and regulatory tools to promote social inclusion of certain groups, mostly deprived and disadvantaged. The increasing social problems in contemporary cities and exclusion of already marginalized groups have been the indicators of this argument. Therefore, the governments’ decreasing role in the provision of social welfare to all parts of society and dealing with increasing social problems have led to a proliferation of governance arrangements and initiatives functioning as mechanisms to fill the gaps in various diversity-related fields. They have mostly emerged as local actors, initiatives and projects that deal with urban diversity, and formed bottom-up, or developed as a partnership and/or cooperation between the governmental bodies and civic actors. Governance arrangements have been well-placed to fill the gaps in public services, and support of diverse groups. Examples from Europe show that governance arrangements may be quite active and effective in solving local problems and creating various opportunities for diverse groups, by stimulating social cohesion, fostering upward social mobility, and increasing economic well-being and performance of certain groups (Schenkel and Plüss, 2014). As is seen from many European examples, urban diversity is supported by a variety of governance arrangements and initiatives including local projects, street events and festivities, which are beyond any doubt crucial in support of

diversity. Providing interaction among the society, empowering disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and stimulating economic well-being of individuals are among the benefits of different governance arrangements.

An analysis of the existing governance structures dealing with urban diversity in Turkey, in Istanbul and Beyoğlu in particular shows that the central and local governments have failed to effectively manage urban diversity, with regard to three ‘social logics’ for planning efforts that respond to different kinds of diversity, namely recognition, redistribution and encounter.

First, this study shows that the recognition of diversity is a matter of debate in Turkey. The current governmental attitude and policies, assessed through the document review and the interviews with key actors including the state officials, show that there is reluctance of governmental actors to recognize ethnic, religious and cultural diversity. With regard to ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, the approach is still in line with the argument as Kaya and Harmanyeri (2010) emphasize, “There is no problem related to tolerance in Turkey as long as those non-Sunni, non-Muslim, and/or non-Turkish minorities accept being second-class citizens.” It means that ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities in Turkey such as the Alevi, the Sunni Arabs or the Kurdish people are recognized, unless they do not raise too many claims with respect to their difference in public life. Although there were some attempts after the Helsinki Summit of the European Union in 1999 and the following EU Accession period characterized by several efforts to recognize ethnic and cultural diversity, these efforts have been diminished after 2005, and the recognition of ethnic and cultural identities has still been questionable. Moreover, urban policy and planning practices have become blind to recognize different identities, and diverse needs and problems of social groups. Urban policies, plans and projects have not been concerned about the existing needs and demands of diverse groups living in urban areas (Eraydın et al., 2014b). However, it should be noted that, this is a nation-wide problem, but highly affect different ethnic, religious and cultural groups, densely concentrated in Istanbul and Beyoğlu in particular.

Second, as discussed by Fincher and Iveson (2008), redistributive urban planning has been focused on urban renewal and social mix, which aim to oppose the concentration of poverty in places which creates segregation, and to improve the life standards and quality of housing and urban environment for disadvantaged groups in the public interest. Within this framework, it can be stated that spatial practices and planning interventions within Istanbul, and in Beyoğlu have been culminating in adverse implications for diversity. Urban transformation, which was characterized by the transformation of squatter areas in earlier periods, has been turned into new forms of urban transformation characterized by state-led gentrification. The recent urban redevelopment and urban renewal projects undertaken within the inner-city neighborhoods and in deprived historical areas has been working against disadvantaged groups and urban areas. In this respect, planning policies and interventions have been creating further stigmatizing effects for disadvantaged groups, particularly including the poor and the immigrants, making them feel even more marginalized. There is little doubt that the changing spatial distribution and newly created and redeveloped urban spaces exclude certain groups. Beyoğlu and its diverse communities have been witnessing these processes since the urban land and property market have been utilized as the main sources of economic growth and profitability concerns of certain groups.

Urban transformation projects undertaken in many neighborhoods not only change the urban fabric and damage the historical pattern, but they also result in major transformations in the social composition of the populations in transformed neighborhoods. In this regard and in parallel to this argument, urban redevelopment and urban renewal projects within the Beyoğlu district have brought about negative impacts of gentrification, including price rises and increasing cost of living, loss of affordable housing, and displacement experiences of disadvantaged groups and low-income residents. Due to gentrification processes, many of these groups who contribute to the diversity mix in Beyoğlu are displaced to live in distant areas in the city, as seen in the case of Tarlabaşı as the most recent, and Galata and Cihangir, as the earlier examples. On the other hand, while these planning interventions have

growingly resulted in proliferation of social problems and irreversible impacts for urban diversity, the local government in Beyoğlu, namely the Beyoğlu Municipality, is planning to initiate new transformation projects for different parts of the district. More areas and neighborhoods have already been defined and declared as urban transformation zones by the Beyoğlu Municipality, which may be redeveloped and gentrified in the near future.

Third, it can be inferred that the existing policies and planning practices do not allow the creation of spaces of encounter among the society. The public spaces which foster the interactions are rare. The governmental actors engaged in policy and planning practices are not interested in introducing planning principles to foster diversity and provide urban spaces of social interactions. Moreover, current planning practices lead to the loss of public and open spaces within the district. In fact, public spaces and open spaces have great importance for people living in Beyoğlu, in such an urban environment characterized by the density of the population, and limited public spaces and green areas. This problem is not only related to the provision of open and public spaces, but also the spaces of joint activities, which bring people together in common activities through which diverse groups come together and interact, which is scarcely any in the district. Furthermore, by changing the social structure in redeveloped areas, urban transformation projects and planning interventions result in the loss of neighborhood relations which exist in many old and diverse neighborhoods of the district, sourced from existing urban patterns, social networks, and interactions between diverse groups with different ethnic, cultural, socio-economic backgrounds.

On the other hand, the existing planning system fosters creation of further consumption spaces, including the spaces of affluent groups such as shopping malls, high-rise residences, luxurious restaurants, which serve upper-class population and the ‘consumers’. It becomes questionable that to what extent the new entrepreneurial and neoliberal planning focuses on the service provision and the enhancement of the wellbeing of a locality’s population and businesses while it serves the commercial and economic benefits, and positions the district in global competition for investment and consumption. It is highly visible in Beyoğlu that urban areas have growingly been

transformed into globally-oriented consumption spaces. Commodification and consumption in the district serve certain forms of diversity, in which these places meet the needs and desires of the new middle and upper classes, tourists and consumers, while excluding the others, mostly the lower-class forms of diversity.

In the light of above arguments, it is obvious that the changes in the governance structure in Turkey, and in Istanbul, which are characterized by the retreat of the government from its responsibilities in supporting diverse and disadvantaged groups, and the replacement of the public sector provision with market-based provision, and with large-scale urban projects in partnership of the public and the private sector, contradict the inclusive, participatory and redistributive purposes of planning. While urban policy and planning practices result in new problems for different social groups, and/or alleviate the existing problems, they also fail to build urban areas and spaces of encounter which allow interactions of diverse groups. Moreover, unfavorable and skeptical attitude of the governmental actors to recognize cultural, religious and ethnic diversity creates further stigmatization and exclusion of diverse groups.

Without the existence of inclusive, interaction-based and redistributive measures, existing governance system and planning practices in most cases create social conflicts and discord within urban societies. Those conflicts are not only related to the use over land uses and urban landscapes and the role of planning to create ample and accessible housing facilities, public transport, parking, green spaces, etc. but also associated with spatialization of cultural and religious values²¹. Moreover, as a result of spatial practices that lead to further socio-spatial segregation and reproduce social distances between different social groups, urban space is in most cases characterized by the loss of trust, mutual understanding and tolerance. Most urban areas in Istanbul as in Beyoğlu are witnessing two separate urban lives and spaces characterized by

²¹ Kurtarır and Ökten (2014) in their studies, analyzing different faith groups' needs and problems regarding the use of public space in Istanbul, discusses the inefficiency of urban spatial planning and planning legislation in Turkey to sustain cultural and religious identity on public space.

neoliberal urbanism; at one side there are spaces of socio-economically impoverished and deprived, vulnerable, socially and spatially stigmatized and politically weaker social groups, featured by poverty, deprivation, informality, disorder and a sense of insecurity with chaos, crime, and dangers, and at the other side, there are urban spaces of wealth characterized by the privatization of urban space, socially and spatially distinctive residential areas and consumption spaces with affluence and larger economic resources. The gentrified urban spaces of Beyoğlu have witnessed a growth of professionals, managers, artists as high-income, high-culture and high-educated population, which no doubt brings high levels of social, cultural and economic vibrancy, social capital and creativity to the district. However, it is also questionable that this kind of diversity sourced from the creative cultural environment in Beyoğlu may be manipulated by the central and local government as a part of neoliberal urban practices in line with the interests of global capital and the bourgeoisie (Lees et al., 2008 as cited in Sözen, 2010) which sees diversity as a source of competitiveness, attracting further investment and businesses, while stigmatizing, otherizing and demonizing disadvantaged and lower-income groups and the working class.

The failure of the central and local governments to address the needs and problems of diverse groups has triggered the emergence and rapid growth of the civil society actors involved in the governance of diversity in Turkey, and Beyoğlu. The Beyoğlu case has shown that the governance arrangements focusing on diversity work in diversity-related fields in which central and local governments have no interest, or lack efficiency and effectiveness. The governance arrangements, mostly in the forms of civil society organizations, mostly address problem areas in which the state is lacking, including migration and support of immigrants, representation and support of diverse ethnic and cultural groups, empowerment of disadvantaged communities, and support of individuals with diverse sexual identities. In this respect, being exempted from certain protection mechanisms and lack of representation, and having lower chances of getting involved in social networks, equal and active participation into urban life, and having access to public services and formal employment, many groups voice their needs and problems through these local governance mechanisms.

Based on the analysis on these governance arrangements, some points should be emphasized, regarding their areas of interest, focus, target groups, organizational structure and the main factors fostering or hindering their success. The local initiatives in Beyoğlu, which have been analyzed within the scope of this research, are mostly formal arrangements that have legal status of association or foundation, which is very common in Turkish context. Only few of them are bottom-up initiatives that do not have a legal entity, but organized as platforms to come together around a common goal, or as a local project developed in collaboration with international organizations, governmental bodies and local authorities. This situation is due to the fact that having a legal status enables a civil society initiative to become more visible, facilitate bureaucratic procedures, and receive funding from both national governmental and non-governmental bodies, as well as from international organizations.

The interviewed initiatives target women, children, disabled people, lesbians, gays, bisexual, transgender and transvestite community, ethnic groups including Armenian people, Romani people, and Kurdish people, domestic immigrants from different parts of the country including compatriot groups and immigrants from the eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey, international immigrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees, particularly Syrian refugees and the immigrants coming from the Middle East and African countries. Some of the initiatives do not have a specific target group, but target disadvantaged and marginalized communities in general.

According to their focus, the initiatives are evaluated around three objectives, namely fostering social cohesion, promoting upward social mobility, and stimulating economic performance, which are identified within the theoretical framework of the study. It is seen that most of the selected civil society initiatives focus on social cohesion in a sort of way, even not always as their main focus. Moreover, the focus may be in most cases multidimensional, since the three objectives are quite relational.

In addition, as seen from the Beyoğlu experience, employment is the key to foster inclusion, upward social mobility and economic well-being of diverse groups. The

civil society initiatives targeting diverse groups in Beyoğlu give a considerable emphasis to increase the capacity of individuals for self-employment through training services, and/or create opportunities for finding jobs. While integration into the labor market is crucial to prevent deprivation, poverty and social exclusion of disadvantaged groups, a part of the literature draws attention to the fact that in most cases the low-income and low-skilled individuals are employed in low-wage and informal jobs, which is very likely to alleviate the disadvantaged positions of already marginalized groups (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012), by exposing them further exploitation and exclusion. It is highly actualized in Beyoğlu, where the disadvantaged people can find jobs mostly in informal, temporary, and open-to-exploitation jobs, predominantly in the service or tourism sector, which is also emphasized by the planning experts during the round-table discussion.

Moreover, this study shows that there are various civil society organizations in Beyoğlu and Istanbul that work for promoting human rights and freedoms, which shows the deficiency of the central government in guaranteeing basic rights and freedoms, ensuring the pluralist representation of different social, ethnic and cultural groups, and preventing human rights violations. The failure of the state to perform its main responsibilities in the promotion of human rights, minority rights, and in the support of freedom of expression and association has resulted in the proliferation of different governance arrangements working on areas related to human rights, as also reported and emphasized by various international organizations, as well as by the civil society representatives in Beyoğlu during the interviews.

The Beyoğlu case has shown that the governance arrangements in Turkey mostly in the forms of civil society organizations are very well-intentioned, and may be highly effective in supporting and assisting diverse groups since they best know the specific needs and problems of their target groups. However, when considered from a comprehensive and long-term perspective to the governance of diversity, they may not be problem-solving without the effective involvement of the central and local governments in dealing with the issues of urban diversity. The existence of different governance arrangements cannot mask the responsibilities of the state, and existing

policy and planning mechanisms to deal with the demands and problems of diverse and disadvantaged groups. It has very important implications for urban planning in Turkey, which increasingly neglects its social liabilities, namely reducing inequalities and disadvantages, increasing social inclusion and social harmony, promoting justice, and mainstreaming equality, diversity and inclusion.

There are many examples in Europe, especially at city level, in which governmental authorities regard governance arrangements and initiatives as important and valuable governance actors, thus provide support and develop mechanisms that allow collaboration and cooperation in responding to varying needs and demands of diverse groups and developing solutions to certain problems (Schenkel and Plüss, 2014). This support and partnerships in Beyoğlu remain very weak. As most of the respondents emphasize during the interviews, the state does not support the civil society initiatives, but sees them as countering mechanisms which organize communities against the government. Therefore, in Istanbul, and Beyoğlu, local and city-wide initiatives face with a variety of difficulties, including the negative and skeptical attitude of the central and local governments towards diversity and civil society organizations working in the fields of diversity, being in the first place. This attitude is not surprisingly accompanied by the lack of financial and legal support and bureaucratic procedures, which pose various obstacles to the works of these governance arrangements.

Therefore, as this research shows, the responsibilities in various fields regarding urban diversity have been transferred to a variety of governance actors, especially to local community initiatives, but not usually accompanied by required support, fiscal capacity and legal arrangements, and consistent policy agendas, which highly challenges the activities of the governance arrangements.

Local governance initiatives, whether they are in the forms of bottom-up and/or tailor-made arrangements, or more formal organizations, are crucial in fostering interaction and communication between and within diverse communities in local and urban settings. As Beyoğlu case indicates, the efforts of local initiatives fill important

niches in various areas, including the support and empowerment of diverse and disadvantaged groups in various areas. Policy-makers and planners should learn from governance arrangements, and admit that they undertake important roles in the governance of diversity by supporting disadvantaged groups and allowing diverse communities raise their voices.

Instead of top-down policy and implementation processes, bottom-to-top projects should be developed, through which social problems, needs and demands of diverse and disadvantaged communities can be understood and responded. However, it should be handled within a multi-governance perspective, in which integrated models are developed where the governmental authorities undertake the major responsibility in this governance structure by developing comprehensive, participatory and inclusive frameworks, but also collaborate with a variety of actors, and support bottom-up, and tailor-made governance initiatives by recognizing their importance, and by providing legal, technical, organizational, and financial support.

Moreover, the governmental authorities including policy-makers and planners should realize that they have the most important tool in dealing with diversity, which is spatial urban planning. In this respect, creation of ample and accessible public spaces, affordable and decent housing for everyone, creation of spaces of encounter and interaction, and planning for social mix should be used to effectively plan and govern urban diversity through spatial planning.

In fact, the existence and success of such governance arrangements do not change the reality that urban policy and planning have social responsibilities and requirements at all scales, to be fulfilled by decision-makers and urban planners. The current literature draws attention to the contradictions between different scales of policy and planning practices in terms of diversity. As emphasized by Valverde (2012), although the governance of diversity is highly sensitive to localized contexts, pursuing only certain kinds of diversity in highly localized projects may mask cities' failure to practice socially inclusive diversity at the scale of the whole city. On the other hand, diversity in population along demographic, socio-economic, ethnic, religious and

cultural lines may be quite invisible at the national policy level and discouraged by the mechanisms of policies, planning laws and customs. For example, diversity in household compositions, housing tenure, or the demands for places of worship of religious groups may be ignored at level of official policy. Therefore, these contradictions between different scales to the practices of the governance of diversity show the significance of developing governance practices across and within multiple spatial scales, however with an integrated approach.

In the light of above arguments, some general principles may be defined which guide urban governance, policy-making and planning for sustaining and better managing urban diversity.

Principles to Guide Urban Governance, Planning and Policy to Sustain Diversity

Urban policy and planning, as part of urban governance and management, are the key mechanisms to enhance or limit the characteristics of urban space which shape the interests and activities of groups and individuals, and guide the development of spatial, social, cultural and economic policies. Within the cities that are becoming highly diverse, maintaining and sustaining diversity should be included within the objectives and practices of urban policy and planning. Urban policy and planning, in this respect, should pursue strategies which support diversity that encompasses lifestyles, ethnicity, cultures, housing tenure, household composition, etc.

Planning system should provide affordable and decent housing for everyone both in the promotion of new housing developments and urban renewal activities. In this respect, mixed residential areas are important in which a mix of housing types, sizes, costs and tenures is supported appealing to varying income groups, different age groups, household composition. However, planners and policy-makers should encourage mixed land uses to the extent that affected communities and inhabitants agree upon. At this point, as Fincher and Iveson (2008) emphasize, in promoting social mixing, planners should concern how local residents are envisaging and constructing neighborhood and community spaces of coexistence.

However, residents or businesses should not be dislocated unwillingly or compulsorily in order to actualize social mixing or community balance, or to implement housing restructuring or upgrading. As Fainstein (2010) indicates, if relocation is required to build public facilities, improve housing quality, or to increase densities, dislocated people, whether they are renters/owners of houses or businesses and independent of the market value of the lost location, should be given sufficient means and compensation to occupy an equivalent house or business, primarily in the vicinity of the same location.

In this framework, it is the responsibility of policy-makers and planners to be conscious of possible stigmatizing and exclusionary effects of policies and planning practices directed towards disadvantaged groups and urban areas. Urban renewal processes, by which disadvantaged groups face negative impacts, should be participatory, and focus on obtaining benefits for the existing residents of dilapidated urban neighborhoods. As emphasized by Fainstein (2010), planners and policy-makers should undertake deliberative roles in providing egalitarian solutions, and preventing the policies and practices which are disproportionately for the benefit and in favor of the already well-off. Because, the policy and planning approach which enables high-income residents to benefit the city while regards the low-income groups as burden and source of public expense, which in fact reflects the reality in most cases today, conflicts with the redistributive role of planning that aims to minimize disadvantages and inequalities.

In this respect, to deal with these disadvantages and inequalities, planning policies and practices have to ensure efficient and equitable location of facilities, services and infrastructure. Accessibility for all people to public spaces, public transport, public institutions, health, education, and other public facilities, including community centers, theatres, cinemas, leisure centers, museums, public libraries, cultural centers, sports centers, and cultural events/festivals should be primarily taken into account in planning and designing the location of services.

Table 9.1 Guidelines for urban governance, policy and planning for sustaining urban diversity
(The Author)

Alleviating poverty, inequalities and disadvantages	
Planning for socio-spatial mixing Creating mix neighborhoods in terms of housing tenure, income, ethnicity, household composition	Mixed residential and business areas * mixed housing units, mix of housing types, sizes * mix of housing tenures (public and private rentals, owner-occupation, etc.) * mixed land uses, commerce, residences, production spaces, etc. * mixed incomes * mix of age groups, ethnic, cultural mix of residents
Urban renewal/urban redevelopment	* in the interests of local residents * community involvement/participation * minimizing dislocation/relocation * less emphasis on urban clearance If relocation needed; Equivalent dwelling/business site incremental reconstruction Rent moratorium taxes and/or regulations on property to reduce levels of gentrification
Creation of ample, varied and accessible public spaces and public services	Provision of accessible and inclusive public services and facilities, including community centres, parks, public libraries, cultural and entertainment venues Reducing the physical barriers in the built environment * Accessibility for all to public institutions, health and education, public transport Accessibility to information * publicity, accessibility to public documents, websites, IT, media
Equality of Opportunities and Outcomes	focus on job creation, wage increases for vulnerable communities and individuals direct welfare support for housing, new social housing projects providing child care services for single parents (public support, funds, etc.) for gender equity and equal participation into labor force
Eliminating unequal treatment, discrimination Promoting diversity awareness and recognition	
Recognition of the presence of diverse groups and their characteristics, needs, demands, values, lifestyles, beliefs	Providing places of worships for allowing people to practice religious freedoms and faith Provision of accessible and inclusive public services and facilities for all, including marginalized and disadvantaged communities, disabled people, elderly, youth, children, women, immigrants, single parents, etc. Meeting the communication needs of immigrants: multilingual services, translation or interpretation services

Table 9.2 Guidelines for urban governance, policy and planning for sustaining urban diversity
(Cont'd)

Eliminating unequal treatment, discrimination Promoting diversity awareness and recognition (cont'd)	
	<p>Supporting the presence of buildings or public art in the city centers that draws on culturally, ethnically diverse histories/traditions</p> <p>Supporting/protecting local businesses, cultural and ethnic businesses</p>
<p>Recognition of hyper diversities, intersecting differences</p> <p>Group-specific support</p> <p>Tailor-made support</p> <p>gender, ethnicity, culture, age, sexual preferences, homelessness, disability</p>	<p>* Child-friendly cities (e.g. design of safe school routes, child-friendly shopkeeper networks, children's councils, play centers, games libraries, etc.)</p> <p>* Youth-specific services (e.g. youth centers)</p> <p>* Facilities for elderly</p> <p>* Recognition of diverse sexualities through encounter and sociality, as well as political identification, affirmation, anti-discrimination through policies, etc.</p> <p>* Provision of housing and other forms of public assistance for immigrants, youth and family counselling, occupational and language training services, facilitating of public buildings</p> <p>* Special support/services for single parents, disabled people, underprivileged adolescents, homeless people, asylum seekers, refugees, etc. through language and occupational/vocational training courses, cultural and sports facilities, etc.</p>
Creating opportunities for community interaction and encounter	
<p>Fostering interaction, communication, face-to-face contact</p> <p>Developing social networks, neighborhood relations</p> <p>Community spaces of coexistence</p>	<p>Providing spaces of interaction and encounter</p> <p>* public libraries, drop-in centers, cultural and sports clubs</p> <p>* spaces of joint activities, festivals, visual events and spectacles, workshops</p> <p>Supporting intercultural and interfaith organizations/forums/meeting places to access the level and density of contact and mutual understanding between cultures and religions</p> <p>Culturally inclusive public celebrations/programming/broadcasting</p> <p>Crossover networks, intercultural businesses, jobs and professions</p> <p>Porous boundaries between residential areas/districts/neighborhoods</p> <p>Inclusive zoning</p>

Table 9.3 Guidelines for urban governance, policy and planning for sustaining urban diversity
(Cont'd)

Creating institutional and governance framework for diversity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Cross-sector cooperation and coordination between governance actors at all scales: neighborhood, city-wide, regional, national * Institutional and financial schemes for cooperation and coordination between governmental, for-profit, nonprofit sectors * Integration of top-down policy programmes (national/regional/urban) with bottom-up actions and initiatives (residents/communities/neighborhood), encouraging bottom-up and tailor-made approaches with top-down control mechanisms * Consensual urban decision-making * Creation of strong forums for democratic engagement with a wider range of groups and interests * Supporting local governance arrangements in terms of subsidies, staff and volunteer training, financial and organizational planning, provision of networking possibilities

Policy makers and planners should deeply understand that inadequate and inefficient provision of accessible services and facilities may potentially exclude and marginalize certain groups and individuals and hampers active and equal participation into urban life. Accessibility to information is also crucial. Public services and facilities should be accessible and inclusive in which communication needs of diverse groups are recognized and addressed in publicity, including documents, websites, IT, and different types of media.

Moreover, planners and local policy-makers should know the characteristics and needs of different people who are being planned for. Planning should recognize and acknowledge the special problems and requirements of different groups, including immigrants, children, women, young people, people with diverse sexual identity, old people, etc. Planning should not result in systematic disadvantaging of certain communities, or individuals. To achieve an inclusionary diversity approach, central and local authorities have to restrict exclusionary uses of land use planning, public services and facilities by considering the arguments about the rights of people and the right to city. The cultural, sexual, gender, religious, linguistic and religious rights of individuals should be protected and sustained. Urban planners and policy-makers should recognize the differences and address the needs and values of particular

communities or identity groups, such as women, young people, the elderly, LGBT communities, immigrants, the disabled and other groups. Moreover, intersectionality of differences (ethnicity, age, disability, sexuality, etc.) should also be acknowledged since the members of identity groups may also be internally differentiated (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Policy makers and planners should adopt a conceptualization of diversity that includes complex forms of identity politics which is more relational, dynamic and intertwined.

Urban policy and planning should create spaces of encounter and public spaces which are important tools for fostering social interaction and face-to-face contact, and reducing prejudice, discrimination and social conflicts. In this respect, planning tools should be used to bring people together in public spaces, cultural festivals, street events, arts projects and fairs. Moreover, the provision of public spaces and public services including public libraries, parks, cinemas, sports clubs, community centers and drop-in centers are also key to foster interaction, since they allow diverse and disadvantaged groups to meet, share the space, interact, get involved in social networks and develop their skills and capabilities. Provision of ample public spaces that are accessible, varied, and oriented towards the needs and characteristics of local communities should be a primary purpose of urban policy and planning.

In conclusion, ensuring equality and justice for all, but at the same time responding to varying needs, expectations and demands of different groups with diverse identities, lifestyles and values is the most challenging task of today's governance as well as urban planning. However, it is the major criterion of a democratic system with its all responsible policy and planning institutions to build cohesive societies where the sense of togetherness is established with respecting differences, and all people have spaces to represent themselves, equally and actively participate into urban life, and enjoy decent living standards. 'Establishing and maintaining proper conditions for living together without creating others, and designing and developing public spaces to function as spaces of encounter and stimulate interaction' should be an essential principle for urban planning, which seems not to be much concern in the contemporary period.

REFERENCES

- Abtan, B. (2013). *Let's open Europe to immigration*. Retrieved on January 22, 2015, from <http://www.newstatesman.com/austerity-and-its-discontents/2013/07/lets-open-europe-immigration>
- Agarwal, S. and Siddique, A. (2011). *Why Do NGOs Exist, and Where are They Headed?* Retrieved on March 17, 2015, from: http://www.fairobserver.com/region/north_america/why-do-ngos-exist-and-where-are-they-headed/
- Aguirre, A., Eick, V. and Reese, E. (eds.) (2006). Introduction: Neoliberal Globalization, Urban Privatization, and Resistance. *Social Justice*, 33(3): 1-5.
- Aksoy, A. (1996). *Küreselleşme ve İstanbul'da İstihdam*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, İstanbul.
- Aksoy, A. and Robins, K. (2011). Changing Urban Cultural Governance in İstanbul: The Beyoğlu Plan. *Culture Policy and Management Research Centre*, Working Paper.
- Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with Diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, 34(6): 959-980.
- Andersson, R. and Musterd, S. (2005). Area-Based Policies: A Critical Appraisal. *Journal of Economic and Social Geography*, 96(4): 377-389.
- Arredondo, N. G., Soltanzadeh, H., Solano, D. P. and Mateo, B. V. (2013). *Social Landscape of Beyoğlu*, in The Case of Beyoğlu, İstanbul Dimensions of Urban Redevelopment. Ed. Erkut, G. (2014) Berlin: Endformat GmbH, 2014. Technische Universität Berlin. Retrieved on May 15, 2015, from: https://www.urbanmanagement.tuberlin.de/fileadmin/f6_urbanmanagement/Study_Course/student_work/UM-Report_istanbul.pdf
- Arikan Akdağ, G. (2012). AKP's Local Politics: Perceived Discrimination as an Obstacle to Ethnic Mobilization. *Alternative Politics*, 4(2): 147-179.
- Bakırköy Municipality, (2009). '2010-2014 Strategic Plan', Retrieved on May 2014, from: <http://www.bakirkoy.bel.tr/sayfaicerik.aspx?sid=50>.
- Balbo, M. and Marconi, G. (2005). 'Governing International Migration in the City of the South', Global Migration Perspectives 38, Geneva: Global Commission for International Migration.

- Banks, J. A. (2004). Teaching for Social Justice, Diversity and Citizenship in a Global World. *The Educational Forum*, Volume 68.
- Barberis, E., Angelucci, A. and Kazepov, Y. (2014). *Governance arrangements and initiatives in Milan, Italy*. Urbino: DESP – University of Urbino Carlo Bo.
- Bauböck, R. (2008). “Beyond Culturalism and Statism. Liberal Responses to Diversity”. Eurosphere Working Paper Series, Online Working Paper No. 06.
- Bayraktar, U. (2003). Formelleşen hemşehri dayanışma ağları: İstanbul’daki hemşehri dernekleri. *Toplumbilim*, 17: 107-118.
- Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 19 (1-2): 17-44.
- Beşiktaş Municipality, (2009). ‘2010-2014 Strategic Plan’, Retrieved on May 21, 2014, from: http://www.besiktas.bel.tr/Files/Image/stratejik_plan_2010_2014.pdf.
- Better Aid (n. d.). *Private sector and development. Civil society voices for Better Aid*. Retrieved on February 6, 2015, from: http://cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/final_private_sector_and_development.pdf
- Bloemraad, I., Korteweg, A. and Yurdakul, G. (2008). Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State. *Annual Review of Sociology* 34: 153-79.
- Bosswick, W. (2009). *Intergroup Relations and Intercultural Policies in Istanbul, Turkey*. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. Dublin 2010.
- Brenner, N. and Theodore, N. (2002). *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in Western Europe and North America*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Brenner, N. (2004). Urban governance and the production of new state spaces in western Europe, 1960- 2000. *Review of International Political Economy*, 11(3): 447-488.
- Brisku, A. (2010). Empires without Cosmopolitanism? - Ottoman and Russian Empires in the 19th century. Abstract Paper for the Conference “Revisiting the Imagination of Europe and the World: Cosmopolitan Teleologies and Europe,” Helsinki 26-28 April 2010.
- Brubaker, R. (1995). National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe. *Daedalus*, 124(2): 107-132.

- Buğra, A. and Keyder Ç. (2005). *Poverty and Social Policy in Contemporary Turkey*. Boğaziçi University Social Policy Forum. Retrieved on April 20, 2015 from <http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/docs/WP-Bugra-Keyder.pdf>
- Buizer, M., Elands, B., Mattijssen, T., van der Jagt, A., Ambrose, B., Geróházi, E., Santos, A. and Møller, S. (2015). *The Governance of Urban Green Spaces in Selected EU-Cities: Policies, Practices, Actors, Topics*.
- Cabral, J. and Crespo, J. L. (2010). The institutional dimension of governance in the Lisbon metropolitan area. *Análise Social*, 197(XLV): 639-662.
- Calhoun C. (1997). *Nationalism, Concepts in the Social Sciences*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Cantle, T. (2001). *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*. London: Home Office.
- Cemiloğlu, D. (2009). Language Policy and National Unity: The Dilemma of the Kurdish Language in Turkey. *CUREJ-College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, March 2009.
- Center for Policy Studies (CPS) (2009). *Policy Actors and Governance*. Central European University. Retrieved February 4, 2015, from: http://cps.ceu.edu/research/policy_actors_and_governance
- Collett, E. (2011). *Immigrant Integration in Europe in a Time of Austerity*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Council of Europe (CoE) (2012). *The intercultural city step by step: Practical guide for applying the urban model of intercultural integration*. Retrieved on February 3, 2015, from: <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Cities/ICCstepbystepAugust2012.pdf>
- Cramme, O. and Motte, C. (2007). *Introduction in Rethinking Immigration and Integration: a New Centre-Left Agenda*. Policy Network. London.
- Çetin, İ. (2013). The Possibility of Multiculturalism in a Nation State: A Debate on Europe and Millet System. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis Studia Sociologica*, 5(2): 73–85.
- Danış, D., Dörtbudak, Z., Erten, B., Gerçek, H., Gülümser, A. A., Güvenç, M., Kadioğlu, M., Kuyucu, T., Levent, T.B.; Lewis, S., Ocak, E., Pérouse, J. F., Polat, Z., Sanaç, E., Şahin, K., Üstün, B. and Yakut, S. Ö. (2009). *Mapping Istanbul*: Garanti Gallery.

- Delhay, J. and Newton, K. (2005). Predicting cross-national levels of social trust: global pattern or Nordic exceptionalism. *European Sociological Review*, 21 (4): 311-327.
- Demirtepe, T. and Bozbey, İ. A. (2012). Accommodation or Assimilation? Chinese Government Policies Toward Uyghur Minority. *Usak Yearbook*, Vol. 5: 151-174.
- Dinçer, İ. and Enlil, Z. (2003). “Eski Kent Merkezinde Yeni Yoksullar: Tarlabası, İstanbul”, *Yoksulluk, Kent Yoksulluğu ve Planlama*, 8 Kasım Dünya Şehircilik Günü, 26. Kollokyumu, 6-8 Kasım 2002, Ankara.
- Dinçer, İ. (2011). Impact of Neoliberal Policies on Historic Urban Space: Areas of Urban Renewal in Istanbul. *International Planning Studies*, 16(1): 43-60.
- Duben, A. (2013). Generations of Istanbul families, the elderly, and the social economy of welfare. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 48: 5-54.
- Dukes, T. and Musterd, S. (2012). Towards social cohesion: Bridging national integration rhetoric and local practice: The case of The Netherlands. *Urban Studies*, 49: 1981- 1997.
- Duymaz, I. (1995). *Türkiye’de Yabancı Kaçak İşçilik*. Istanbul, Fredrich Ebert Vakfı.
- Edgar, L., Marshall, C. and Basset, M. (2006). Partnerships: Putting Good Governance Principles in Practice, August 2006, Institute on Governance. Ottawa, Canada.
- Ekinci, O. (1994). *Istanbul’u Sarsan On Yıl: 1983-1993*, Anahtar Kitaplar, İstanbul.
- Enache, A. (2005). Nation States and Cultural Diversity, *Europe’s Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 1, No. 4. Retrieved December 21, 2014, from <http://ejop.psychopen.eu/article/view/385/html>
- Enlil, Z. (2011). The Neoliberal Agenda and the Changing Urban Form of Istanbul. *International Planning Studies*, 16(1): 5-25.
- Entzinger, H. (2006). Changing the Rules While the Game is on; From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands. In Bodemann, Y.M. and Yurdakul, G. Eds. (2006) *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos: Incorporation Regimes in Germany, Western Europe and North America*; New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp 121-144.

- Eraydın, A. (2008). The impact of globalisation on different social groups: Competitiveness, social cohesion and spatial segregation in Istanbul, *Urban Studies*, 45 (8) 1663-1691.
- Eraydın, A. (2014). Kentsel Çeşitliliğin Yönetişimi Üzerine Yeniden Düşünmek, 5th Urban and Regional Research Network Symposium: Urban Diversity: Discussions, Policies, Spatial Planning and Practices, 16-18 October, Çankaya University, Ankara, Turkey. (pp. 1-20).
- Eraydın, A., Yersen, Ö., Güngördü, N. and Demirdağ, İ. (2014a). *Assessment of Urban Policies in İstanbul, Turkey*. Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Eraydın, A., Yersen, Ö., Güngördü, N. and Demirdağ, İ. (2014b). *Governance Arrangements and Initiatives in İstanbul, Turkey*. Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
- Eraydın, A., Yersen, Ö., Güngördü, N. and Demirdağ, İ. (2015). *Fieldwork Inhabitants*. Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
- European Commission (2011). *Cities of Tomorrow: Challenges, Visions, Ways Forward*. Brussels: Directorate-General for Regional Policy.
- European Social Network (2014). *Contemporary issues in the public management of social services in Europe: Responding to the economic crisis and austerity*. Retrieved on February 15, 2015, from <http://www.esn-eu.org/raw.php?page=files&id=916>.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2010). *The just city*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Fincher, R. and Iveson, K. (2008). *Planning and Diversity in the City: Redistribution, Recognition and Encounter*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fincher, R., Iveson, K., Leitner H. and Preston, V. (2014). Planning in the multicultural city: Celebrating diversity or reinforcing difference? *Progress in Planning*, 92: 1-55.
- Flanagan, S. and Hancock, B. (2010). 'Reaching the Hard to Reach' - lessons learned from the VCS (voluntary and community sector). A qualitative study. *BMC Health Services Research* 2010, 10: 92.
- Flint, C. (2006). "Nation-State." *Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Ed. . Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2006. 316-18. SAGE Reference Online. Retrieved on February 4, 2015, from:

http://www.sagepub.com/ritzerintro/study/materials/reference/77708_6.1ref.pdf

- Fraisse, L. (2011). Potential and ambivalent effects of grassroots initiatives on neighbourhood development. The Social Polis Survey Paper. Retrieved on April 28, 2015, from: http://www.socialpolis.eu/uploads/tx_sp/EF11_Paper.pdf
- Geambazu, S., Roman, D., Klaussner, G. and Wagner, D. (2013). *Urban Layout of Beyoglu*, in The Case of Beyoglu, Istanbul Dimensions of Urban Redevelopment. Ed. Erkut, G. (2014) Berlin: Endformat GmbH, 2014. Technische Universität Berlin. Retrieved on May 15, 2015, from: https://www.urbanmanagement.tuberlin.de/fileadmin/f6_urbanmanagement/Study_Course/student_work/UM-Report_istanbul.pdf
- Gibson, Ryan (2011). *A Primer on Collaborative Multi-Level Governance*. Project Report. Canadian Regional Development: A Critical Review of Theory, Practice and Potentials.
- Girişken, G. T. (2013). Beyoğlu İşyerleri: İş Alınalı Yapı ve Bileşiminde Değişim ve Süreklilik. KBAM (Kentsel ve Bölgesel Araştırmalar Ağı), “Neo-Liberalizm Sonrası Mekansal Müdahale Biçimleri ve Yansımaları” Proceedings Book. pp. 621-638. KBAM 4th Symposium, 28-30 November 2013, Mersin, Turkey.
- Grillo, R. (2007). An excess of alterity? Debating difference in a multicultural society. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6): 979-998.
- Grisel, M. and Van de Waart, F. (ed.) (2011). *Multilevel Urban Governance or the Art of Working Together. Methods, Instruments and Practices*, Amsterdam: EUKN.
- Hafner-Burton, E. M. and Tsutsui, K. (2005). Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(5): 1373–411.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved on December 5, 2014, from <http://www.nationalismproject.org/what/hobsbawm.htm>
- Hopkins, L. (2010). Mapping the third sector: A context for social leadership. A report prepared for Clore Social Leadership Programme. Retrieved on January 30, 2015, from: <http://www.theworkfoundation.com/Assets/Docs/Mapping the Third Sector.pdf>

- Institute of Community Cohesion (iCoCo) (2012). *Cohesion, Integration and Openness: From 'Multi' to 'Inter' Culturalism*. Retrieved on December 14, 2014, from <http://www.cohesioninstitute.org.uk/Resources/Publications>
- Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (2011). 'Investment Programme', Retrieved on May 8, 2015, from: <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/ButceYatirim/YatirimProgrami/Documents/2011yatirimprogrami/2011yatirimprogrami.pdf>.
- Istanbul Special Provincial Administration (IPSO) (2012). 'Annual Activity Report of Istanbul Provincial Special Administration', Retrieved on December 20, 2013, from: http://www.ioi.gov.tr/faaliyet_raporlari.php
- İçduygu, A. and Biehl, K. (2008). *Migrant Cities Research: Istanbul, LivingTogether Programme*, British Council.
- Jacobson, M. (2009). *Producing Neoliberal Cities and Citizens*. Retrieved on April 10, 2015, from <http://psicologiasocial.uab.es/fic/en/book/2009/07/20-2>
- Jessop, B. (2000). 'Governance Failure', in Stoker, G. (Ed.) *The New Politics of British Local Governance*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp. 11-32.
- Kadıköy Municipality, (2012). 'Annual Activity Report', Retrieved on May 25, 2015, from: http://kadikoy.bel.tr:9009/_uploads/File/2012%20FAALİYET%20RAPORU.pdf.
- Kahya, G. Y. (2014). *Transpatially Assembled Cultural Communities and Locations of Their Practices*, Unpublished PhD Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Natural Sciences of Middle East Technical University.
- Karakuyu, M. and Kara, M. (2011). *The Spatial Distribution of The Non-Muslim Population (i.e., Greek, Armenian, Jews), Their Socio-Cultural Context and Future of Multi - Culturalism of Istanbul*
- Kaya, A. and Harmaneri, E. (2010). "Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Turkey," FP7 Project entitled *Accept Pluralism: Tolerance, Pluralism and Social Cohesion: Responding to the Challenges of the 21st Century in Europe*, Overview of National Discourses on Tolerance and Cultural Diversity. Retrieved on April 17, 2015, from: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/ACCEPT/Home.aspx>
- Kayasü, S. and Yetişkul, E. (2014). *Evolving Legal and Institutional Frameworks of Neoliberal Urban Policies in Turkey*. *METU JFA*, 2014/2, 31(2): 209-222.
- Kazepov, Y. (2005). *Cities of Europe: Changing Context, Local Arrangements, and the Challenge to Urban Cohesion*. In Y. Kazepov (Ed.), *Cities of Europe*:

Changing Context, Local Arrangements, and the Challenge to Urban Cohesion (pp. 3-42). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Keyder, C. (2005). 'Globalisation and social exclusion in Istanbul', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(1): 124-134.

Koenig, M. and de Guchteneire, P. (2007). "The political governance of cultural diversity". In: Koenig, M. and de Guchteneire, P. (Eds.), *Democracy and Human Rights in Multicultural Societies*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 3-17.

Koopmans, R. (2005). The missing link between structure and agency: Outline of an evolutionary approach to social movements. *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 10, 19-33.

Krugman, P. (2012). The Austerity Agenda. Retrieved January 20, 2015, from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/01/opinion/krugman-the-austerity-agenda.html?_r=3&

Kurtarır, E. and Ökten, A. N. (2014). Çeşitlenen Kentlerde Körleşen Planlama, 5th Urban and Regional Research Network Symposium: Urban Diversity: Discussions, Policies, Spatial Planning and Practices, 16-18 October, Çankaya University, Ankara, Turkey. (pp. 431-448).

Kuznetsov, S., Odom, W., Paulos, E., DiSalvo, C., Moulder, V., Wakkary, R., and Hirsch, T. (2011). *HCI, Politics and the City: Engaging with Urban Grassroots Movements for Reflection and Action*. Extended Abstracts CHI11, Vancouver BC, ACM Press, pp. 2409-2412.

Kymlicka, W. (2010). "The Current State of Multiculturalism in Canada and Research Themes on Canadian Multiculturalism 2008-2010" A report written for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Kymlicka, W. (2012). *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure and the Future*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Lobao, L. (2009). "Decentralization and State-Rescaling: The Policy Experiments of Local Governments across the U.S. 2001-2008." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the International Sociological Association, Section RC-19 Montreal August.

Lytvyniuk, D. (2011). "The EU Migration Policy in a Context of Economic Crisis in Europe", Odesa Regional Institute of Public Administration of the National Academy of Public Administration, Odessa.

- McCoy, G. and Peddle, R. (2012). Neoliberal Policy and its Influence on Welfare Ideology: A Source of Injustice? *Socheolas: Limerick Student Journal of Sociology*, 3(2): 61-79.
- McCrone, D. (1998). *The Sociology of Nationalism: Tomorrow's Ancestors*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McRobie, H. (2012). *When 'Austerity' Sounds Like 'Backlash': Gender and The Economic Crisis*. Retrieved on January 21, 2015, from http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article_comments/when_austerity_sounds_like_backlash_gender_and_the_economic_crisis
- Meer, N. and Modood, T. (2013). 'Interacting interculturalism with multiculturalism: observations on theory and practice', in M. Barrett (ed.) *Interculturalism and multiculturalism: similarities and differences*, Council of Europe.
- Mercer, C. (2006). "Local Policies for Cultural Diversity: Systems, Citizenship, and Governance. With an Emphasis on the UK and Australia". Paper commissioned by Institut de Cultura, Barcelona City Council, in the framework of the study "Local policies for cultural diversity" commissioned by the Division of Cultural Policies and Intercultural Dialogue of UNESCO.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative Research A Guide to Design and Implementation*. San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Metz, H. C. (1995). *Linguistic and Ethnic Groups in Turkey: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1995. Retrieved on April 22, 2015, from: <http://countrystudies.us/turkey/26.htm>
- Michalowski, I. (2011). Required to assimilate? The content of citizenship tests in five countries, *Citizenship Studies*, 15: 749-768.
- Michellini, J. J. and Méndez, R. (2013). Creative industries, spatial contrasts and urban governance in Madrid. *Revista de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território*, n. 3 (Junho). Centro de Estudos de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território. pp. 143-170.
- Michelutti, E. and Smith, H. C. (2012). "The Realpolitik of Informal City Governance: The Interplay of Powers in Mumbai's Un-recognized Settlements". N-AERUS XIII, Paris, 22-24/11/ 2012.
- Minority Rights Group (MRG) (2011). *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved on April 23, from: <http://www.minorityrights.org/4387/turkey/turkey-overview.html>

- Military Leadership Diversity Commission (MLDC) (2010). Issue Paper #49: Demographic Diversity Management Policies, Practices, and Metrics Used in Private Sector Organizations, Arlington, Va.
- Muchowiecka, L. (2013). The End of Multiculturalism? Immigration and Integration in Germany and the United Kingdom. *Student Pulse*, 5(06).
- Mylonas (2007). "A Theory of Nation-Building," Paper presented at the 3rd Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, (June 14-15, 2007).
- Narli, N. (1999). The Rise of the Islamist Movement in Turkey. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 3(3) (September 1999).
- Newby, A. (2014). *Austerity no excuse for Barnet's mass privatization programme*. Retrieved on January 21, 2015, from <http://www.barnetgreenparty.co.uk/austerity-no-excuse-for-barnets-mass-privatisation-programme/>
- Öktem, B. (2005). Küresel Kent Söyleminin Kentsel Mekanı Dönüştürmedeki Rolü: Büyükdere Maslak Aksı. In Istanbul'da Kentsel Ayrısma, ed. H. Kurtuluş. Istanbul, Bağlam Yayınları.
- Öktem, B. (2011). The role of global city discourses in the development and transformation of the Buyukdere-Maslak axis into the international business district of Istanbul. *International Planning Studies*, 16: 27-42.
- Özer, Y. E. (n.d.). *Yoksulluk ve Dezavantajlı Gruplar*. Retrieved on February 15, 2015, from: <http://slideplayer.biz.tr/slide/3691002/>
- Peck, J. (2012). Austerity urbanism. *City*, 16(6): 626-655.
- Perlo, A. (2012). Austerity and the Economic Crisis. Retrieved 20 January, 2015, from <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/austerity-and-the-economic-crisis/>
- Pierre, J. (2000). (Ed.) *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pineau, C. (2014). "LGBT's rights" stock-taking in Turkey : reality and complexity of Turkish society. Retrieved on April 27, 2015, from: <http://www.mena-post.com/2014/10/19/lgbts-rights-stock-taking-in-turkey-reality-and-complexity-of-turkish-society/>

- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2): 137-174.
- Raco, M., Colomb, C. and Kesten, J. (2014). DIVERCITIES Policy Brief No. 2: *Governing Diversity*. Retrieved on December 15, 2014, from http://www.urbandivercities.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/DIVERCITIES_Policy_Brief_2.pdf
- Saatçi, M. (2002). Nation-states and Ethnic Boundaries: Modern Turkish Identity and Turkish-Kurdish conflict. *Nations and Nationalism*, 8(4): 549-564.
- Sakızlıoğlu, N. B. (2007). Impacts of Urban Renewal Policies: The Case of Tarlaşı-Istanbul, Master of Science Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of METU.
- Sakızlıoğlu, B. (2014). A Comparative Look at Residents' Displacement Experiences: The Cases of Amsterdam and Istanbul, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Urban and Regional Research Center, Utrecht University, The Netherlands.
- Saybaşı, N. (2006). Tarlaşı: "Another World" in the City. In A. Franke (ed.) *B-Zone: Becoming Europe and Beyond* (pp. 100-109). Berlin and Barcelona: KW Institute for Contemporary Art and Actar.
- Schenkel, W. and Plüss, L. (2014). DIVERCITIES Policy Brief No. 3: *Governance Arrangements and Initiatives: Utilizing Urban Diversity to Create Positive Outcomes*. Retrieved on February 25, 2015, from: http://www.urbandivercities.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/DIVERCITIES_Policy_Brief_3.pdf
- Scott, A. (2014). *Escape From Syria: On the Road With the Refugees Walking to Europe*, *Newsweek*. Retrieved on May 18, 2015, from: <http://europe.newsweek.com/escape-syria-road-refugees-walking-europe-264269>
- Sönmez, M. (1996). *Istanbul'un İki Yüzü, 1980'den 2000'e Değişim*. Arkadaş Yayınevi, Ankara.
- Sönmez, M. (2001). *Gelir Uçurumu: Türkiye'de Gelirin Adaletsiz Bölüşümü: İstanbul*. Om Yayınevi, Ekonomi Politik Dizisi.
- Sözen, Ü. (2010). Gentrification, Cosmopolitanism, and Consumption in the Beyoğlu District: A Case Study of Metropolitan Habitus. Unpublished Master Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Koç University, August 2010.

- Spencer, S. (2008). Equality and Diversity in Jobs and Services: City Policies for Migrants in Europe, Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions/Cities for Local Integration Policy (CLIP) Network.
- Steinberg, S. (2013). *Deepening Economic Crisis: Austerity Policies Heighten National Divisions throughout Europe*. Retrieved on 20 January, 2015, from <http://www.globalresearch.ca/deepening-economic-crisis-austerity-policies-heighten-national-divisions-throughout-europe/5334073>
- Stoker, G. (1998). Governance as Theory: Five Propositions. *International Social Science Journal*, 50(1): 17-28.
- Sunata, U., Hazar, N. and Avcı, N. (2014). Eski İstanbul Mahallelerinde Gayrimüslim Temsiller: Sınıf ve Farklılıklara Açıklık. KBAM (Kentsel ve Bölgesel Araştırmalar Ağı), “Toplumsal Çeşitlilik Yeni Söyle, Politikalar, Mekansal Planlama ve Uygulamalar” Proceedings Book. pp. 69-84. KBAM 5th Symposium, 16-18 October 2014, Ankara, Turkey.
- Syrett, S. and Sepulveda, L. (2011). Realising the Diversity Dividend: Population Diversity and Urban Economic Development. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(2): 487-504.
- Syrett, S. and Sepulveda, L. (2012). Urban Governance and Economic Development in the Diverse City. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 19(3): 238-253.
- Şimşek, S. (2004). New Social Movements in Turkey Since 1980. *Turkish Studies*, 5(2): 111-139.
- Şişli Municipality, (2009). ‘2010-2014 Strategic Plan’, Retrieved on May 20, 2014, from: <http://www.sislibelediyesi.com/site/pager.asp?ID=76>.
- Tasan-Kok, T. and Vranken, J. (2011). Handbook for Multilevel Urban Governance in Europe, Analysing Participatory Instruments for an Integrated Development, EUKN, September 2011.
- Tasan-Kok, T., van Kempen, R., Raco, M. and Bolt, G. (2013). Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review. Utrecht: Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences.
- Tersteeg, A., van Kempen, R. and Bolt, G. (2014). *Urban Policies on Diversity in Rotterdam, the Netherlands*. Utrecht: Utrecht University.

- The Cantle Report (2001). Community Cohesion: Report of the Independent Review Team, Home Office, London.
- Thomas, P. (2009). From petrol bombs to performance indicators: The 2001 riots and the emergence of Community Cohesion. In: *Rioting in the UK and France: A comparative analysis*. Willan Publishing, Uffculme.
- Triandafyllidou, A. and Ulasiuk, I. (2014). Managing Complex Cultural Diversity in Europe. The Idea of Diversity Partnerships, Policy Brief, Global Governance Programme, EUI, 2014/2.
- Tsibiridou, F. (2014). Social Poetics, Emotional Engagement and Cultural Critique in İstanbul: When Liminality Matters in the Social Movements. *Urbanities*, 4(1), May 2014.
- Tsukamoto, T. (2012). Neoliberalization of the Developmental State: Tokyo's Bottom-up Politics and State Rescaling in Japan. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(1): 71-89.
- Türkün, A. (2011). Urban regeneration and hegemonic power relationships. *International Planning Studies*, 16(1): 61-72.
- UNCTAD (2008). Creative Economy Report 2008: The Challenge of Assessing the Creative Economy towards Informed Policymaking, Retrieved on February 12, 2015, from: http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditc20082cer_en.pdf
- UNDP (1997). Governance for sustainable human development: A UNDP policy document. New York, NY.
- UNHCR (2015). 2015 UNHCR Country Operations Profile – Turkey, Retrieved on May 9, 2015 from: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e48e0fa7f.html>
- Valverde, M. (2012). *Everyday Law on the Street: City Governance in an Age of Diversity*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Eijk, G. (2013). Regenerating through social mixing: Origins, aims and strategies. In: M.E. Leary, J. McCarthy (Eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Urban Regeneration*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Vasta, E. (2007). 'Accommodating Diversity: why current critiques of multiculturalism miss the point', COMPAS Working Paper Series, WS-07-53.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6): 1024-1054.

- Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. (2009). "Assessing the Backlash Against Multiculturalism in Europe". MMG Working Paper 09-04, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen.
- Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. (2010). *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, London: Routledge.
- Vertovec, S. (2010). Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity. *International Social Science Journal*, 61 (199): 83-95.
- Vickers, T. (2012). *Migration in an Age of Austerity*. Retrieved on January 20, 2015, from <https://refugeescapitalismstate.wordpress.com/migration-in-an-age-of-austerity/>
- Wimmer, A. and Schiller, N. G. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks* 2, 4 (2002): 301-334.
- Yağcıoğlu, D. (1996). Nation-States vis-à-vis Ehtnocultural Minorities: Oppression and Assimilation versus Integration and Accommodation (An Introductory Essay), Retrieved on December 19, 2014, from <http://www.reocities.com/Athens/8945/minor.html>
- Yeldan, E. (2001). *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Türkiye Ekonomisi: Bölüşüm, Birikim, Büyüme, İstanbul*, İletişim Publications.
- Yin, K.Y. (1984). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Series, Vol.5, Sage Publications, USA.
- Zwiers, M., Bolt, G., van Ham, M. and van Kempen, R. (2014). "Neighborhood Decline and the Economic Crisis". IZA Discussion Paper No. 8749.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW FORMS

*Bu anket Avrupa Birliği 7. Çerçeve programı çerçevesinde yürütölmekte olan DIVERCITIES (Grant Agreement- Number: 319970) Projesi kapsamında gerçekleştirilmektedir.

This interview is conducted within the scope of the DIVERCITIES Project (EU 319970-FP7).

Interview Form-1

KURUM:	TARİH:
KİŞİ:	SAAT:
GÖREVİ:	

Soru 1: Türkiye’de ve İstanbul’da benimsenen kentsel politikalarda toplumsal yapıdaki artan çeşitlilik ne ölçüde dikkate alınıyor ve nasıl ifade ediliyor? Siz olsanız farklı sosyal, demografik ve etnik özellikleri olan grupların bir arada yaşadığı, artan sayıda göçmenlerin ve ziyaretçilerin olduğu kent parçalarının yapısını tanımlamakta “çeşitlilik” yerine hangi kelimeyi tercih ederdiniz? Kentsel alanlardaki bu değişimi betimlemek için “Çeşitlilik” yerine ne gibi benzer ifadeler veya terimler kullanılabilir?

Soru 2: Sizce kentsel politikalar ve kentlerde yapılan uygulamalarda farklı sosyal, demografik, etnik ve kültürel grupların talepleri ve gereksinimleri dikkate alınıyor mu? Politikalar üretilirken gözötilmeyen gruplar, topluluklar var mı? Hangi sosyal, etnik ve demografik gruplar ile göçmenlerin gereksinimleri dikkate alınmıyor?

Soru 3: Dünyadaki tüm metropollerin giderek daha fazla kozmopolit bir yapıya sahip olduğu ve artan sosyal ve kentsel çeşitliliğin olumlu yönleriyle ele alındığı görölmektedir. İstanbul için benzer yapı ve politikalardan söz edilebilir mi? Ulusal politikalar bu konuda nasıl bir çerçeve sunuyor?

Soru 4: Üretilen kentsel politikalar hangi tür çeşitliliği dikkate alıyor (kültürel, etnik, sosyo-ekonomik, sosyo demografik, vb)? Hangi tür çeşitliliğe hiç değinilmiyor? Size göre kentsel politikaları belirlerken hangi tür toplumsal çeşitliliğe değinilmeli ve hangi gruplara yönelik özel politikalar geliştirilmelidir?

Soru 5: Yapılan çalışmalarda kentteki farklı grupların bir arada kendi özgün niteliklerini ve kimliklerini sergileyerek yaşamlarının kentin gelişimini ve yaratıcılığını artıracak Avrupa Birliği politikaları içinde vurgulanıyor. Bu konuda İstanbul'daki farklı karar vericiler ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının görüşü ve yaklaşımı nedir? Mevcut kentsel politikalar ve uygulamalar çeşitliliği arttırmaya mı yoksa azaltmayı mı amaçlıyor? Bu politikalar genel mi yoksa belirli bölgeleri veya kentleri mi kapsıyor?

Soru 6: Mevcut kentsel politikalar “Kentsel Çeşitlilik” konusunda doğrudan değiniyor mu? Eğer bu konuda duyarlılık varsa hangi yönleriyle ele alınıyor? Politikalar çeşitliliğin sadece olumlu yönlerini mi ele alıyor? Olumsuz yönlerini ele alıyor mu? Bu olumsuzlukları hedef alan politikalar üretiliyor mu?

Soru 7: Türkiye farklı etnik ve kültürel gruplar ile (yabancı) göçmenlere yönelik politikaların bu grupları assimile etmeye yönelik olduğunu söyleyebilir miyiz? Son zamanlarda asimilasyon politikalarından çok kültürlülüğü destekleyen çoğulcu politikalara kayma söz konusu mu? Sizce çok kültürlülük desteklenmeli midir?

Soru 8: Son yıllarda kültürel çeşitlilik, etnik kimlikler, farklı sosyal gruplar konularının giderek daha fazla gündeme geldiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Gündeme geldi ise bu tartışmalar ne ölçüde uygulamaya aktarıldı? Veya neden daha ön plana çıktı? Yoksa çeşitliliğe yapılan vurgu zaman içinde azaldı mı?

Soru 9: Bölgeler arası göçler ve kültürel ve etnik çeşitliliğin yönetimi konusunda sivil toplum örgütleri aktif bir şekilde rol alıyorlar mı? Bu meseleye nasıl bakıyorlar? Sivil toplum kuruluşları bu süreçte nasıl yer alıyor?

Soru 10: Sosyal, etnik ve kültürel çeşitlilik konusuyla ilgili yapılan düzenlemeleri nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Bu düzenlemeler ne ölçüde etkili oldu veya olmaktadır? Hangi konularda yeni yasal düzenlemeler gereklidir?

Soru 11: Toplumdaki çeşitliliği desteklemek konusunda yaptığınız hangi çalışmalar var? Yaptığınız bu çalışmaların yöneldiği gruplar hangileridir? Farklı sosyal, etnik ve kültürel gruplara ilişkin hangi tür çalışmaları sürdürüyorsunuz? Size göre bu çalışmaların başarıyı tanımlayan kilit noktaları nelerdir?

SORU 12: Yaptığınız çalışmaları kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? Yaptığınız çalışmalar toplumdaki kültürel, etnik, sosyo-demografik çeşitlilik konusunda nasıl katkı sağlıyor?

SORU 13: Yaptığınız çalışmalarda hangi kurum ve kuruluşlardan destek alıyorsunuz? Yerel yönetimler ve diğer kamu kuruluşarı ile birlikte çalışıyor musunuz? Bu kurumlarla ilişki biçiminizi tanımlayabilirmisiniz?

SORU 14: Yaptığınız çalışmalar için hangi kurum ve kuruluşlardan maddi destek sağlıyorsunuz?

Interview Form-2

Kurumun/girişimin adı:

Adresi

Görüşülen kişi

Tel No:

KURUM/ GRUP/YÖNETİŞİM UYGULAMALARI HAKKINDA BİLGİ

1. **Kuruluş yılı:**
2. **Yasal statü**
3. **Kurucular**
Kişiler
Kurumlar
4. **Fikrin ortaya çıkış süreci, kuruluş süreci nasıl gerçekleşmiştir?**
Açıklayınız.
.....
- 4 **Kurumun kuruluşunu teşvik eden faktörler nelerdir?**
Açıklayınız.

ÖRGÜTLENME BİÇİMİ

- 5 **Örgüt şeması?**
- 6 **Gönüllülük esasına dayalı çalışmalarınız var mı?**
- 7 **Çalışanların sayısı**
Ücretli
Gönüllü
- 8 **Yetki dağılımı nasıl gerçekleştiriliyor?**
 - Üst kademedeki çalışmalar
 - Tabandan gelen talep
 - İkisi de.....Açıklayınız.
- 9 **Katılım süreci**
Uygulayıcılar ve faydalanıcılar sürece katılıyor mu?
 - Evet
 - Hayır**Katılıyor ise, ne oranda söz sahibiler?**

10 Uzun süreli ve kısa süreli paydaşlarınız/ ortaklarınız kimlerdir?

- Merkezi yönetim
- Yerel yönetimler
- Özel sektör
- STK'lar
- Uluslararası örgütler
- Uluslararası STK'lar

11 Finansal kaynaklarınız nelerdir?

- Daimi sponsor desteği
- Geçici sponsor desteği
- Kendi gelirleri
- Hibe ve yardımlar
- Devlet yardımı
- Yerel yönetimlerin yardımları
- Üyelik gelirleri
- Kuruluşa ait iktisadi işletmelerden gelen yardımlar
- Diğer

12 Kaynaklarınızın harcama kalemleri nelerdir?

- Genel idari hizmet giderleri
- Faaliyet giderleri
- Mali yardımlar
- Benzer faaliyetlerdeki kuruluşlara/derneklere yardım giderleri
- Diğer

13 Faaliyetlerinizden yararlanan yıllık ortalama kişi sayısı nedir?

.....

14 Üyelik sistemine göre örgütlendiniz ise, toplam üye sayınız nedir?

.....

AMAÇ, STRATEJİ, HEDEF KİTLE

15 Kurumun amacı nedir?

- Sosyal bütünlüğü artırma
- Dezavantajlı gruplara ekonomik açıdan destek
- Dezavantajlı grupların kültürel açıdan desteklenmesi
- Dezavantajlı grupların politik açıdan desteklenmesi

- Sosyal hareketliliği artırma
- Etnik grupların haklarını koruma
- Farklı gruplar arasında dayanışma ağları oluşturmak
- Farklı grupların haklarını savunmak

16 Amaca yönelik stratejiler nelerdir?

- Kamunun yönelmediği (ilgilenmediği konularda) politika üretme
- Kamunun yönelmediği (ilgilenmediği konularda) proje üretme ve uygulama
- Kamunun eksik bıraktığı konularda destek olma
- Kamunun eksik bıraktığı konularda proje hazırlama ve uygulama
- Kamunun yaptığı çalışmalara yardım

17 Çalışmalarınızın ölçeği nedir?

- Tüm ülke
- İstanbul
- Mahalle
- Belirli bir proje alanı
- Diğer

18 Çalışmaların/ projelerin hedef kitlesi/kitleleri nelerdir?

- Dezavantajlı gruplar
 - Çocuklar
 - Kadınlar
 - Gençler
 - Yaşlılar
 - Engelliler
 - Yoksullar
 - Suçlular
 - Madde bağımlıları
 - Diğer
- Göçmenler
- Kültürel/Etnik gruplar
- Farklı cinsel yönelim ve cinsiyet kimliğine sahip kişiler
- Hemşehri grupları

19 Amaç ve stratejilere yönelik temel faaliyetler nelerdir?

- Politika üretme
- Proje hazırlama
- Uygulama
- Diğer

15 Ana amacınız,stratejileriniz ve çalışma alanlarınız hangi konuları kapsıyor?

Sosyal bütünlük

- Ortak değer oluşturma
- Dayanışma, yardımlaşma,
- Herkesi kapsayan bir ortak kimlik yaratma,
- Katılımcılığı destekleyen projeler üretme
- Dezavantajlı grupları topluma kazandırma
- Diğer

Ekonomik performansı artırma

- Üretkenliği ve üretimi artırmak
- Girişimciliği artırmak
- Ekonomik dayanışma ağları oluşturmak
- Yaratıcı, yenilikçi ve girişimci kapasiteyi arttırmak
- Bireyleri iş hayatına hazırlamak ve iş hayatına kazandırmak
- Diğer

Sosyal hareketlilik

- Dayanışma ağları oluşturmak
- Daha iyi iş imkanları sağlamak
- İş kazandırma veya daha iyi bir iş sahibi olmayı destekleme
- Eğitim olanakları sağlamak
- Gelir arttırmaya yönelik çalışmalar, meslek kursları
- Diğer

Diğer

ÇEŞİTLİLİK KAVRAMININ KULLANIM VE ANLAYIŞ BİÇİMİ

20 Çeşitlilik kavramını nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz?

Tanımlayın

21 Size göre toplumsal (kültürel / etnik / sosyo-ekonomik /sosyo-demografik / dilsel / cinsel yönelim ve cinsiyet kimliği, vb.) çeşitlilik desteklenmesi gereken bir özellik midir?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Hayır
- Neden?

22 Hedef kitleniz içindeki hangi farklılıkları çalışmalarınızda göz önünde bulunduruyor musunuz?

- ☐ Farklı talepler
- ☐ Farklı amaçlar
- ☐ Farklı problemler
- ☐ Farklı nitelikler
- ☐ Diğer

23 Hangi tür çeşitlilik sizin çalışma konularınızı oluşturuyor?

- ☐ Sosyo-ekonomik, (zengin-fakir gruplar, iyi eğitilmiş ve düşük eğitilmiş gruplar)
- ☐ Sosyo-demografik (yaş, cinsiyet, hane halkı kompozisyonu, vb)
- ☐ Etnik
- ☐ Kültürel (farklı değerler, yaşama tarzları, alışkanlıklar, amaçlar, vb.)
- ☐ Yaşam biçimi
- ☐ Farklı görüşler
- ☐ Farklı sosyal etkinlikler
- ☐ Diğer

24 Çeşitliliğin olumlu yanlarını desteklemeye mi, yoksa olumsuz yanlarını denetlemeye mi (ya da her ikisi de) yönelik çalışmalar yapıyorsunuz?

.....

**KURUMUN/ PROJENİN BAŞARISININ DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ:
BAŞARIYI/BAŞARIZLIĞI BELİRLEYEN FAKTÖRLER**

25 Kurumunuzun başarıları nelerdir?

- ☐ Çok sayıda kişiye hizmet sunmak
- ☐ Bugüne kadar ulaşamayan kesimlere ulaşmak
- ☐ Yeni kavramlar ve fikirlerin ortaya çıkmasını sağlamak
- ☐ Kamu uygulamalarını etkileyen politikalar geliştirmek

- Farklı kesimleri biraraya getirmek
- Sorunlarını aktaramayan kesimlere destek olmak/sesleri duyurmalarını sağlamak
- Kişilerin yaşam kalitelerini yükseltmek
- Kişilerin kimliklerini daha açıkça ifade etmelerini sağlamak
- Diğer

26 Başarınızı belirleyen faktörler nelerdir?

- Hevesli kurucular
- Proje için çalışanlar
- Devlet desteği
- Gönüllüler
- Hizmete yönelik talep
- Diğer

**27 Hangi konular başarılı olmanızı engellemektedir?
Açıklayınız.**

- Finansman sorunları
- Örgütlenmedeki sorunlar
- İnsangücü
- Talep
- Yasal düzenlemeler
- Diğer

.....