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SCIENCES**

**CULTURAL POLICY MAKING AND THE RIGHT TO
THE CITY IN ÇANAKKALE AND KARS**

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ISTANBUL

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RIGHT TO THE CITY IN ANAKKALE AND
KARS**

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CULTURAL POLICY MAKING AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY
IN ÇANAKKALE AND KARS

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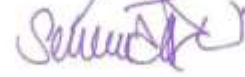
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ABSTRACT

CULTURAL POLICY MAKING AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN ÇANAKKALE AND KARS

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The aim of this study is to discuss the possible methods for activating grassroots democracy, participation in decision-making and the right to the city in Turkey through an in depth analysis of the field experience in two Anatolian cities, namely Çanakkale and Kars. With using the comprehensive approach that the right to the city provides, the study argues that areas that are subject to decision-making encompass all aspects of everyday life in the cities beyond policy-making processes including the use and production of urban space. Forms of participation are the manifestations of power, and participation in decision-making is reshaping power relations. Throughout the dissertation, the significance of challenging the scope and meaning of participation, the power relations, exclusionary and inclusionary dynamics is elaborated. With relying on the experience in the field, the importance of developing innovative ways of increasing participation of the systematically excluded ones is emphasized. Incidentally, an essentialist perception and conceptualization of democracy is rejected, and with reviewing the rich heritage of the democratic thought, the discussions and theories of democracy were very much considered while advocating for alternative ways throughout the participatory local cultural policy development in those pilot cities. The study attempted to answer the question of “possible inclusive approaches and methods that can contribute to activating participation in decision-making and the right to the city, and the required preconditions of participation in decision-making” based on those concepts of participation, deliberation and right to the city.

Key Words: *The Right to the City, Participation, Cultural Policy, Çanakkale, Kars.*

ÖZ

KARS VE ÇANAKKALE’DE KÜLTÜR POLİTİKALARI ÇALIŞMALARI VE KENT HAKKI

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

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Bu çalışma, taban demokrasisi, karar alma süreçlerine katılım ve kent hakkının aktive edilmesi için kullanılabilecek farklı metodları, Çanakkale ve Kars kentlerinde yapılan saha çalışmasının detaylı bir analizini yaparak tartışmayı amaçlıyor. Çalışma, kent hakkı kavramının sağladığı kapsamlı yaklaşımı kullanarak, karar mekanizmalarına katılımın sadece planlama çalışmaları ile sınırlı olmadığını vurguluyor ve kamusal alanın üretim ve kullanımı da dahil olmak üzere kentlerdeki gündelik yaşamın tüm yönleriyle karar alma süreçlerinin konusu olduğunu savunuyor. Katılım güç, karar alma süreçlerine katılım ise güç ilişkilerinin farklı tezahürleri olarak değerlendiriliyor. Bu çalışma içerisinde katılımın anlam ve kapsamı, güç ilişkileri ve toplumsal dışlama ve içerme dinamikleri sorgulanıyor. Saha çalışmasına dayanarak, sistematik olarak dışlanmışların katılımını sağlamak için yaratıcı yöntemlerin geliştirilmesi gerektiğinin altı çiziliyor. Demokrasinin özcü bir anlayış ve kavramsallaştırmasını reddeden ve zengin demokratik düşünce tarihinden yararlanan bu çalışmada, demokrasi teorileri ve tartışmaları pilot şehirlerde yapılan katılımcı kültür politikaları geliştirme çalışmalarında alternatif yaklaşım geliştirmek üzere değerlendiriliyor. Çalışma, kent hakkı, katılım ve müzakere kavramlarını gündemine alarak, karar alma süreçlerine dahil olmak için gerekli ön koşulların ve kent hakkının aktive edilmesi için katılımcı ve kapsayıcı yaklaşımlarının neler olduğu sorularına cevap vermeye çalışıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kent Hakkı, Katılım, Kültür Politikaları, Çanakkale, Kars.*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The right to city is a cry and a demand.

Henri Lefebvre¹

The aim of this study is to discuss the possible methods for activating grassroots democracy, participation and right to the city in Turkey through an in depth analysis of field experience in two Anatolian cities, namely Çanakkale and Kars.

There is an upsurge of interest and discussion around the concept of “participation”, “deliberation”, and the city all around the world including Turkey. The conceptualization of participation in decision making beyond voting has led theorists and practitioners to think about the ways, modes, types and methodologies of participation in decision making. Democracy discussions and theories took a deliberative turn, and there has been a

¹ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “The Right to the City”, in *Writings on Cities*, Eleonore Koffman and Elizabeth Lebas (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 158.

revival of interest in the notion of participation in decision making and deliberative democracy among political theorists, policy-makers and politicians in the last few decades. Hence, both deliberation and participation are on the agenda more than ever, and deliberative democracy is proposed as a response to representative democracy; an argument, which can also be linked with debates around the future of liberal democracy and its legitimacy.

According to Deliberative Democracy Consortium, “deliberation is an approach to decision making in which citizens consider relevant facts from multiple points of view, converse with one another to think critically about options before them and enlarge their perspectives, opinions and understandings.”² Levine presents three reasons to explain why democracy needs deliberation: “(a) to enable citizens to discuss public issues and form opinions; (b) to give democratic leaders much more insight into public issues than elections are able to do; (c) to enable people to justify their views so we can sort out the better from the worse.”³ The approach to deliberation may vary in technique ranging from citizen juries, consensus conferences, forums, tele-forums, deliberative surveys, public meetings, citizen advisory committees, focus groups and even new media platforms such as email groups, but no matter the technique, participation and

² Karp, H. J. (2005), “A Case Study in Deliberative Democracy: Dialogue with the City”, *Journal of Public Deliberation*, Manuscript 1002, accessible at <http://www.inspiringeducation.alberta.ca/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=MaZn8kDlzAo%3D&tabid=84> (accessed on 10.07.2011).

³ Levine, P. (2003), *The New Progressive Era: Toward a Fair and Deliberative Democracy*, USA, Rowman & Littlefield.

deliberation are seen as the best tools for collective decisions. Even though there are different visions of deliberative democracy and divergent techniques, theoreticians of deliberative democracy such as Habermas, Elster and Dryzek underline the idea that “policy decisions should be reached through a process of deliberation among free and equal citizens.”⁴

Nevertheless, like any form of decision making, participation and deliberative democracy are about political processes, and power. Therefore, alongside methods utilized, it is crucial to consider and question who participates, in what and to what extent, and to depict a clear picture of who is included or excluded in the decision making processes. In other words, it is vital to provide an answer to the question who are the equal citizens that are expected to take part in decision making. Karl Marx, in his *Jewish Question*, contrasts the social reality of human beings in civil society as egoistic property holders with the political illusion of the citizen as the free and equal member of the state.⁵ For Marx, it is “man as bourgeois who is called the real and true man”, and the ideal of the citizen as free and equal member is depicted as ideological; an illusionary political

⁴ Mouffe, C. (2000), “Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism”, Institute for Advanced Studies, *Political Science Series* 72, pp 11; also see Elster, J. (1998), *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, NY; Rawls, J. (1993), *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, NY; Habermas, J. (1996), *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, The MIT Press, Cambridge. Further information about the different visions of deliberative democracy will be further elaborated in the second chapter of this study.

⁵ Shaap, A. (2011), “Enacting the Right to have Rights: Jacques Ranciere’s Critique of Hannah Arendt”, *European Journal of Political Theory*, 10(1), pp 14.

equality that masks the reality of the social inequality.⁶ Following this point of view, this dissertation will argue that in the actual picture the true subject of participation in decision making is the bourgeois man and woman, and not each and every city dweller can enjoy the right to participate in decision making as they should. In addition to economic and social background, proactive participation is also dependent on different factors such as age, gender, community networks and even the knowledge of the official language. Equally important, the ability and participate in decision making does not say anything about the capacity to be heard, guarantee a `better` or `appropriate` decision and addressing any root causes of the inequality in the cities. Participation is more than a technical and methodological issue; it is about inequalities, recognition and representation. Hence, together with focusing on the ability to participate, it is vital to consider the economic, social, and cultural power relations.

Accepting the existence of power and power relations as inescapable prompts us to consider exclusion and inclusion dynamics, and requires identifying the systematically excluded and included ones in the decision making processes. Searching for possible methods to create more inclusive decision making processes is crucial in the exploration for more participatory practices as well. According to Mouffe, “if we accept the relations of power are constitutive of social, then the main question for democratic politics is not how to eliminate power but how to constitute

⁶ Marx, K. (1977), “On the Jewish Question”, in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, David McLellan (eds.), Oxford University Press.

forms of power more compatible with democratic values.”⁷ In this sense, how we approach participation in decision making; the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion; and the methods employed for motivating city dwellers to partake in decision making are matters that require careful consideration, alongside the issue of the participation of disadvantaged groups such as women, youth, and migrants. Thus, rather than analyzing democratic theories, the future of democracy and legitimacy, this dissertation will focus on actual participatory local policy development and practices in the field as the touchstone of the deliberation and participation theories.

In conjunction with theories of deliberative and participatory democracy, I will be working with Henri Lefebvre’s path-breaking concept of “the right to the city”, which I believe provides a radical restructuring of our social, cultural and economic relations. Lefebvre defines the city as “an oeuvre, a work in which all citizens participate”⁸, and his concept “the right to the city” reframes the arena of decision making and who participates. Lefebvre clearly underlines the content and the meaning of decision making and for him, decision making is not limited to state decisions as in democratic deliberation, but it is rather at the center of our daily lives.⁹ Accordingly, the city for him is a public space of interaction and exchange, and the right

⁷ Mouffe, C. (2000), “Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism”, Institute for Advanced Studies”, *Political Science Series* 72, pp 13.

⁸ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “The Right to the City”, in *Writings on Cities*, Eleonore Koffman and Elizabeth Lebas (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 158.

⁹ Purcell, M. (2002), “Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant”, *Geojournal* 59, pp 99.

to the city enfranchises dwellers to participate in the use and production of urban space. For Lefebvre, the right to the city is the right to “urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete *usage* of ... moments and places.”¹⁰

Similarly, David Harvey states that Lefebvre’s concept is “not merely a right to access to what already exists in the city but a right to change it after our heart’s desire, it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city.”¹¹ In this sense, the concept of “the right to the city” could be considered not as a new right in the general human rights discourse, but a platform for an adaptation of all rights to the everyday life of the city dwellers. Harvey’s interpretation of the right to the city is not a complex of given human rights but “a slogan of class struggles and of grassroots movements trying to associate in decentralized ways in order to find methods for transformative anti-capitalist action.”¹² Hence, participation in decision making could be perceived as an act and as a social movement comprised of the right of the city dwellers to shape their localities.¹³

¹⁰ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “The Right to the City”, in *Writings on Cities*, Eleonore Koffman and Elizabeth Lebas (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 158.

¹¹ Harvey, D. (2003), “The Right to the City,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 27.4, pp. 939-41.

¹² <http://www.reclaiming-spaces.org/crisis/archives/266> (accessed on 09.08.2011)

¹³ A social movement can be as a collective, organized, sustained and non-institutionalized challenge to authorities, power holders or cultural beliefs and practices. For further information, see Goodwin, J. & Casper, M.J. (2003) *The Urban social Movements: Cases and Concepts*, Blackwell Publishing.

Moreover, Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city also stands for a critical perception of belonging, as he does not ground the right to the city through formal citizenship status. Rather, those who inhabit in the city, who are in the city have a right to the city. Lefebvre was curious and careful about the difference between *citoyens* (citizens) and *citadins* (urban inhabitants); for him the right to the city is the right of everyone, all users of the city regardless of their legal, social and economic status as citizens. Therefore, the right to the city, with its comprehensive and wide-ranging scope also provides us a critical framework for analyzing the exclusion and inclusion dynamics in the search for activating participatory practices that address everyday life in the cities.

It is due to this all embracing approach that the concept of the right to the city is recently employed as one of the key concepts of both politics and policy development, not only by political theorists but also by international and regional bodies including United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Agency for Human Settlements (UN-HABITAT). Equally important, the recognition of the right to the city also owes to rights movements that have been sustained for decades in Latin America, who have been the pioneers of the right to the city and its implementation in their localities.¹⁴ Therefore, together with the theoretical discussions on the meaning and the practical

¹⁴ Further and detailed information and discussion on the urban struggles in Latin America around the demand for the right to the city and democratizing cities can be found in Sugranyes, A. & Mathivet, C. (2010), *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Habitat International Coalition, accessible at <http://www.hic-net.org/content/Cities%20for%20All-ENG.pdf> (accessed on 12.07.2011).

reflections of the concept, there are also declarations, laws and charters in reference to the right to the city. Some of these can be enumerated as World Charter on the Right to the City (2004),¹⁵ City Statute of Brazil (2001),¹⁶ and the European Charter for Women in the City (1995).¹⁷ As stated in the discussion paper that is prepared by the UNESCO and UN-HABITAT in 2005 “what is still relevant for today’s cities is Lefebvre’s belief that the decision making processes in cities should be reframed so that all urban dwellers have a right to participate in urban politics and to be included in the decisions which shape their environment.”¹⁸

At this point, it is crucial to underline the fact that introducing legal frameworks for urban social movements and any measures towards institutionalizing them may be cumbersome, given the fundamentally independent and autonomous characteristics of these movements.¹⁹ However, using the given institutional and legal framework for developing

¹⁵ Presented at the Social Forum of the Americas (Quito, Ecuador – July 2004) & the World Urban Forum (Barcelona, Spain – September 2004). For text <http://www.dpi.org/lang-en/events/details.php?page=124> (accessed on 12.07.2011).

¹⁶ The City Statute, declared in July 2001, established a new legal framework dealing with the urban issues and recognized the right to the city as a collective right. Federal Law, No. 10.257/01, for text see http://www.polis.org.br/obras/arquivo_163.pdf (accessed on 12.07.2011).

¹⁷ The Charter is a research subsidized by the Commission of the European Union Equal Opportunities Unit. It contents an evaluation of the current situation of women in cities regarding decision making, a 12 point declaration, an analysis of five priority topics: urban planning and sustainable development, safety, mobility, habitat and local facilities, strategies. For text see <http://habitat.aq.upm.es/boletin/n7/acharter.html> (accessed on 12.07.2011).

¹⁸ UNESCO & UN-HABITAT (2005), Discussion Paper on Urban Policies and the Right to the City, <http://www.hic-mena.org/documents/UN%20Habitat%20discussion.pdf> (accessed on 27.06.2011).

¹⁹ The concept urban social movement is introduced by Manuel Castells in 1970s, and in his book “The Urban Question” Castells underlines the importance of considering the specificity of the capitalist society, and its class contradictions. For further information see Castells, M. (1977) *The Urban Question*, London. Edward Arnold.

tools and methods to synchronize aspirations and struggles, and creating spaces and opportunities for self association and learning through action for movements is considered to be crucial for furthering the participatory practices and urban struggles and movements. The essential point here is not to limit the right to the city, actions, and movements and struggles with the given legal framework, and to persist in the search for possible methods for participatory practices and desires ongoing.

Consequently, underlining the link between participation in decision making processes and the right to the city may provide a comprehensive and right-based approach for mobilizing city dwellers to shape their everyday life in the city. Therefore, in this dissertation, participation in decision making will be explored using a comprehensive approach with reference to the right to the city, beyond policy papers drafted by the local governments or state bodies. Rather, any participatory practices that aim at shaping the environment of city dwellers will be taken into consideration, and this dissertation will strive to expand on the possible methods for its actualization for every city dweller and question the preconditions of participation in decision making together with the policy development processes in the pilot cities under consideration.

Blossoming with discussions and theories of democracy and also with rising social movements in recent years, my interest in these issues of participation and the right to the city, as well as the experience in Turkey started when I was working as an expert for the project “Building Civil

Society Capacity for Effective Service Delivery” at the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)²⁰ in Istanbul between the years 2005-2007. The project, which was supported by the World Bank and implemented in six Anatolian cities; Ankara, Çanakkale, Diyarbakir, Kars, Sivas and Yalova, was a response to the attempts of the Turkish government to restructure the system of public administration upon Turkey’s recognition as a candidate by the European Union (EU) with the Helsinki Summit in 1999. Admittedly, the emergence of the reforms and discussions around participatory policy development processes was chronologically and contextually linked with the initiation of the accession process and negotiations with the EU on December 2004. As per the EU accession process candidate countries are required to build the capacity of central administration; undertaking specifically necessary reforms for strengthening local governance and their organization.

EU required from Turkey to change its local administration legislation to become a member state and the integration process turned to be the driving force of the changes in the regulative measures regarding the local administration. As a response, the Turkish government’s attempts to restructure the system of public administration in Turkey aimed at strengthening local authorities, increasing transparency, and creating

²⁰ TESEV is an independent non-governmental think-tank, analyzing social, political and economic policy issues facing Turkey. Based in Istanbul, TESEV was founded in 1994 to serve as a bridge between academic research and policy-making process in Turkey and aims to promote to role of civil society in democratic process. TESEV seeks to share its research findings with the widest possible audience. Program areas of the Foundation are grouped under three headings: (a) democratization, (b) foreign policy; (c) good governance. For further information about TESEV, visit www.tesev.org.tr.

partnerships with civil society.²¹ The Turkish Grand National Assembly adopted new legislative reforms on local governments in 2005, and the comprehensive changes in the Municipal Law in 2005 mandated the preparation of strategic plans for municipalities with populations of 50,000 or more. Article 41 of the Municipality Law (Law no: 5393) clearly requires municipalities to prepare a development plan and program, as well as a strategic plan in compliance with the regional plan (if any).²² The same article also states “the strategic plan shall be prepared by obtaining the opinion of the universities, chambers (if any), and non-governmental organizations and shall be put into force upon the approval of the municipal council.”²³ Thus, the changes in the Municipal Law brought participatory policy development to the agenda of the local governments in the country. Concomitantly, the legal measures towards the restructuring and strengthening of local administration in Turkey were not limited with the municipalities, and the reform also entailed new laws regarding metropolitan municipalities and the special provincial administration. With underlying the concepts effectiveness, efficiency, local governance, accountability and participation the legislative reforms aimed to ensure that the decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizens. Thus, a

²¹ Sungar, M. (2005), “Report of the Turkish Secretariat General for the European Affairs”, *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol.4. No: 3.

²² Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25874, 13 July 2005. For text http://www.legalisplatform.net/hukuk_metinleri/Nr.%20Code%205393.pdf (accessed on 12.12.2011)

²³ The changes in the public administration in 2005 including the Municipal Law, Metropolitan Municipality Law, Special Provincial Administration Law, and the legal framework of local administration in Turkey will be discussed in the third chapter of this study.

discussion of participation, participatory policy development including city dwellers role in decision making mechanisms turned to be at the center of the public agenda.

Parallel to these developments, the overall aim of the TESEV project was to strengthen the capacity of local community based organizations in order to facilitate their participation in decision making mechanisms and local planning, and to facilitate a dialogue with local authorities and other stakeholders including all the possible civil partners, to improve the quality of life in their cities.²⁴ However, the practical experience derived from the fieldwork indicated that what the local governments understand by the concept of participation is mostly limited to consultation processes carried out with stakeholders such as the chamber of commerce, universities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) after the preparation of the local policies. Concomitantly, municipalities, who state that they prepared their policies with a participatory approach, mainly receive comments after the preparation of policies using mainly survey methods. Local governments follow a top-down model for participation in decision

²⁴ It could safely be stated that the project that was developed by TESEV was not the only one that came out with the proposals of change in the public administration in Turkey. With the intent of supporting the process of participatory policy making process in the country, various projects developed and implemented both by civil society organizations and local governments in search for possible ways and methods that can be used for hearing and raising the voices of the city habitants, and strengthening the capacity of the community based organizations for their active participation and developing participatory policies. Besides the above-mentioned World Bank project implemented by TESEV, there are also other projects by European Union such as Technical Assistance for Civil Society Organizations (TACSO) and Civil Society Development Centre (STGM) that are implemented for serving the same purpose of strengthening the capacity of civil society for their active participation. The analysis of these projects in general is outside the scope of this study. For further information about these projects www.tacso.org.tr and www.stgm.org.tr.

making processes, and fail to include other participatory methods such as meetings, discussions, focus groups and in-depth interviews towards a better understanding of the priorities and needs of locals.²⁵ Hence, rather than negotiation and deliberation in the process of preparation using qualitative methods of research that may facilitate a deliberative understanding, local governments simply inform a small percent of the population (sample) about the policies and plans they develop. More importantly, there is no query that is included and excluded through all these processes.

Equally important, participation in policy making is solely linked with policy paper preparation processes of local governments; there are no evaluation or monitoring mechanisms for participation in policy making practices, and participation of city dwellers in the implementation phase is not even included in the agenda. Consequently, the term participation in policy making refers to small ‘cosmetic changes’ and in practice falls far from being a grassroots democracy.

As Keaney states, participation in decision making is a two-way process; one side is empowered citizens with the desire and capacity to participate, and the other is a flexible and representative government that encourages

²⁵ This top-down model of participation is not practiced only by the local municipalities, but also the central government. The central government is also heavily engaged in the promotion of this model. For instance, upon the initiation of the accession process and negotiations with the European Union on 17 December 2004, the Accession Plan of the Turkish government, prepared for the European Commission was also drafted in the same manner, with only two weeks’ notice given to the academic circles, interest groups and relevant non governmental organizations to make their remarks about the draft.

participation.²⁶ As such, alongside the attitude of local governments, it is important to underline the lack of organized civil society and strong civil movements with a particular interest in participation in general, and in the cases explored in this study in particular. For cases of civil initiatives that are sufficiently active to influence decision making (which is rare), participation is usually confined to the “usual suspects” in the city, that is to say participants and commentators in policy-making processes are often the same people who are active in any event organized in the cities. Thus arise problems of sustainability and limited engagement in decision making processes in general.

Therefore, with reference to the observations from the field, it would be accurate to argue that strengthening legal and policy frameworks is vitally important for participatory policy making processes, but does not guarantee active participation and implementation of legally provided rights. Participation in decision making in actual practice is far from being inclusive, and not exercised with a comprehensive right-based approach as the right of every city dweller. Concomitantly, even though the comprehensive changes in the Municipal Law of 2005 established the basic framework for participatory and accountable local government, in practice there is a prevailing lack of in-depth knowledge and understanding of the meaning of participation and how participatory processes can function.

²⁶ Keany, E. (2006), *From Access to Participation*, ippr, London, pp 11.

At this point, it is important to highlight that although an overly used term, the concept of ‘participation’ lacks a clear definition. A dictionary search for its meaning refers to “to take part in” and/or “become involved in an activity”, and participation in policy making refers to taking part in political, economic or social and cultural decisions.²⁷ However, the definition of “taking part” does not refer to the model or the quality of participation, or whether it is active or passive. Participation and taking part in decision making mechanisms is generally considered as an approach for revitalizing democracy, improving local services and reviving local communities. However, the very basic question “what do we mean and aim by participation in decision making process” is usually ignored, and the questions who participate in what, why, and how mostly remain unanswered. It is also vital to underline that deliberation and participation of all subjects, all city dwellers in decision making mechanisms is impossible given the scale of contemporary cities. Nevertheless, this cannot be a legitimization for the limited and unrepresentative participation of city dwellers in decisions that shape the environment they live in; this challenge rather underscores the need to develop innovative and inclusive methods.

Relying on the above-mentioned observations in the field, this dissertation will strive to elucidate on the meaning and practice of participation of decision making, given the need for an analysis of experiences of different

²⁷See <http://oxforddictionaries.com> and <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/> (accessed on 12.07.2011).

localities for further recommendations towards encouraging grassroots democracy in Turkey.

1.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Both the concept and practice of participation in general, and participation in decision making mechanisms in particular need to be analyzed with special attention to a social and political analysis of the society for enabling people to understand the environment, differences, conflicts that they live in and to empower them shape their localities. Bearing in mind the above mentioned discussions, following my theoretical and practical interest in the issue of participation, and my involvement in participatory local policy making in a number of cities around Turkey for a relatively long period created the opportunity of working both with local governments and civil society groups in the field after the comprehensive changes in the municipal laws.

While being a Ph.D. student in political science provided me with the opportunity to follow the theories on participation and democracy, my standpoint of not limiting participation to taking part in decision making mechanisms for policy planning/development processes urged me to seek the possible alternative ways and methods for activating the participation

of city dwellers. Starting from the professional experience at TESEV, I took responsibility in different projects implemented with the aim of increasing active participation of the city dwellers, and these projects provided me with the chance of observing different practices in various localities in the country. Stemming from these experiences and observations from the field, and also with my curiosity in theories and debates on grassroots democracy, the research question of this dissertation materialized as: “what are possible inclusive approaches and methods that can contribute to activating participation in decision making and the right to the city within and beyond policy making process in Turkey?”

Yet it was through my engagement in the “Local Cultural Policy Initiative”, developed and implemented by Anadolu Kültür,²⁸ Istanbul Bilgi University,²⁹ and European Cultural Foundation,³⁰ that I decided to

²⁸ Established in 2002, Anadolu Kültür is a civil initiative, which utilizes cultural programs for developing, discussing and furthering notions of democracy, citizenship, human rights and social cohesion. Toward this vision, Anadolu Kültür’s objective is to implement programs that help create a more transparent, open-minded, constructively critical society; develop a culture of dialogue across borders and boundaries; and promote a pluralistic and non-discriminatory view of society. Anadolu Kültür is one of the very few civil initiatives in Turkey focusing on working in cities beyond the cultural capitals like Istanbul and Ankara, and one of the first to initiate cultural dialogue with neighboring countries, especially Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Syria. One of the sister organizations of Anadolu Kültür, in addition to DEPO, is the Diyarbakır Arts Center (DAC), which was established in Diyarbakır. For further information: www.anadolukultur.org.

²⁹ Istanbul Bilgi University (BILGI) was founded in 1996 as a private, non-profit institution. BILGI recently became a member of the Laureate International Universities Network. An independent “Cultural Policy and Management (KPY) Research and Education Centre” was founded by BILGI - Cultural Management Department in 2010, within the scope of the “Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Local Cultural Policy Transformation” project. KPY is the first centre founded for advocacy, networking, facilitation and mediation in the fields of cultural policy and management in Turkey. For further information: <http://kpy.bilgi.edu.tr>.

³⁰ The European Cultural Foundation (ECF) is an independent foundation based in the Netherlands operating across Europe for nearly 60 years. It supports, through grants

focus on local cultural policy making and implementation as the case study in the framework of the research question in my dissertation and design my research accordingly. The Initiative was launched by Anadolu Kültür and Istanbul Bilgi University, with the support of European Cultural Foundation in November 2004, with the intention of contributing to the localization of Anatolian cities in the sphere of culture and arts through a meeting bringing together participants from arts and culture institutions in Anatolian cities, municipality officials, representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, numerous culture and arts organizations, non-governmental organizations and artists from Istanbul. The Initiative aims to mobilize city dwellers to take part in decision making processes and support the culture and art programmes of local governments; thus providing support for participatory cultural policy development in the country.

The initiative was initially launched its first activities in the Anatolian cities in the cities of Kars and Kayseri in the November meeting, when they stated they wanted to partake in the local cultural policy development project. The preliminary efforts undertaken in Kars and Kayseri were expanded to include Çanakkale, Antakya, Edirne and Mersin in 2007. Based on the outcomes of the researches in the mentioned cities and taking into consideration the interest of inhabitants and local governance, the

cultural cooperation, artists mobility and new forms of artistic expression; ECF connects knowledge and builds capacities in the cultural sector all over Europe, and advocates for arts and culture on all levels of political decision making. ECF is funded mainly by lotteries in the Netherlands, received via the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, as well as from partnerships, sponsorship and other sources. For more information see: www.eurocult.org.

“Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey”³¹ project was designed to be implemented between 2008 and 2011, to build on the research and meetings conducted in Kars, Antakya and Çanakkale with concrete steps, which is taken as an experimental case for this study and will further be analyzed in the next parts.

Meanwhile, before moving into the discussion on the activities and their analysis that took place in the Anatolian cities, it is vital to talk about the meaning of the concept cultural policy. The definitions found in dictionaries refer to cultural policy as the values and principles, which guide any social entity in cultural affairs.³² According to Mulcahy, “cultural policy captures broader issues than arts policy and while the concern of art policy is limited with the aesthetic concerns, cultural policy includes a wide range of issues such as cultural identity, diversity, and analysis of historical dynamics such as hegemony or colonialism.”³³ Hence, cultural policy is a multi dimensional and comprehensive field that encompasses a wide array of issues ranging from culture industries to historical and cultural heritage; legislation on culture to conditions

³¹ The project was supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs MATRA Social Transformation programme and with the partnership of Anadolu Kültür, Istanbul Bilgi University, European Cultural Foundation, and Boekman Foundation. Anadolu Kültür and BILGI were the main implementing bodies of the project, while Anadolu Kültür supported the development of participatory projects in Antakya, Çanakkale and Kars, the Culture Policies and Management Research Center (KPY), founded in BILGI and still operational, mainly functioned as a documentation and research center for culture policies and culture management. Meanwhile, the Culture Policies and Management Archives operating under BILGI library is a resource for academicians and researchers interested in working on and researching the issue. For further information about the center and archive <http://kpy.bilgi.edu.tr/>

³² <http://www.wvcd.org/policy/policy.html> (accessed on 12.07.2011).

³³ Mulcahy, K. (2006), “Cultural Policy” in *Handbook of Public Policy*, Guy Peters and Jon Pierre (eds). London: Sage Publications, pp. 265-279.

affecting artistic production and the artist; cultural diversity to cultural rights and participation in cultural life, as well as the discussions, policies and practices around all these issues. Admittedly, not only the state actors but also local governments, civil initiatives, non-governmental organizations, artists, writers and any producer and consumer of culture and arts are the actors of the cultural policy. Therefore, together with this fertile and comprehensive ground that cultural policy provides, my decision of selecting local cultural policy making practices as a case study was also strongly linked to the increasing interest in the significance of culture and cultural rights and its place in our daily lives, and its possible contribution to democracy, social cohesion and inclusion.

The base for dialogue among city dwellers could be strengthened through building mechanisms for people to be directly involved in a set of initiatives organized around determining the social and cultural state of their localities and their future. Participation in decision making needs to be considered both as the basic human right to shape one's locality and as an "opportunity for creating a civic space."³⁴ With cases of local cultural policy making in two Anatolian cities; Çanakkale and Kars, this study will illustrate the preconditions of the existence of the democratic subject and possible methods for activating city dwellers taking part in decision making mechanisms and claim their right to the city. The emphasis will be on the participation of city dwellers in decision making mechanisms and

³⁴ Lefebvre, H. (1996), "Right to the City", English translation of the 1968 text in *Writings on Cities*, Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. (eds and translators), Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

possible alternative methods that can activate their participation in addition to policy planning experiences in their localities. Deriving from the actual situation in the field, this research has the purpose of exploring different practices, for a better understanding of the limits, obstacles, challenges and opportunities that might be faced for the actualization of participation in decision making and the right to the city in the country.

Participation in decision making mechanisms needs to be taken beyond participation to the policy planning processes, and the issue needs to be approached with a long term and right based perspective. Rather than limiting the decision making solely with the decisions around the state affairs such as the development of policy papers for the local governments, it should be underlined that every city dwellers has the right to shape their environment as to take part in the decisions affect their everyday life. With using the comprehensive approach that the right to the city provides, this study argues that areas that are subject to decision making encompass all aspects of everyday life in the cities and use and production of urban space. Therefore, throughout the dissertation, I will argue that rather than just tackling policy making process as a management issue and solving the “problem” of participation with methods such as surveys as needed, there is an urgent need for creative, alternative and inclusive approaches and methods that situate “human beings” and “collaboration” at the center and developing a better and deeper understating of power relations, as well as creating platforms for democratizing cities and citizens. Guided by the practical experience from the field work, I will try to answer the question

“what are possible inclusive approaches and methods that can contribute to activating participation in decision making and the right to the city and what are the preconditions of participation in decision making?” and translate practice into policy recommendations through analyzing the related concepts participation, deliberation and right to the city.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

With this research, I aim to go beyond analyses that focus on frameworks developed by the authors in the field, which focus on the interplay between theories of deliberative democracy, participation, and local cultural policy development. Instead, this study includes case studies that will establish interplay between theoretical discourses and discussion on participation in decision making and practical experience, given the risk that proceeding to make such an analysis solely focused on the theoretical reflections may result in missing the complex dynamics of the cases under consideration.

The fieldwork comprises my participant observation throughout the policy development processes in the two localities. Starting from 2005 with my professional experience at TESEV, I started to visit both Çanakkale and

Kars frequently, and became involved in local policy development processes. My responsibilities for the project “Building Civil Society Capacity for Effective Service Delivery” at TESEV entailed the preparation of poverty mappings of project cities, analyzing these maps, facilitating workshops and meetings for policy development that were organized with the participation of different actors such as civil initiatives, non governmental organizations, institutions, local authorities, and central authorities. This experience equipped me with the tools such as poverty mappings for analyzing the socio-economical framework and composition of both of the cities, together with the opportunity to observe different stakeholders in the policy development process.

My involvement in the “Local Cultural Policy Initiative” was due to my practical experience on development of local policies at TESEV. Working as a consultant between the years 2006-2008, I had the chance to accumulate knowledge especially on the culture and arts scenes of the two cities. Meanwhile, from 2008 to 2011, exactly around the same time I initiated my research for PhD; I decided to take more active role in the development of participatory local cultural policies and apply my fieldwork in Kars and Çanakkale experimentally in the research. As the Coordinator of the project “Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey”, which is one of the projects that has been implemented by the Local Cultural Policy Initiative, I had the responsibility of facilitating local cultural policy making in the field, and had the chance to establish relations with civil society, local

government and central governments in the two cities, and also to develop, implement and facilitate alternative means and methods for activating participation of city dwellers in Çanakkale and Kars.

The Local Cultural Policy Initiative and the project “Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey” was also a response to the Turkish government’s attempts to restructure the public administration system in Turkey that came into the agenda with the EU accession process just after the initiation of the negotiations on 17 December 2004. A number of new laws including the Municipality Law accepted in this process towards the restructuring and strengthening of local administration in Turkey with underlying the principles of accountability, participation and efficiency. Parallel to these developments, in the scope of the Initiative, various activities and projects were implemented to contribute to promoting the necessary collaborative environment enabling city inhabitants to partake in identifying priorities in the artistic and cultural sphere; universities, non-governmental organizations and artists to participate in local policy making processes operated by governors’ offices, municipalities, and special provincial administrations. The project “Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey” aimed to strengthen the active participation of city dwellers in culture and arts scene and various events, and go one step further to facilitate the process of developing and implementing activities in localities with dwellers, alongside developing local cultural policy plans of municipalities. Hence the principal

motivation of the Initiative was to contribute to the development of participatory local cultural policies.

Since its beginning, the Initiative approached policy making processes and municipality development of plans as an important ground for activating participation, but not as the only one. While playing the role of facilitator for local cultural policy development and planning that is mainly operated under local governments in Anatolian cities, the Initiative was also open to possible other and creative ways such as focus groups, workshops, and meetings for deliberation and for encouraging participation of different groups and people in the cities. Following this notion and sustaining this open attitude, throughout the project “Invisible Cities: building Capacities for Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey”, as the field Coordinator I had the chance of experimentally develop and implement different methods; including capacity development trainings, workshops, small project development and implementation, culture and arts events such as exhibitions, discussions, and film screenings, for activating city dwellers’ participation in policy decisions that shape their everyday life in the city according to their needs and preferences as well as implementation of the taken decisions.

Despite differences among the cities that will be further elaborated upon in the next chapters, the same plan of action, methodology was followed for participatory local cultural policy development in the pilot cities. An overview of project phases can be summarized as:

a) Focus Groups: Focus groups with non governmental organizations local civil initiatives, youth, local governments, universities, and women were conducted to gain a better understanding of the current state of the cities and learn about the city dwellers' perception of their needs and potential. A research group including representatives from Anadolu K lt r, Istanbul Bilgi University visited Kars together with an academician who is an expert on methodology prior to the focus group visits to form contacts and collect a group of viable names to participate the focus groups. During these preliminary visits, key informants from the governorships office, the municipality, the university, and local non-governmental organizations were interviewed to get a sense of the city dynamics, current local issues and cultural actors and whom to include in the focus groups. The list of names that were collected during these visits served as the basis for participants. The research group also encouraged those contacted to nominate others who they felt would be knowledgeable and involved in the city's cultural and social life. This snowballing enlarged the pool of potential participants of the focus groups. The focus groups were initiated in Kars in 2006 and in  anakkale in 2007.³⁵ In Kars, meetings were held at Kars Sim-Er Hotel meeting room, and in  anakkale at Truva Hotel. The decision to hold meetings at hotel meeting rooms was a deliberate one, since the research group wanted to remain equally distant

³⁵ For more information about the focus groups and the reports that are prepared by Asli Carkoglu for the cities, see www.anadolukultur.org.

from all possible local power holders by renting a space that is neutral and public. In Kars, there were six focus groups that were organized with women, youth, non-governmental organizations, civil servants, and artists, while in Çanakkale there were four groups conducted with youth, non-governmental organizations, government, municipality and university representatives. Each focus group lasted around 2 hours on average and was tape-recorded. The research team attempted to assemble the focus groups that reflected the social plurality as accurately as possible using the snowball technique and heterogeneity in terms of age, gender, education, professional status and class was considered. Throughout the focus group discussions, a professional facilitator ensured that participants portrayed their cities through their own experiences and personal assessments. The number of people reached in the focus groups in Çanakkale was 28 while this number for Kars was 38.³⁶ The focus group discussions, which provided a picture of the current state of the social and cultural life of the cities, were analyzed, recorded and used as the basis for structuring the debate in the meetings and also a report is prepared and shared with all related and interested partners in the cities via mails.

Reports: Reports that analyzed the outcomes of the focus groups, entitled with “Preliminary Information on Çanakkale” and “Preliminary Information on Kars” which included draft strength, weakness, opportunities and threats analysis of the city, was prepared for each pilot

³⁶ A detailed analysis of the focus group discussions as well as participants will further be elaborated in the fourth chapter of this study.

city. The main reason to search for the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats throughout the focus groups was twofold. First, it is assumed by the researchers group that following these four points was a compact way of summarizing the results easily. Secondly, these four points and the analysis is a method mainly used for a kick- off for strategic plannings. It is taught that the analysis that is prepared will constitute a brief overview of how locals perceive their cities, and to depict their priorities for their cities. Meanwhile, it is also crucial to underline the fact that the method used for a better understanding of the priorities and needs of the city dwellers is a method used by business and marketing strategies. Thus, it can also be seen as a clue that gives an idea about how the first steps of the initiative are taken. Efficiency is underlined in the first steps and the planning process was mainly in the focus of the Initiative. Thus, it is just after conducting the focus groups, the Initiative started to search for possible alternative ways to increase the participation in decision making with a comprehensive approach.

b) **Sharing the Reports and Meetings in the Cities:** Before the workshops held in each city, a report that included the findings of the focus groups was drafted and shared with all of the participants, as well as all the possible stakeholders including the local governments, civil society and central government in each city. The reports were also available online and every participant was asked to disseminate the report to the interested partners, locals. The reports are disseminated in the cities through mails and also hard copies are provided upon request. City dwellers are asked to

share their feedbacks with the researchers and also any comments, criticisms, and corrections that they want to share are welcomed. Upon this dissemination, the findings of the focus groups were shared with the public by way of a two-day meeting in each city. Besides the non-governmental organizations, and the interviewees, local governments, universities and governorships were also invited to these meetings that were open to public. The first day was devoted to the presentation of the findings of the focus group work, while the second day's discussions focused on updating the analysis of the city and prioritizing the needs together with the city dwellers. Also the results of the focus group discussions and the subsequent analysis were used as the main basis for structuring the debates in the meetings that were held in the pilot cities.

c) **Workshops:** Workshops were organized in the pilot cities for the development of the participatory projects to meet the objectives and priorities determined previously. The number of workshops depended on the needs of the locals, their capacity and experience in project development. Both in Kars and Çanakkale three workshops were organized upon the demand of the locals, but the content of the workshops varied according to the different needs and priorities of the locals.

d) **Small-Scale Projects:** In order to strengthen collaboration between local government and civil society around participatory local cultural policy, and to increase civil society's awareness of and participation in the

cultural sphere, financial support was provided to small-scale projects.³⁷

Both the workshops and the small-scale project implementations were geared towards supporting and empowering citizens through the method of experiential learning. In the development and implementation of small-scale projects, institutions, organizations and civil initiatives were encouraged to collaborate and devise joint projects and activities. Both the workshops and small-scale project implementation aimed to support and strengthen the local population ‘learning by doing’, promote participation in decision making and facilitate coordination and cooperation among the authorities and civil society around cultural policy.

e) **Publicizing/Sharing the Results:** Small-scale projects were evaluated in terms of both their achievements and shortcomings and the evaluations were shared with the public. In the meetings open to public organized in pilot cities, project booklets describing the finalized project were disseminated and groups realizing the projects delivered presentations to share their efforts with all the participants. Representatives from other project cities also attended the meetings, thereby having the opportunity to learn about various processes and experiences. While these meeting increased the visibility of efforts undertaken in the cities, they also contributed to enhancing collaboration among different cities.

³⁷ The financial support was mainly from the MATRA Social Transformation Program of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Cultural Foundation for the “Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Local Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey” Project. There were also other grants supporting the projects being implemented in the cities, such as in kind contributions of the municipalities. Detailed information about these will be while elaborating on the projects in the following chapters.

The whole process was structured around the notion that via experiences of face to face interaction with people from different backgrounds we learn to trust each other, work, and produce together, and all the steps and activities of the project, including the focus groups, were arranged with special emphasis on face to face dialogue. Nevertheless, the content of the work differed in the pilot cities from the beginning of the workshops due to the differing capacity and dynamics of the cities that will further be explored in the following chapters.

The project “Invisible Cities: Building Capacities for Cultural Policy Transformation in Turkey” was implemented in the three Anatolian cities; Antakya, Çanakkale and Kars. Two of these pilot cities, Kars in the North East neighboring Armenia, and Çanakkale in the North West bordering Greece by sea were selected as pilot cities to be studied in the scope of this dissertation. Antakya is not included in the dissertation, as the local government did not take an active role in any of the activities developed and implemented between the years 2008-2011.³⁸ Despite the fact that the Municipality of Antakya declared its interest in the first phases of the project, they did not take part in the activities between 2008-2011 that are being developed and implemented under the theme of local cultural policy development. There were no attempts from the municipality to initiate a participatory local cultural policy development; hence the city remained to be out of the research of this study. Meanwhile, the observations from

³⁸ The reasons of this change in attitude will not be analyzed in detail as it falls beyond the scope of this study.

Antakya will also be used in the case that they are useful to further clarify any precondition and context for the right to the city and participation.

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

The research done is qualitative and mainly used participant observation in which data collection is done in the naturally occurring behaviors in their natural contexts.³⁹ Participant observation is a qualitative research method in which researchers gather data either by observing or by both observing and participating, to varying degrees, in the study community's daily activities, in community settings relevant to the research questions. My long term involvement from 2006-2011 in the policy making processes, workshops and projects in the two cities, Çanakkale and Kars was crucial for this research as these experiences provided extended first hand observation opportunities.

As a participant observer, I was also a regular participant in all the activities being observed. But my role as an outsider; as the Coordinator working for an organization from Istanbul for Anadolu Kültür, and also as a PhD candidate, was obvious and known by all participants. This openness also provided me with an interpersonal distance in the cities.

³⁹ Strauss, A.L. (2008). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, Sage Publications.

However, at this point, it is crucial to note that my observations during these six years of professional experience in different Anatolian cities can be evaluated both as an asset, but also as a bias since spending long years in the field may also lead to a biased objectivity.

By using participant observation as the methodology, I had the advantages of observing non-verbal behavior of city dwellers during all the policy making processes in the cities. This granted me the chance to develop more informal and intimate relations with locals, which can be simultaneously considered as an advantage and disadvantage. Secondly, I had the major advantage of making observations in its natural environment. I was a frequent flyer and visited these cities almost every month; and this provided me doing a longitudinal analysis of the cultural policy making and implementation processes in their localities. I was able to observe trends, differences between chance occurrences and accustomed happenings over a substantial period of time.

Besides the above-mentioned advantages, there were also disadvantages to the methodology I employed: First of all, my role as coordinator might jeopardize my objectivity while analyzing the data and evaluating the practices. My tendency was to use non-quantitative data, which was difficult to scale. Thus, the data in this dissertation is hypothetical and full of quotes, and subjective rather than quantitative. Equally important, my sample is modest. It is evident that analyzing participation through local cultural policy making practices in the two Anatolian cities cannot be

representative for the actual situation throughout Turkey, and generalizations cannot be made from the data of the two cities. However, it is assumed that the present study can offer a modest yet insightful opinion about participation in decision making practices in the country.⁴⁰

With considering the above-mentioned challenges that my practical experience may have caused, this study will make use of different sources that highlight the different dimensions of the cases from diverse perspectives, using all data accumulated during focus groups, workshops, policy development meetings and observations in the field, in addition to an exploration of the relevant literature concerning the issue. I used semi-structured methods such as participant observation, focus group and interviews that are flexible and allow spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participant. I had the chance to observe and describe relationships, individual experiences. Bearing in mind methodological limitations, the main aim of this research is to explore the current legal, social and political framework and practical experience of participation in decision making through an analysis of local cultural policy development in two cities of Turkey, namely Çanakkale and Kars.

⁴⁰ For a further discussion on the advantages of the qualitative data collection, see Flvbjerg, B. (2011). “ Case Study” in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th Edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 301–316.
<http://www.sbs.ox.ac.uk/centres/bt/directory/Documents/CaseStudy4%20HBQR11PRIN T.pdf>. (Accessed on 12.03.2012).

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

With reference to the legal framework and practical experience in the country, the study has the purpose of analyzing local cultural policy making processes and practices in the two Anatolian cities; Çanakkale and Kars. Guided by practical experience in the field, cultural policy making and transformation practices in target localities will be the main focus of this study and the research will try to answer the question “what are the possible inclusive methods and approaches that can contribute to activating participation and the right to the city along within and beyond policy making processes and what are the preconditions for participation in decision making?”

To this aim, the *second chapter* begins with a depiction of the theories of democracy, participation and the right to the city. Relying on the historical connection and heritage with city and democracy, these concepts will be further elaborated through the discussions in political theory and an overview of the theories of representation, participation, deliberation and agonistic democracy will be provided for a better understanding of participation in decision making mechanisms that people can directly be involved. Throughout the chapter cultural policy and cultural rights will also be considered. This chapter also includes an overview of pertinent

international human rights instruments coining the definition of these rights.

To uncover the ways in which different locales interpret participation in decision making, the *third chapter* continues with an evaluation of the Turkish legal framework on participation and participatory policy development. This chapter will include the regulatory framework and the international instruments adopted by the Turkish Republic and strive to present a general historical overview of the underlying the structure of the local administration and discussions on participation in decision making in the country. Platforms for active civil participation in decision making such as the Local Agenda 21 and City Councils will also elaborated with the aim of outlining the legal and social context for participatory practices in the cities of Kars and Çanakkale. The last part of this chapter will be devoted to an overview of the cultural rights and cultural policy discussion in the country.

The *fourth chapter* depicts the social, political and cultural composition of the two cities, Çanakkale and Kars. This chapter aims to provide the background and essential information about the two cities for a better analysis of participation practices in the mentioned localities. In this chapter, the locals' perception of their cities and themselves, including their priorities, will also be further explored alongside the current social, cultural and political context.

In accordance with the need to confront theory with reality, the *fifth chapter* is devoted to the analysis of the fieldwork and observations from a critical perspective. Based on insights gleaned from both theory and practice, I briefly discuss some of the vexing dilemmas of participation in decision making and the right to the city in the two cities. This chapter will mainly stem from the observations, focus groups, meetings and workshops that were compiled with the participation of civil society initiatives, central and local government representatives in the cities of Çanakkale and Kars and aim to provide information about the participation practices in both cities. The objective of this chapter is to question how and to what extend participation was possible in these localities, and analyze the format of participation underlining the obstacles and solutions devised by relevant actors with reference to the literature on democracy.

The *sixth chapter*, the conclusion, is devoted to the analysis of the methods of participation in decision making mechanisms and the implemented deliberation methods with specific attention to the exclusion and inclusion practices. With due attention to the policy framework in the country, comments and observations of the author will also be presented in this chapter with reference to the theories of democracy and the right to the city.

This study mainly aimed to explore the different practices in two Anatolian cities for a better understanding of the limits, obstacles, challenges and opportunities for the actualization of participation in

decision making and steps can be taken towards the actualization of the right to the city in Turkey. Although the local cultural policy development and implementation experiences in Çanakkale and Kars are taken as the cases for exploration, the study argues that areas that are subject to decision making are considered to encompass all aspects of daily life in the cities beyond only policy planning processes. The rich history of democratic thought and theories of democracy is respected in the search for alternative ways and to identify the systematically included and excluded ones in the decision making structures. The main theme throughout the study is enabling a better understanding of power relations and the extension of democracy into more and more areas of the social.

CHAPTER II

ON THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND PARTICIPATION

“...*beyond all civil bounds*”
*Shakespeare*⁴¹

Studying cities and city dwellers’ role in the cities by no means a novel practice, and urban citizenship and democratic self government owe very much to the ancient Greece’ concept of the “polis”.⁴² As underlined by Kitto, the *polis* is stated as the only framework through which man fully realizes his spiritual, moral and intellectual capacities in *The Politics* of Aristotle.⁴³ Policy was decided with the open discussions, and citizens, who are Greek adults and coming particularly from that polis, had the right

⁴¹ Shakespeare, W. (1995), *Twelfth Night*, Mahood, M.M. (eds.), Penguin Books, London, 1.4.21.

⁴² According to Kitto the word “polis” was not much like a city, but much more like a state. Kitto, H.D.F (1951), *The Greeks*, Penguin Books, London.

⁴³ In *The Politics*, Aristotle calls human beings as “zoon politicon”, the animal that belongs to polis. See Aristotle (1992), *The Politics*, Penguin Books, London.

to take part in the decision making.⁴⁴ Thus, the increasing interest in the concept of participation and the city's role on the actualizing and enlarging the potential of human personality nowadays can be described as a revival rather than an innovation.⁴⁵

This chapter aims to provide a theoretical background and framework for the concepts of the right to the city and democracy for a better analysis of participation in decision making mechanisms that people can directly be involved in towards the aim of determining and transforming the economic, social and cultural state of their localities and their future. With this aim, this section will include an in-depth discussion of Lefebvre's ground-breaking concept of "the right to the city". Throughout the dissertation, the right to the city will be interpreted not only as a social, legal and cultural tool for empowering city dwellers' participation in decision making mechanisms, but also as a mean for acting, transforming, changing the social and cultural spheres.

At this point, it is crucial to underline that despite the fact that the right to the city is not a legal right, it is defined and safeguarded under international human rights documents; the concept with its unitary character encompasses different rights in the city including cultural rights and participation in decision making mechanisms. Considering their

⁴⁴ Accordingly, the citizens of any polis were an elite group of people and slaves, peasants, women and foreigners were not part of the body of citizens.

⁴⁵ Elster, J. (1998), "Introduction", in *Deliberative Democracy*, Elster, J. (ed.) Cambridge University Press. See also Mouffe, C. (2000), "Deliberative Democracy or Agonistic Pluralism", *Political Science Series* 72, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, pp 11.

comprehensive character that touches our everyday lives and environment, cultural policy and participation in cultural policy making for the transformation of the social and cultural sphere of the cities will be interpreted as one of the first steps for the claim and actualization of the very concept of the right to the city. Hence, with reference to existing legal and human rights based instruments, participation in decision making will be given specific attention since participation in cultural policy making in Çanakkale and Kars will be the case study in focus in this dissertation.

Within this framework, I will be arguing that a comprehensive approach to participation in decisions that shape our social and cultural environment aspires to opportunities for linking different social groups, acting through institutions for collective cause, and claiming our right to decide, form and transform the surroundings that we live in. Relying on the historical connection and heritage with city and democracy, theories of democracy and their interpretation of participation in decision making mechanisms will be analyzed through this literature review in the search for an answer to the questions who participates, in what and how. By elaborating on theories of democracy, I will try to try to give an overview of the use and access to participatory decision making processes through democratic practice.

2.1 THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

“The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.”

David Harvey⁴⁶

“A city is a theatre of social action, a special framework directed toward the creation of differentiated opportunities for a common life and a significant collective drama,” writes Mumford.⁴⁷ In the modern times, cities as the stage for social action captured the attention of many theorists including Weber, Simmel, and Lefebvre, who are the founding figures of urban theory.⁴⁸ Weber traced the evolutionary development of the modern city, and city in his theory is treated as integral part of the social and political order. His arguments help us understand how the process of urbanization guides the bureaucratic-economic complex of modern capitalism. Following the path from antiquity to Middle Ages and to

⁴⁶ Harvey, D. (2003), “The Right to the City,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 27.4, pp. 939-41.

⁴⁷ Mumford, L. (2004), “What is a City” in *The City Reader*, LaGates, R.T & Stout, F. (eds.), Routledge Urban Readers Series, pp 87.

⁴⁸ For further discussion see Saunders, P. (1981). *Urban Question and Social Theory*, Routledge.

modern times, he states civic participation as one of the key aspects of urbanism, and argues that cities are free associations where individuals participate in his personal rights.⁴⁹

Borja states, the city is simultaneously a personal experience and a collective action.⁵⁰ Simmel, on the other hand, who focused much more on urban character and micro analysis of social behavior within the city, believed that the role of the metropolis was “to provide the arena for a struggle of the individual to distinguish themselves from the other and its reconciliation.”⁵¹ This micro level continues with Benjamin, who sees the city as a universe of possibilities, and in contrast to Weber’s historical perception and explanation of cities, urges us to face here and now, and makes us read the city as a laboratory.⁵² Both Benjamin and Lefebvre pay attention to the place of culture, values and rhythms of the city, and interpret city with a dialectical understanding of the urban experience.⁵³ However, it is with Lefebvre that the concept of “the right to the city” came to be coined, who referred to the city as ‘an *oeuvre*, a work in which

⁴⁹ Weber, M. (1978), “The City” in *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Roth G, Wittich C (ed.), Berkeley, University of California Press.

⁵⁰ Borja, J. (2010), “Democracy In Search of the Future City”, in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition Publications, pp 31.

⁵¹ Simmel, G. (2005), “The Metropolis and Mental Life” in *The Urban Sociology Reader*, Jan Lin and Cihristopher Mele (eds.), Routledge, London.

⁵² Buck-Mors, S. (1997) *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, MIT Press, Cambridge; Benjamin, W. (2001), *Moskova Günlüğü*, Metis Publishing, Istanbul; Gilloch, G (1997), *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City*, Polity Press in Association with Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, U.K.

⁵³ Parker, S. (2004), *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience*, Routledge, NY, pp 9.

all citizens participate' in his major work in *The Right to the City*⁵⁴ in 1968.

Lefebvre presents a Marxist approach to urban theory. For him, production and reproduction is not limited with factories but in a space as a whole. For Lefebvre "space is the space where the final episodes of the capitalist drama are being played out, being occupied by the neo-capitalism, sectioned, reduced to homogeneity, and fragmented and become the seat of power."⁵⁵ As Soja states, Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city was "a stirring call to everyone disadvantaged by the conditions of urban life under capitalism to rise up to take greater control over how to unjust urban spaces in which they live are socially produced".⁵⁶ Lefebvre perceives the urbanization process as a central and critical element for political and class struggle, and for him the right to the city means, the "right to command the urban process, a greater democratic control over the production, and utilization of the surplus."⁵⁷

Lefebvre's curiosity and writings on the importance and role of a city was closely related with the political climate of 1968, and especially with the movements of youth in Paris in those days. Questions regarding women's,

⁵⁴ Lefebvre, H. (1996), "Right to the City", English translation of the 1968 text in *Writings on Cities*, Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. (eds and translators), Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

⁵⁵ Smith, N. (1991). *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and The Production of Space*, University of Georgia Press, pp 123-124.

⁵⁶ Soja, E. (2010). *Seeking Spatial Justice*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp 83.

⁵⁷ Harvey, D. (2008), "The Right to the City", *New Left Review*, 53, pp 28. <http://newleftreview.org/?view=2740> (accessed on 16.08.2011)

gay, lesbian rights or ethnicity were recent arrivals for the social and political discussions, and new subjects were framing their right-based claims with a language borrowed from previous struggles.⁵⁸ According to Fainstein, in 1960s scholars of urban politics have criticized urban decision makers for imposing policies that exacerbated the disadvantages suffered by low income, female, gay and minority residents with favoring the downtown businesses while ignoring neighborhood priorities and needs.⁵⁹ As Kofman and Lebas put it “rights were now on the agenda not just as the abstract rights of man, but concrete rights, and become customs, prescriptions usually followed by enactments in that context and period of time.”⁶⁰

Within this framework, Lefebvre argued that the right to the city is the right to “urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and

⁵⁸ Rights belong to a tradition of reasoning that goes back to antiquity, and in this tradition the notion is legal rather than ethical. The roots of the conception of universal human rights lie in the doctrine of natural law and with the secularization of the Christian natural law theory, the rights of man are said to be derived from reason. Social contract theory and Locke’s contributions should also be underlined while talking about the historical development of the concept and its justifications. A contemporary justification theory is offered by Rawls, whose theory is based on a thought experiment in which people are separated by a “veil of ignorance” from knowledge of particular lot in life. Following Lockean tradition, Rawls argues that they would commit themselves to basic conditions of qualified equality and liberty. Obviously a short overview of the justification and historical development of the concept of rights is not enough and the issue worth a deeper analysis, however a detailed analysis of the justification of human rights is out of the scope of this study. There is considerable literature concerning these issues; Singer, P. (1994), *Ethics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York; Waldron, J. (1990), *Theories of Rights*, Oxford University Press; Gewirth, A. (1996), *The Community of Rights*, Chicago University Press; Freeman, M. (2002), *Human Rights*, Cambridge, Polity Press; Donnelly, J. (2002), *Universal Rights in Theory and Practice*, Cornell University Press.

⁵⁹ Fainstein, S.S. (2010). *Just City*, Cornell University Press, pp 3.

⁶⁰ Kofman, E. & Lebas, E. (1996), “Lost in Transposition”, in *Writings on Cities*, Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 19. See also, Almond, B. (1991), “Rights”, in *A Companion to Ethics*, Singer, P. (eds.); Jones, P. (1994), *Rights*, Basingstoke: MacMillan Press.

exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete *usage* of ... moments and places.”⁶¹ Accordingly, the city for Lefebvre is a public place of interaction and exchange. His conceptualization of right to the city captures the idea that being a public place demands heterogeneity, as the city is a place where encounters with ‘difference’ blossom. This difference creates struggles as people compete over the shape of the city terms of access to the public realm, and the right to city enfranchises citizens to participate in the use and production of urban space.⁶² As Purcell states this perception reconceptualizes the liberal democratic citizen participation that particularly empowers citizen’s participation within the state affairs.⁶³ Admittedly, the right to the city brings the use and production of urban space and the everyday life discussions into the decision making debates, rather than solely limiting it with the decisions on state affairs.

Moreover, this challenge is furthered with a critical understanding of belonging and citizenship. Lefebvre’s concept stands for a critical perception of belonging as he does not ground the right to the city with formal citizenship status. Rather those who inhabit in the city, who are in the city have a right to the city for Lefebvre. Lefebvre was curious and careful about the difference between *citoyens* (citizens) and *citadins* (urban

⁶¹ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “The Right to the City”, in *Writings on Cities*, Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 158.

⁶² Brown, A. & Kristiansen, A. (2009), *Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, Most2 Urban Policy Series, pp14.

⁶³ Purcell, M. (2003), “Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol.27.3, pp 577.

inhabitants); for him the right to the city is the right of everyone, all users of the city regardless of their legal and social status as citizens. Lefebvre argues that;

The right to the city, complemented by the right to difference and the right to information, should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller (citadin) and user of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the center, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck into ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the 'marginal' and even for the 'privileged'.⁶⁴

Claiming the right to the city does not translate into national claims to the urban level so that urban citizenship replaces the national.⁶⁵ Therefore, there is a difference between the rights that the formal citizens are entitled with reference to legal status on the nation state level, and the urban inhabitants' exercise of participatory democracy in the city that is based not on a specific right but on the entire spectrum of human rights.⁶⁶ Admittedly, ideally every city dweller without the requirement of a

⁶⁴ Kofman, E. & Lebas, E. (1996), *Writings on Cities*, Blackwell, London, pp 36.

⁶⁵ Direç, M. & Gilbert, L. (2002) "The Right to the City: Homage or a New Societal Ethics", *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 13 (2), pp 59-74.

⁶⁶ This also goes along with the argument of Soysal; according to her, with the accelerating affect of human rights discourse and instruments, rights are well beyond the idea of citizenship, and national membership is not a prerequisite for shaping rights and claims. Soysal, Y. (1994), *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, The University of Chicago Press.

national membership has the right to the city and right to participation in the decision relating to their environment.

At this point, it is crucial to underline that from an ethical standpoint, the right to the city adopts a rights language to describe the participation of citizens in the oeuvre of their city. However, it is not a part of the human rights regime but rather an approach for urban existence as “it poses an exciting and direct challenge to the nature of citizenship, and places the city at the primary level of the decision making where the social value of urban space weighs equally with its monetary value.”⁶⁷ The right to the city has the potential to bring new struggles to the agenda of the human rights discourse and challenge the existing individual based rights definitions.⁶⁸ This inclusive perception and conceptualization also provides us with an opportunity to capture the issue of migrants and refugees and even the tourists and travelers who reside or pass by the city but are not citizens of that locality.

It can be claimed that the accelerating affect of these discussions on the concept the right to the city, alongside Lefebvre’s interest on the everyday dynamics of city life, made the concept popular among critical urban

⁶⁷ Purcell, M. (2002), “Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant”, *GeoJournal* 58, pp 99-108. Also see Brown, A. & Kristiansen, A. (2009), *Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, Most2 Urban Policy Series.

⁶⁸ As Laclau and Mouffe argue the flexibility of the liberal democratic definition of human rights is open to contestation permitting both the various right wing redefinitions and radical democratic appropriations. For further discussion, Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985), *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London, Verso, pp 176. Also see Lefort, C. (1986), *The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy and Totalitarianism*, J. Thompson (eds.), MA, Polity Press.

theorists, and its relation to practice started to dominate the discussions on key theoretical, empirical and political issues regarding the neo-liberal urban restructuring. Meanwhile, as Purcell puts it, the concept right to the city is promising, exiting, but it is an open-ended vision of urban politics, hence requires more detailed analysis and further elaboration to encompass the power relations and in terms of providing more authority and right to urban habitants.⁶⁹ Therefore, what the right to the city encompasses, how this concept can provide more authority to the city dwellers, and through which ways and methods we can claim for the right to the city are major questions that need to be answered.

2.1.1 The Right to the City and Rights in the City

The right to the city is a not a legal right that has a place in the human rights regime. It can also be envisioned as a platform that can bring together different interest groups and grassroots movements. Meanwhile, It is essential to talk about the existing instruments and concepts in human rights documents while trying to delineate the right to the city and what the concept entails, since this may provide us with a legal tool for a furthering our claim for the right to the city.

⁶⁹ Purcell, M. (2002), "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *GeoJournal* 58, pp 99-108.

The demand of the right to the city can be grounded within the human rights framework, especially in line with economic, social and cultural rights. Besides the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁷⁰ and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights⁷¹, there are a number of other human rights documents and regional instruments such as the ‘Charter of Educating Cities’⁷², the ‘European Charter for Safeguarding Human Rights in the City’⁷³, and the ‘European Charter of Equality of Women and Men in the Local Life’⁷⁴ that affirm the increasing importance of cities for human rights, and provide a legal framework for the rights of citizens in their cities.

On the other hand, the difference between rights in the city and the right to the city should be underscored in this process. As Marcuse states, this

⁷⁰ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (hereafter ICCPR). GA res. 2200A, adopted 16 December 1966. For text see *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, 4th edition, 2002, I. Brownlie. & Goodwin-Gill. (eds), Oxford University Press, pp. 182.

⁷¹ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (hereafter ICESCR). GA res. 2200A, adopted 16 December 1966. For text see Brownlie I. & Goodwin-Gill (eds.), *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, 4th edition, 2002, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 172.

⁷² The initial Charter was set forth in 1990, Barcelona, then the Charter is revised in 1994, Bologna and also in 2004, Genoa at the International Congress of Educating Cities. For text see; http://www.bcn.es/edcities/aice/estatiques/angles/sec_charter.html (accessed on 17.08.2011).

⁷³ The European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City gathers the fundamental rights of city dwellers and the basic principles that must govern city life in order that the human rights of all those who live there be respected and encouraged. The Charter is approved in 2000, at Saint Denis. For text see; http://unipd-centrodirittiumani.it/public/docs/european_charter_hr_cities.pdf (accessed on 17.08.2011).

⁷⁴ The Council of European Municipalities and Regions launched the Charter in May 2006 with addressing the local and regional governments of Europe, who are invited to sign it, to make a formal public commitment to the principle of equality of women and men, and to implement, within their territory, the commitments set out within the Charter. The Charter underlines the importance of balanced participation of men and women in decision making as necessary component of democratic societies. For text http://www.ccre.org/bases/T_599_40_3524.pdf (accessed on 17.08.2011).

difference between ‘the rights in the city’ and ‘the right to the city’ can be analyzed simply as follows: “the fore one rises multiple and the latter a singular demand.”⁷⁵ While the rights in the city refers to multiple rights including right to housing, right to water and right to participate in the decision making mechanisms, to free speech, to education, to culture and such, the right to the city captures all the rights that are stated under the rights in the city. Therefore, the right to the city is not an additional human right, but rather the concept can be interpreted as a core right for the rendering a body of existent human rights accessible or even as a right that may enforces other rights that formally exist.

Furthermore, this unitary character of the right to the city evolves into further rights: the right to appropriate urban space in the sense of the right to use, and the right to participation. According to Purcell, while the right to appropriate urban space in the sense of right to use refers “the right to live in, play in, work in, represent, characterize and occupy urban space in a particular city,” the right to participation is the right of inhabitants “to take a central role in decision making processes surrounding the production of urban space.”⁷⁶ The right to the city pertains not only to public affairs and the state decisions, but also to the right to appropriate urban space; the right to the city addresses the concerns of participation

⁷⁵ Marcuse, P (2010), “Rights in Cities and The Right to the City” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition Publications, pp 89-99.

⁷⁶ Purcell, M. (2003), “Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.27.3, pp 578.

with a decentralized approach, and puts our everyday lives in the city at the focus of participation in decision making. Meanwhile, it is also crucial to consider that participation does not necessarily guarantee democratic cities and the ability to participate does not guarantee to be heard.

The right to the city, with this comprehensive and unitary feature, also provides political outcomes which are listed by Marcuse as organizational, analytical and hopeful: In organizational sense, one right that includes all the rights at once can be a basis for bringing separate advocates together. Secondly, this unitary vision makes us analyze the system as a whole. The last one is hope, motivation and justification for a commitment that the right to the city embodies for changing our lives.⁷⁷ These outcomes make us to consider the concept's potential beyond the individual rights as the transformation it foresees depends on the exercise of a collective power to reshape the process of urbanization.⁷⁸

The concept of the right to the city brings collective rights into the agenda, and reminds us of the importance of social movements to actualize a just and habitable world. It brings the hope for creating dialogue and interaction among the different actors, groups, peoples in the city and perceives decision making as a “dynamic process and conquest in which

⁷⁷ Marcuse, P (2010), “Rights in Cities and The Right to the City” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition Publications, pp 90.

⁷⁸ Harvey, D. (2008), “The Right to the City”, *New Left Review*, pp 23.

social movements are the engine driving the achievement of this right.”⁷⁹

As Harvey states,

“One step forward for unifying the struggles (within the city) is to adopt the right to the as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely because it focuses on the questions of who commands the necessary connection between urbanization and the surplus production and use. The democratization of that right and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its well are imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all.”⁸⁰

The right to the city can be taken as a platform where different movements can come together; an umbrella that can bring locals with different interests together. Thus, participation in decision making processes, and the right to exist, act and transform within a city remain as one of the basic

⁷⁹ Mathievet, C. (2010), “The Right to the City: Keys to Understanding the Proposal for ‘Another City is Possible’” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards the Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition Publications, pp 22.

⁸⁰ Harvey, D. (2008), “The Right to the City”, *New Left Review*, pp 40.

characteristics of the right to the city, no matter which particular rights in the city we are claiming. Keeping this unitary character of the right to the city in mind, I will be focusing on one of the rights in the city; cultural rights, with a specific focus on participation in cultural policy making as participation in cultural policy making in cities may provide a fertile ground for furthering participatory practices related to the transformation of everyday life of city dwellers and open up a path for the first steps of claiming our right to the city.

2.1.2 Cultural Rights, Cultural Policy Making and Participation

The Article 27 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948⁸¹ where all cultural rights documents, instruments and discussions stem from, declares that “everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.” Even though the UDHR is not a legally binding instrument, it is important to consider that it is an authoritative guide produced by the UN General Assembly and has a considerable indirect legal effect in the international arena. Hence, in this very basic

⁸¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by GA resolution 217 A (III) 10.12.1948. For text see Brownlie I. & Goodwin-Gill (eds.), *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, 4th edition. (2002), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 18.

document of human rights, cultural rights are affiliated with everyone and defined as the rights of everyone rather than of a particular group.⁸²

When the UDHR split into two as the ICCPR and the ICESCR, “the right to participate in the cultural life of the community” as stated in Article 27 of the UDHR had different reflections in the two Covenants. While Article 27 of the ICPRR states that persons belonging to ethnic, religious groups “shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language”, Article 15 of the ICESCR entrenches “the right of every one to take part in cultural life.”

However, together with the formation of international human rights law, human rights in general and cultural rights in particular have always been affiliated with the formation of nation states, and the ambit of the cultural rights has been limited to the rights of minorities and indigenous people and the right to preserve the distinct existence.⁸³ Hence, when we speak of cultural rights, usually we speak of the rights of minorities and indigenous peoples, cultural identity and memory, and specifically right to language, and the corresponding negative obligations of states not to interfere with

⁸² There is an ongoing discussion on the meaning of the Article 27 of the UDHR. Statopoulou argues that we may also read and criticize Article 27 of the UDHR due to its emphasis on “the right to participate in **the** cultural life of **the** community”, as this emphasis may also be interpreted as a focus on a particular cultural life and also a particular community. For further information and discussion on the issue, Macklem, P (2009), “The Law and Politics of International Cultural Rights: A Review Essay of Elsa Stamatopoulou” and Cultural Rights in International Law, Francesco Francioni and Martin Scheinin (eds.), *Cultural Human Rights*, University of Toronto Research Series, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1423873>.

⁸³ Tamir, Y. (1993), *Liberal Nationalism*, Princeton University Press, pp 69.

the exercise of cultural practices. Concomitantly, it can be stated that not only have cultural rights as the rights of everyone received lesser attention, but also they have always been viewed as rights of lesser priority and came after the civil, political, economic and social rights.

It is very recent and with the Vienna Declaration and the Program of Action in 1993 which states that “all human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated”⁸⁴ the importance of culture and its possible contribution to reconciliation, democracy, and social cohesion was recently discovered, and cultural rights have entered the agenda of social and political discussions more than ever.⁸⁵ Around the same time culture and taking part in cultural policy became integrated to participation discussions and theories.

Cultural rights are wide ranging in scope, and require a multifaceted approach including the textual, historical and institutional dimensions. They encompass not only the minority rights in general but also themes of

⁸⁴ Article 5 of the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, GA A. Conf 157/23 adopted 25 June 1993.

⁸⁵ Recently, with the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted by the 31st Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, Paris, 2 November 2001 (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>) and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions (Adopted by the 33rd General Conference of UNESCO in 2005. For text, see <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/cultural-diversity/2005-convention>. According to Article 2.1 of the 2005 Convention “Cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, information and communication, as well as the ability of individuals to choose cultural expressions, are guaranteed. No one may invoke the provisions of this Convention in order to infringe human rights and fundamental freedoms as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or guaranteed by international law, or to limit the scope thereof.”

“artistic manifestation and creativity”, “communication and information”, “cultural collaboration” and “cultural expression and interpretation”, as well as “identity and cultural heritage” and “participation to and taking part in cultural life.”⁸⁶ Equally important, in talking about participation in culture it is necessary to consider the infrastructure (for example, numbers of museums and auditoriums) and culture supply (plays, tours, films, exhibitions, etc.), use of the supplied culture (number of spectators and museum visitors, etc.), consumer preferences and leisure habits.⁸⁷ Furthermore, it is important to state that participation to cultural life corresponds to something more than participating in cultural activities; that it also refers to “the access and active cooperation in the design and implementation in the policies, collective action and manifestation of freedom of choice.”⁸⁸ Thus, parallel to the right to the city, talking about cultural rights and cultural policy making which refers to partaking in decision making related to the cultural themes is far more broad than talking about the taking part in cultural activities; it is rather about talking and shaping our everyday lives.

Cultural rights are essential elements of a person’s way of life and vest in all of us and the right to participate in cultural life, safeguarding in

⁸⁶ See the ‘Freiburg Declaration’ on Cultural Rights, adopted in Freiburg, on 7 May 2004. For text see <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instate/Fribourg%20Declaration.pdf> (accessed on 22.09.2011).

⁸⁷ Kutlu, Ü.Z. & Aksoy, A. (2011), “Cultural Rights, Cultural Diversity and Participatory Cultural Policies” in *Turkish Cultural Policy Report* (Serhan Ada, ed), Istanbul Bilgi University Publications, pp 252.

⁸⁸ Laaksonen, A. (2005), “Measuring Cultural Exclusion through Participation in Cultural Life”, Paper presented at the “Third Forum of Human Development: Defining and Measuring Cultural Exclusion”, 17-19 January, 2005, Paris.

particular, the freedom of an individual to choose, enjoy, manifest, disseminate, create and participate in one's culture.⁸⁹ Therefore, to adopt an approach that recognizes the right to participation in decision making mechanisms on social and cultural affairs in urban life, and also to set up an environment for the practice of this right can be considered as a prerequisite in establishing democracy in any country and locality. Admittedly, as one of the rights in the city, cultural rights, especially participation in cultural policy-making, brings and provides a fertile ground for social inclusion, dialogue and transformation of the environment that we live in.

Relying on the very concept of the right to the city of Lefebvre, throughout this part I discussed that participation in decision making is at the center of our daily lives as the right of every city dweller and this pertains to every decision that is related with our environment in the city, including social and cultural concerns. Cultural rights with a specific focus on participation and cultural policy making can be considered as one of the steps of adopting the right to the city both as a working slogan and a political ideal, and for constructing the social movement for realizing this right. Yet how participation of every city dweller can assume a central role in decision making processes surrounding the production of urban space remains to be the vital question that requires an answer.

⁸⁹ Macklem, P (2009), "The Law and Politics of International Cultural Rights: A Review Essay of Elsa Stamatopoulou and Cultural Rights in International Law", Francesco Francioni and Martin Scheinin (eds.), *Cultural Human Rights*, University of Toronto Research Series, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1423873> (accessed on 22.09.2011).

The following section is devoted to democracy theories and their interpretation of participation in decision making mechanisms for a further understanding of the concept which is crucial for the actualization of the right to the city.

2.2 DEMOCRACY THEORIES AND PARTICIPATION

“An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of policy.”

Pericles⁹⁰

“I delight in talking politics. I talk them all day long. But I can’t bear listening to them.”

Oscar Wilde⁹¹

The city is a metaphor for democracy.⁹² When we talk about the right to the city we talk about cities and participation, as in ancient Athens where

⁹⁰ <http://www.classicpersuasion.org/pw/thucydides/thucydides-passages.php?pleaseget=2.40-44> (accessed on 17.10.2011).

⁹¹ Wilde, O. (1992), *An Ideal Husband*, Longman, England. Act 1.

⁹² Borja, J. (2010), “Democracy In Search of the Future City”, in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition Publications, pp 30.

the theories of democracy are rooted. The polis had direct democracy, and direct democracy affords continuous participation of elite group of people -slaves, peasants, women and foreigners were not part of the body of citizens - in the direct exercise of power whereas indirect democracy refers to the systems of limitation and control of power.⁹³ The Athenian polis was predominantly face-to-face societies and oral cultures and had elements of popular participation in governmental affairs and had little, if any, centralized bureaucratic control.⁹⁴ Whereas in the contemporary cities, it is almost impossible to include every city dweller to decision making mechanisms given the scale and socio-political climate of our contemporary urban society. As Marcuse states;

Both the spatial form and content of the (contemporary) cities reflect deep partitions, indeed chasm, widening the rich and poor, between high-rise citadels of the rich, walled enclaves of the well-to-do and well educated, sprawling suburbs of a declining middle class, sometimes concentrated in the edge cities, mixed and unstable working class and immigrant quarters, and ghettos of excluded, often overwhelmingly of racial and ethnic minorities.⁹⁵

⁹³ Sartori, G. (1978), *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*, Chatham House Publisher, pp 280.

⁹⁴ Held, D. (1993), "Democracy: From City-States to a Cosmopolitan Order?" in *Prospects for Democracy*, Held, D (ed.) Stanford University Press, pp 15.

⁹⁵ Marcuse, P. & Kempen V.R. (2002), "States, Cities and the Partitioning of Urban Space", in *Of States and Cities*, Marcuse, P & Kempen V.R. (eds.) Oxford University Press, pp 3.

Drawing from Lefebvre, who states “the right to the city cannot be conceived as the simply right to visit or return to traditional cities; it can only be formulated as a right to urban, transformed, and renewed right to urban life,”⁹⁶ it is crucial to reformulate old ways and even create innovative ways to activate the right to the city in the contemporary era. While doing so, I believe it is both useful and helpful to reconsider the historical link with the city and democracy, and revisit the discussions around the concepts of participation, representation and deliberation in political theory.

2.2.1 An Overview: Representation, Participation, and Deliberation

In the history of democratic theory,⁹⁷ there is a discussion on whether democracy should mean some kind of popular power; a form of politics in which citizens are engaged in self-government and self regulation or an aid to decision making, a means of conferring authority on those periodically voted into office.⁹⁸ According to Held, three models of democracy stem from this debate; the first one is the direct and participatory democracy found in ancient Athens, which entails a system of decision making on

⁹⁶ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “The Right to the City”, in *Writings on Cities*, Kofman, E and Lebas, E. (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 158.

⁹⁷ Throughout the dissertation I will use the concept democracy as coined by Wolin. Accordingly, democracy is a project concerned with the political potentialities of ordinary citizens, that is, with their possibilities for becoming political beings through the self discovery of common concerns and of modes of action for realizing them. See Wolin, S.S. (1996), “Fugitive Democracy”, in *Democracy and Difference*, Benhabib, S. (ed.), Princeton University Press, pp 31.

⁹⁸ Held, D. (1993), “Democracy: From City-States to a Cosmopolitan Order?” in *Prospects for Democracy*, Held, D (ed.), Stanford University Press, pp 15.

with citizens' direct involvement. The second one is liberal or representative democracy where a system of rule embracing elected officers represents the interests of the citizens within the framework of the rule of law. And the third one is the one-party model, though whether this can be described as democracy at all is subject to discussion.⁹⁹

In the modern era, participation in decision making mechanisms is always affiliated with the voting practice and a route of contact through campaign activities between politicians and citizens; in other words with representative democracy.¹⁰⁰ Concurrently, the scope of the concept participation is limited to the political participation in state decisions on governmental affairs, referring to a set of institutions such as free elections, competing parties, substantial but not unlimited pressure upon the state, freedom of association in pursuit of political influence, and it does not include the participation in the social, cultural and religious spheres. Politics and participation in policy making and decisions are interpreted as the pursuit of the essentially private interests of voters, entrepreneurial politicians and other political actors.¹⁰¹

Authors like Dahl, Sartori, Hayek and Eckstein, who adopted the realist and empirical view, defined democracy as a political method or set of

⁹⁹ *ibid*, pp 17.

¹⁰⁰ The theories of democracy in political theory have a long history worth deeper analysis. Additionally both the connection and tension between liberalism and democracy requires attention. However, a critical and also historical and comparative analysis of the terms democracy and liberalism is beyond of the scope of this dissertation.

¹⁰¹ Dryzek, J.S. (1990), *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy and Political Science*, Cambridge University Press, pp 119.

institutional arrangements characterized by competing elites, and their concept of participation referred to voting.¹⁰² Those theories that are inspired by theoreticians like Schumpeter followed an idea of democratic elitism whereby democracy is interpreted as a method whose central feature was competition for leadership in the elections.¹⁰³ Hayek depicts the major theme of elitist democracy as distrust of majority opinion, rejection of the collective self rule.¹⁰⁴ Schumpeter and Sartori argue that ordinary citizens are incapable of making everyday decisions due to lack of interest and disinvolvement in politics exasperated by extreme technicality of the problems. This is one of the reasons that they are confined to pass judgments on their representatives in the elections.¹⁰⁵

It could be argued that the shift from the conventional perception that identifies participation in decision making as voting for political decisions related with state, and well-accepted contacts between politicians and citizens to a more expanded idea of participation and deliberation started to flourish at the end of 1960s with the social movements and protests of 1968.¹⁰⁶ Parallel with the emergence of Lefebvre's right to the city of, it is

¹⁰² Pateman, C. (1970), *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge University Press, pp 14.

¹⁰³ Schumpeter, J.A. (1943), *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, London, Allen and Unwin.

¹⁰⁴ Hayek, A.F. (1976), *The Road to Serfdom*, London, Routledge.

¹⁰⁵ Budge, I. (1993), "Direct Democracy: Terms of Debate", in *Prospects for Democracy*, Held, D (ed.), Stanford University Press, pp 149.

¹⁰⁶ Deth, W.J. (2001), "Studying Political Participation: Towards A Theory of Everything?", Research Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Grenoble, April, 2001. Also, Benhabib, S. (1996), "The Democratic Moment and the Problem of Difference", in *Democracy and Difference*, Benhabib, S. (ed.), Princeton University Press, pp 4.

with the social movements of those times that conventional participation theories that focus on voting, campaigns, and political parties were challenged as people raised the demand for changing and shaping their environment and their localities on the street rather than waiting for the elections.

Another essential transformation followed the social and political movements of 1968; not only the methodology, but also the content of the discussions changed. There was a shift in the nature of issues defined as political concerns. As Benhabib argues, this move was from macro level politics around distribution of wealth, labor and class struggles to a micro level one, and included the concerns such as abortion and gay rights, the politics of racial, linguistic and ethnic identities.¹⁰⁷ It is also with this transformation that political actors came to include activist women, people of color, gay individuals and all concerned citizens rather than only the political parties. These movements were also echoed by the theorists of elitist democracy and advocates of greater participation during the 1970s. With the accelerating effects of these movements and discussions, the domain and the ambit of participation in decision making and theories on participatory and deliberative democracy expanded considerably, and the issue stretched beyond voting in the elections and affiliation with political parties as in the recent decades.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*, pp 4.

While challenging representative democracy and its elitism, a republican thought emerged with a claim to being the follower of the political heritage of ancient Greece and the concept of the general will. As one of the defenders of the republican ideal, Arendt, who is also renowned as one of the prominent theoreticians of participatory politics, sought to re-establish an understanding of what is entailed in authentic political activity. She was supporting the idea of direct participation of ordinary citizens in politics with an emphasis on the concept of “public freedom”. Following examples from France, Russia and Hungary she raised the issue of “council democracy”, and her goal was to indicate a possible political alternative to a parliamentary and multi-party system.¹⁰⁸ Many of the examples she cites as instances of council democracy such as Russia 1917, Germany 1917-18, and Hungary 1956 were actually complex political configurations of workers' councils, neighborhood councils, direct democratic organs of the military, councils of cultural groups, etc. Arendt's stress was on interaction and she believed “ordinary citizens can be free and powerful; not by waiting someone in authority to give them power, but having the courage to act and create their own public space.”¹⁰⁹

Arendt was pointing out the significance of human plurality; “men, not Man, live in the earth and inhabit the world.”¹¹⁰ Relying on the political developments of the 1960s and 1970s, her ideas were full of hope for the

¹⁰⁸ Arendt, H. (1963), *On Revolution*, London, Faber and Faber.

¹⁰⁹ Canovan, M. (1998), “Hannah Arendt: Republicanism and Democracy” in *Liberal Democracy and Its Critiques*, Carter, A. & Stokes, C. (eds.), Polity Press, pp 44.

¹¹⁰ Arendt, H. (1958), *The Human Condition*, Chicago University Press, pp 7.

plural, unpredictable and spontaneous character participatory action involves. Her proposal for political action and participatory democracy were outlined in her arguments for the establishment of the “council democracy”.¹¹¹ For her, councils were ‘spaces of freedom’. As Canovan states, Arendt considered that in the combination of grassroots participation with federation into a wider public, created “the possibility of a genuine alternative to the centralized representative democracies.”¹¹²

However, there were shortcomings of and also criticisms to Arendt’s idea of councils. First of all, she was arguing that since most of the citizens are not interested in taking part in the public affairs, they will not come in the councils that are open to every individual. Therefore, she brings the concept of “elites” who choose to be part of public affairs and end up creating some form of aristocracy. Secondly, she differentiated between administration and politics, and she was arguing for the displacement of the social and economic matters outside the political ones.

While republican thought builds its model on participation, deliberative theories of democracy focus on communication. Both the deliberative and participatory ideals visualize the collective will formation through an open discussion with the aim of arriving at an agreed judgment, and perceive deliberation as a new source of justification, no longer stemming from the

¹¹¹ Arendt was arguing that in modern democracy instead of sharing concern for public interest, people use politics as a collective device for serving private interests and concerns. The public arena is occupied by the career politicians and voters turned to be the consumers. See Arendt, H. (1963), *On Revolution*, London, Faber and Faber.

¹¹² Canovan, M. (1998), “Hannah Arendt: Republicanism and Democracy” in *Liberal Democracy and Its Critiques*, Carter, A. & Stokes, C. (eds.), Polity Press, pp 47.

top-down dictates of authorities and their associated experts. As Dryzek states, together with deliberative theories, politics become more pedagogical, discursive, concerned with public rather than private ends, and demanding in terms of active citizenship.¹¹³ Democracy is seen as any institutional order whose legitimacy depends on collective will formation through discourse. According to Miller, the aim is to reach an agreement on collectively binding public policies through an open discussion in which all points of view can be heard.¹¹⁴

Admittedly, theoreticians of deliberative democracy such as Habermas do not equate democracy with any institutional mechanisms such as voting, separation of powers, representation. According to Habermas, deliberative democracy, which is good in itself, requires the institutional framework for the protection of free discussion among equal citizens. In Habermas' words, "it has the success of deliberative politics depend not on a collectively acting citizenry but on the institutionalization of the corresponding procedures and conditions of communication."¹¹⁵

According to Habermas, democracy is not about the management of conflicting interests but also creating solidarity among citizens through

¹¹³ Dryzek, J.S. (1990), *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy and Political Science*, Cambridge University Press, pp 119.

¹¹⁴ Miller, D. (1993), "Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice" in *Prospects for Democracy*, Held, D (ed.) Stanford University Press, pp 77.

¹¹⁵ Habermas, J. (1996), "Three Normative Models of Democracy", in *Democracy and Difference*, Benhabib, S. (eds.), Princeton University Press, pp 27.

deliberation and communicative action.¹¹⁶ Communicative action is an action “oriented to achieving, sustaining consensus” and aims to amalgamate the individual aspirations with collective purposes and obligates both speakers and listeners to take each other’s claims seriously. According to Habermas, communicative action and lifeworld are the key notions for understanding the potential for more rational forms of social order. The idea of “lifeworld” expresses the insight that a kind of sacredness never completely disappears from modern social life. Communicative action is complementary to that notion.¹¹⁷ For him, the democratic legitimization of the formal political system depends on its openness of internal mechanisms to a broader process of will and opinion formation.

In the book *Facts and Norms*, Habermas places communicative practices in civil society whose institutional core comprises non-governmental, non-economic connections and voluntary organizations. He uses a center-periphery approach and argues that center should be responsive to the communicative actions in the periphery, and states, “binding decisions, to be legitimate, must be steered by the communication flows that start at the periphery public space.”¹¹⁸ Unlike the representation and election focused democracy theories that view society as centered in the state and its

¹¹⁶ *ibid*, pp 22.

¹¹⁷ For further information; Habermas, J. (1984), *Theory of Communicative Action*, Boston Beacon, pp 9.

¹¹⁸ Habermas, J. (1997), *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, pp 354.

decisions; deliberative theories search for decentralized public sphere through which parliamentary bodies and informal networks communicate.

As Leet mentions, Habermas obligates the public sphere to detect problems and hone them and then introduce them to parliamentary context; hence, prospects for democracy strongly depends on citizens choosing to exercise their communicative capacities.¹¹⁹ In Habermas' ideal speech, participants must have equal power, equal chance to offer and they should project reasoned, calm and dispassionate manner.

Despite nuances and the variety of deliberation methods developed by different authors, the main theme of the discussion around deliberative democracy is the communication, consensus and rationality focus. Young agrees with the deliberation focus, however criticizes the distinction Habermas makes among political processes and cultural communication forms, underlining the need for a broader conception of deliberation that includes, in addition to critical argument, also greeting, rhetoric and storytelling.¹²⁰ Similar to Young, Walzer also argues that the complexity of human talk is narrowed to a limited discursive space where certain kind of talk goes on.¹²¹ A speech setting that is too formal and also free from

¹¹⁹ Leet, M. (1998), "Jurgen Habermas and Deliberative Democracy" in *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics: Perspectives in Contemporary Political Thought*, Carter, A. and Stokes, G. (eds.), Cambridge, Policy Press, pp 89.

¹²⁰ Young, I. M. (1996), "Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy", in *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, Benhabib, S. (ed.) Princeton University Press, pp 67-94.

¹²¹ Kingwell, M. (1998), "Michael Walzer: Pluralism, Justice and Democracy" in *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics: Perspectives in Contemporary Political Thought*, Carter, A. and Stokes, G. (eds.), Cambridge, Policy Press, pp 147.

the actual situation of social conflict and power relations is also criticized by theoreticians like Laclau and Mouffe, whom can be stated as the leading figures of the agonistics theories of democracy.

2.2.2 Agonistic Theories

Following Laclau and Mouffe, I believe democracy theories must extend beyond their liberal democratic origins, which define the individual as an equal and rational self determining agent and attempt to construct socio-political obligations on the basis of consensual contracts.¹²² Rather than trying to reach on a consensus that is impossible and hard to maintain once it is there, the task is to think of how to create the conditions under which those aggressive forces can be defused and diverted in the society. Mouffe argues that there is a mistaken emphasis on consensus, and power, conflict and passions are not credited enough:

No doubt by stating that democracy cannot be reduced to a question of procedures to mediate among conflicting interests, deliberative democrats defend a conception of democracy that presents a richer conception of politics. But albeit in different way than they criticize, their vision is also a

¹²² Smith, M.A. (1998), *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*, Routledge, pp 10.

rationalist one which leaves aside the crucial role played by passions and collective forms of identifications in the field of politics.¹²³

Both Laclau and Mouffe mention that power is always present and constitutive for the social, and there is no social without power relations.¹²⁴ For them power and conflict are inescapable and ever present. As power and conflict play such central role, therefore, it is the relations of power and antagonisms need to be questioned.

Equally important, Mouffe makes a clear distinction between “antagonism” and “agonism”. According to her, both terms refer to a form of conflict, but while antagonism refers to one group trying to eliminate the other and conflict as form of existence, agonism refers a struggle in which groups recognize the other’s right to exist. As Purcell states, the goal of democratic politics for Mouffe is to transform antagonism into agonism.¹²⁵ According to Mouffe:

Contrary to the projects of radical and participatory democracy informed by a rationalistic framework, radical and plural democracy rejects very possibility of non-exclusive public sphere of rational argument where a non coercive consensus could be attained. By showing that such a consensus is a conceptual impossibility, it does not put in jeopardy the

¹²³ Carpentier, N. & Cammaerts, B. (2006), “Bringing Hegemony, Agonism and the Political into Journalism and Media Studies: An Interview with Chantal Mouffe”, *Journalism Studies*, 7(6), pp. 967.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Purcell, M. (2008), *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalism and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, NY, pp 66.

democratic ideal. On the contrary it projects the pluralist democracy against any attempts of closure. Indeed, such a rejection constitutes an important guarantee that the dynamics of the democratic process will be kept alive. Instead of trying to erase the traces of power and exclusion, democratic politics requires bringing them to the fore, making them visible so they can enter in the terrain of contestation.¹²⁶

In deliberative democracy, especially in the writings of Habermas, differences of power are acknowledged, but through communicative action it is aimed to neutralize the conflicts and ensure that power is not the driving force of political decision making. Nevertheless, theoreticians of agonistic democracy interpret presence of conflict as a structuring societal force.

Following Foucault, both Laclau and Mouffe argue that power inheres in the relationship between social agents.¹²⁷ For them, liberation from power is illusory, and power is not the property of state institutions or classes; it exists in all forms of social relations. Thus, while considering the issue of participation in decision making mechanisms, rather than focusing on building a consensus, the main objective should be a better understanding of the power relations and extension of democracy. Hence, the issue that we should focus on is how to constitute forms of power compatible with

¹²⁶ Mouffe, C. (1996), "Democracy, Power and the Political" in *Democracy and Difference*, Benhabib, S. (ed.), Princeton University Press, pp 255.

¹²⁷ Foucault, M. (1990), *History of Sexuality*, New York: Vintage Books, pp 100.

democratic values that recognize the other's right to exist, rather than trying to eliminate power or mask it with focusing merely on agreement.¹²⁸

Defining conflict as inevitable also makes us to consider the meanings of neutralizing conflict and power that are inherent and inescapable in social relations, as any attempt to neutralize this is some kind of exertion of power and imposition of particular values itself.¹²⁹ Emphasizing consensus building through deliberation and the narrative of inclusiveness through deliberation may mask the conflict that is inherent in social relations, and equally important definitively sidelines excluded groups in decision making mechanisms. Once consensus is reached, the conflict and also the excluded groups' decisions are outcast the agenda. According to Mouffe, every type of social order is the product of hegemony as a specific articulation; in every type of social order there is always an outside and there can be no consensus without exclusion.¹³⁰ In other words, inclusiveness can never be total and every decision making group always excludes some affected parties.

Who is in and who is out is the vital question that emerges with the recognition of conflict and power in social relations and decisions. Every decision will silence some and exclusion is all too often not random but

¹²⁸ Purcell, M. (2008), *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalism and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, Ny, pp 66.

¹²⁹ *ibid*, pp 67.

¹³⁰ Carpentier, N. & Cammaerts, B. (2006), "Bringing Hegemony, Agonism and the Political into Journalism and Media Studies: An Interview with Chantal Mouffe", *Journalism Studies*, 7(6), pp 969.

systematic.¹³¹ Thus, agonistic theory makes us to ponder power relations, together with questions of how we do it and whom we exclude. Power relations, exclusion and inclusion dynamics are inevitable and it is vital to critically examine the processes and acknowledge the systematically included and excluded ones in the decision making structure.

One crucial point that requires equal attention is the agonistics theories' recognition of the specificity of demands; a chance of equivalence between democratic struggles, and a call for establishing ways that different movements can work together. Through conflict, the leeway for the inclusion of the excluded ones creates the possibility and also the potential for change. The arguments of agonistic democracy are defined as radically pluralist as they allow each identity to benefit from maximum autonomy. As McNay states, this idea resembles Foucault's idea of resistance as heterogeneous and uneven and extends the potential sites of democratic struggle.¹³² This idea is key as it is parallel to the very idea of the right to the city that is comprised of different rights and creates space for different struggles within.

According to Foucault, any radical challenge to democratic institutions cannot emerge from conventional democratic routes such as appeals to rights or justice as they will inevitably be implicated within the

¹³¹ Purcell, M. (2008) *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalism and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, NY, pp 71.

¹³² McNay, N. (1998), "Michel Foucault and Agonistic Democracy" in *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics: Perspectives in Contemporary Political Thought*, Carter, A. and Stokes, G. (eds.), Cambridge, Policy Press, pp 223.

normalizing structures that are essential to control within democracies.¹³³

The concepts of rights, law, state, and citizenship are disciplinary forms and functioning as social control mechanisms, they naturalize certain hegemonic conceptions of human nature for Foucault whereas Laclau and Mouffe perceive rights as indeterminate. Following Claude Lefort, who stated that democratic discourse on human rights has the potential to stimulate different forms of emancipation struggles, Laclau and Mouffe argue that once human beings accept the legitimacy of the principle of equality in one sphere, they will attempt to extend it to every other sphere of life.¹³⁴ Hence, rather than perceiving the human rights discourse as fixed and stable, the concept, its implications, content and scope can be expanded.

Urbanization can be seen as a set of social relationships reflecting the entirety of relationships in the society as a whole.¹³⁵ As Purcell states, “the argument of democratization requires not instituting elections or associations, or a new way of talking, but rather it requires a full-blown transformation of society.”¹³⁶ Now in light of these arguments we can conceive democratic politics and participation as the mobilization of social movements that struggle for democratization.

¹³³ *ibid*, pp 216.

¹³⁴ Smith, A.M. (1998), *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*, Routledge, pp 7. Also see Laclau and Mouffe (1990,) *New Reflections of the Revolution of Our Time*, London, Verso, pp 128.

¹³⁵ Harvey, D. (1973), *Social Justice and the City*, Edward Arnold Publishers, London, pp 304.

¹³⁶ Purcell, M (2008), “Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures”, Routledge, New York pp 57.

2.3. CAN THEORIES AND DISCUSSIONS ON DEMOCRACY SHOW US A PATH FOR ACTUALIZING THE RIGHT TO THE CITY?

Throughout this section, in addition to framework I presented on the right to the city, I also attempted to provide a general overview of the representative, republican, deliberative and agonistic visions of democracy that are believed to be useful for a better understanding of the methodologies and possible approaches for realizing the right to the city.

In the general human rights discourse, civil and political rights are fundamental, and they protect the ability of people to participate in politics and decision making by enabling them to express their opinions, protest and vote. Nonetheless, it is obvious that focusing on participation in the contemporary era means more than facilitating citizens' civil and political rights; and economic, social and cultural rights should also into discussion. Parallel to this, the concept the right to the city signifies cultural and social aspects and interactions of everyday life cultivated through living together and sharing urban space with each other. Relying on Lefebvre's concept the right to the city, I have proposed that participation in decision making mechanisms is about shaping and transforming the environment that we live in, and the concerns that are subject to participation in decision making are far beyond participation in public affairs and political

decisions. Participation is about every decision that shapes the economic, social, political, and cultural environment in the urban structure. Moreover, I have raised the notion that independent from formal status of citizenship, every habitant of the city has the right to participate in decision mechanisms and should have a voice over decisions that affect them or are made in their name.

A comprehensive perspective for participation in decision making mechanisms is needed to capture the highly expanded ambit of the economic, social, cultural and political concerns and activating city dwellers' right to the city. Supporting this idea with existing international human rights instruments was mainly due to my acceptance of human rights as an open-ended project in terms of content and scope. Stemming from this point of view, I tried to give a general overview of related international human rights instruments, and proposed to take the first step towards participation in cultural policy development relying on the comprehensive character of the human rights framework that touches our everyday lives and can serve to furthering and activating our claims for the right to the city.

By elaborating on theories of democracy, I tried to give an overview of the use and access to participatory decision making processes through democratic practice. Although the historical link between the city and participation is rooted in ancient Athens, this part focused on the democracy theories of the modern times. It is argued that representation

theories follow a much more elitist approach to participation, while the deliberative ones propose the importance of debate, communication and reasoning about and toward public interests in decision making mechanisms. According to deliberative theories, state centered decisions can only be legitimized if they are responsive to the discussions and interactions in the decentralized public sphere.

There is no doubt that with its focus on decentralization of the public sphere deliberative theories is far more supportive of participatory decision making processes than the representative ones since they involve deliberations and interaction among city dwellers. Nevertheless, in practical terms, creating the theory and institution for participation in decision making in contemporary era is still complex. Fund explains this accordingly;

“first, unlike the small New England town or even the Athenian city-state, there is no canonical form of direct participation in modern democratic governance; modes of contemporary participation are, and should be legion. Second, public participation advances multiple purposes and values in contemporary governance. Master principles such as equal influence over collective decisions and respect for individual autonomy are too abstract to offer useful guidance regarding the aims and character of citizen

participation. ... Third, mechanisms of direct participation are not (as commonly imagined) typically a strict alternative to political representation or expertise, but rather complement them”.¹³⁷

It is hard to pinpoint one single methodology, approach, or tool to talk about diversity of participatory innovations in contemporary participation practices.¹³⁸ Despite this theoretical challenge, in recent decades the conceptualization of participation in decision making with a broader perspective beyond voting and campaigning has also led theorists and practitioners to think about the ways, modes, types, and methodologies of participation in decision making. This included listing possible universal participation tools such as arguing, voting, deliberation, bargaining, councils, focus groups, neighborhood assemblies, but then these reached diversified further with the accelerating effects of the new communication mechanisms.¹³⁹ Thus, methodologies might vary or be combined, and they are definitely determinant, since they function as means for exclusion and inclusion dynamics. As such who participates in deliberation,

¹³⁷ For further information; Fung, A. (2006), “Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance”, *Public Administration Review*, December 2006, pp 3. Also accessible at <http://www.archonfung.net/papers/FungVarietiesPAR.pdf>

¹³⁸ Budge, I. (1993), “Direct Democracy: Setting Appropriate Terms of Debate”, in *Prospects for Democracy*, Held, D (ed.) Stanford University Press, pp 136. Also see Gargarella, R. (1998), “Full Representation, Deliberation and Impartiality” in *Deliberative Democracy*, Elster, j. (ed.) Cambridge University Press, pp 263.

¹³⁹ Verba, S. et al. (1995), *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, Mass./London, England: Harvard University Press and Lane; Robert E. (1959), *Political Life. Why and How People Get Involved in Politics*. New York: Free Press.

communication or any other methodology that we use for activating the right to the city are vital questions that we are obligated to raise.

As Kofman and Lebas argue, the theme of exclusion is central to Lefebvre's analysis of urban change in Paris, and what the right to the city must combat.¹⁴⁰ The concept of the right to the city is developed for empowering all city dwellers, and the right to the city has the ability and potential to bring together all the advocates in a city. The right to city is a claim upon society; a claim for the recognition of the urban as the reproducer of the social relations of power and the right to participation.¹⁴¹

Participation is about power and power relations dominate the decision making mechanisms and it is vital to analyze these relations to identify proponents and opponents of the participation of the voiceless within the decision making. Eventually, legal frameworks are equally crucial since they provide parameters and bind institutions. However, though the formal right to participation is vitally important, it is obviously not enough for ensuring the access to rights and active participation of city dwellers. There is a difference between having rights and the ability to enjoy and exercise such rights. In this sense, even though participation in decision making processes is the right of all citizens (at least) according to international human rights instruments, it is obvious that access to rights

¹⁴⁰ Kofman, E. & Lebas, E. (1996), "Lost in Transposition", in *Writings on Cities*, Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. (eds.), Blackwell, London, pp 18.

¹⁴¹ Direç, M. & Gilbert, L. (2002), "The Right to the City: Homage or a New Societal Ethics", *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 13 (2), pp 59-74.

requires knowledge of rights and active citizens are needed for participatory policy making practices and actualization of taking part in decision making mechanisms. Thus, what is important is not attempt a rigid definition of methodology but rather be open to different forms and be aware of the conflicts and exclusions in the context. Universal participation might not be the first aim, but quality as well as the quantity of participation needs to be considered. In other words, what is problematic is not only the methodology or the legal framework used, but rather how these are translated into practice.

The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion rely on differences in the economic, social, political and cultural environment of localities. Participation in decision making mechanisms and quality of this participation is strongly related to and dependent on these variables, and hence requires a deep sociological and political analysis of the society in focus. Admittedly, proponents of communicative rationality and deliberation expect that genuinely democratic and participatory processes will result in just and “appropriate” outcomes. However, content of the policy developed and implemented should also be underlined and questioned. Thus, the following chapter will depict the legal framework for participation in decision making in Turkey in order to provide the backdrop for the analysis of the experimental participatory local cultural policy practices in two cities, Çanakkale and Kars and to identify the useful, feasible and effective varieties of participation and the efficiency of the methods used.

CHAPTER III

LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATION IN TURKEY

The right to the city, which is regarded as a ground breaking concept for democratizing cities and city dwellers claiming their rights, draws inspiration from the human rights system, yet it is not a legal right. Rather, it embraces civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and enshrines an adaption of values and practices for the formation of democratic cities. Meanwhile, the right to the city has been gained momentum with civil society organizations, networks and movements mobilizing around the issue, and their fight for the realization of the right to the city succeeded in the application of human rights instruments for urban contexts. Admittedly, there are social movements in different parts of the world, which play a crucial role through their daily struggles for the formation of a more egalitarian and just city. Noteworthy processes such as World Charter for the Right to the City¹⁴² originally emerged and received its first impulse through the participation of popular movements,

¹⁴² <http://www.urbanreinventors.net/3/wsf.pdf> (accessed on 12.11.2011).

non-governmental organizations, professional associations, national and international civil society networks that are committed to the social struggles for democratic cities.¹⁴³

There are also a number of practices that approach the right to the city as legal and regulatory framework at local level such as the City Statute in Brazil, declared in July 2001 with the purpose of regulating the chapter on urban policy in the 1988 Brazilian constitution.¹⁴⁴ As Junior and Uzzo state, “based on the principles of the social function of property and democratic management of cities, the law contains regulations regarding public order and social interest, which regulate the use of urban property to ensure security, and collective and individual well being of citizens.”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Ortiz, E. (2011), “The Construction Process Towards the Right to the City: Progress Made and Challenges Pending”, in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes & Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition, pp 115.

¹⁴⁴ Federal Law No. 10.257/01. For full text:

http://www.citiesalliance.org/ca/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/CA_Images/CityStatuteofBrazil_English_fulltext.pdf (accessed on 10.11.2011).

¹⁴⁵ Junior and Uzzo also mention that “The City Statute specifically addresses: (a) instruments designed to ensure the fulfillment of the social function of property, progressive taxation over time on urban property and expropriation for urban reform purposes; (b) criteria for municipalities to develop and apply Management Plans; (c) regulatory instruments for the use of and access to urban lands occupied by low-income people; (d) democratic city management instruments: public hearings; councils; and city conferences in national, state and municipal plans”. Nelson Saule Júnior and Karina Uzzo (2010) “The History of Urban Reform in Brasil” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes & Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition, pp 253, accessible at <http://www.hic-net.org/content/Cities%20for%20All-ENG.pdf> (accessed on 11.11.2011).

Meanwhile, the Brazilian City Statute is not the only one; through strong sustainable social struggles -especially in Latin America- that focus on urban policies, countries like Mexico,¹⁴⁶ Bolivia¹⁴⁷ and Ecuador¹⁴⁸ incorporated the right to the city in their regulatory and constitutional framework. Besides, there are also social movements that came out with the motto of “the right to the city” such as the Right to the City (RTTC)¹⁴⁹ movement that emerged in 2007 in the United States as a unified response to gentrification and a call to halt the displacement of low income people, LGBTQ, and youths of color from their historic urban neighborhoods. This demand continues to be central for recent the Occupy Wall Street.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Zarate, L. (2010), “Mexico City Charter: The Right to Build the City We Dream About” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes & Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition, pp 259, accessible at <http://www.hic-net.org/content/Cities%20fol%20All-ENG.pdf> (accessed on 11.11.2011).

¹⁴⁷ Matmani, U. (2010), “The Path of the Right to the City in Bolivia” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes & Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition, pp 271, accessible at <http://www.hic-net.org/content/Cities%20fol%20All-ENG.pdf> (accessed on 11.11.2011).

¹⁴⁸ Pozo, R. S. & Pinto, V. (2010) ,“The Social Contract for Housing, Ecuador” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes & Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition, pp 279, and also Perez, M.R.I. (2010), “We are Making A City”, in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences Towards The Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes & Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition, pp 233, accessible at <http://www.hic-net.org/content/Cities%20fol%20All-ENG.pdf> (accessed on 11.11.2011).

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.righttothecity.org/> (accessed on 11.11.2011).

¹⁵⁰ “Occupy Wall Street is a people-powered movement that began on September 17, 2011 in Liberty Square in Manhattan’s Financial District, and has spread to over 100 cities in the United States and actions in over 1,500 cities globally. Occupy Wall Street is fighting against the corrosive power of major banks and multinational corporations over the democratic process, and the role of Wall Street in creating an economic collapse that has caused the greatest recession in generations. The movement is inspired by popular uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia, and aims to protest the richest 1% of people that are writing the rules of an unfair global economy that is foreclosing on our future.” For further information see <http://occupywallst.org>.

While the emphasis on participation in legislation or legal measures to ensure inhabitants' participation does not guarantee an effective practice of participation, creating the mechanisms and procedures for implementation is crucial to provide a ground to formulize, consolidate and develop policies for participatory practices. This chapter will aim to analyze the concept of participation and its place in the legal framework of Turkey. With this aim, the chapter will provide an overview of the legal framework in Turkey and discuss the current laws for local administration and participation in the country for a better understanding of the cases that will be explored in the next chapters. Platforms for active civil participation in decision making mechanisms such as the Local Agenda 21 and City Councils will also be analyzed with the aim of outlining the legal and social context for participatory practices in the cities of Kars and Çanakkale. The last part of this chapter will be devoted to an overview of the cultural rights and cultural policy discussion in the country.

3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE LAWS CONCERNING LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN TURKEY

Turkey is far from considering the right to the city in the regulatory frameworks, and it is very recent that the term participation has become employed within the legal structure in the country. Public sector has started to recognize civil society initiatives more with rising strength and

sphere of influence of social movements and also with pressure from the European Union in the last decade, however there are no strong urban movements that raise the demand of participation in decision making mechanisms, so dialogue between civil initiatives and public sector around this issue usually occurs arbitrarily. Although social movements that address the urban context are increasing nowadays, which we can name especially hundreds of social movements against the construction of HESs¹⁵¹ and also urban generation movements such as Sulukule and Tarlabasi in Istanbul.¹⁵² But unfortunately they are far from having a strong impact on the development of regulatory frameworks targeting participation, especially the right to the city. Admittedly, the knowledge and perception as to how participatory processes can function is rather inadequate, and a clear perspective has not been developed in terms of participation in local decision making processes. In the end, Turkey lacks participation mechanisms; the system for structured participation in decision making is weak and without a strong regulatory legal framework.

¹⁵¹ HES is Turkish abbreviation for the hydroelectric power plant in Turkey.

¹⁵² Many old neighborhoods such as Sulukule and Tarlabası are engaged in transformation and rehabilitation in Istanbul. These transformations are supported by legislations such as Urban Conservation Law 5266, Urban Renewal Law 5366 and the Urgency Compulsory Purchase Act that introduce tools to local governments for introducing urban regeneration projects. Among all Sulukule, the oldest known settlement of the Romani people is the most well known example of the urban regeneration projects in Istanbul. The Fatih Municipality's development plan proposes to replace most of the existing urban fabric with 480 new 'ottoman' style houses, an office building, a cultural centre, a hotel and basement car parking. This radical transformation being proposed by the municipality has raised questions about the socio - economic consequence on the local community. For further information see <http://www.scribd.com/doc/59533208/Placing-Sulukule-Towards-an-alternative-proposal-to-serve-the-living-heritage-of-Romani-Culture> (accessed on 02.04.2012)

3.1.1. From 1921 to 2004

In Turkey, the division of local government into three levels as villages, towns and provinces dates back to Article 10 of the Constitution of 1921.¹⁵³ Following this division, Article 11 and Article 12 of the 1921 Constitution concern local governmental units, and consider provinces and villages as public identities enjoying administrative autonomy.¹⁵⁴

Just after the approval of the new constitution in 1924,¹⁵⁵ a new law regarding the local administration was launched addressing villages, namely Law on Villages.¹⁵⁶ The village administrations are the oldest local administration category in the country, covering a relatively small settlement of usually less than 2000 inhabitants. Accordingly, the village administrations perform their activities through elected *mukhtars* (village headman) and council of elders, and the mukhtar, as the executive power of the village administration, works as an agent and employee of the central government.¹⁵⁷

The provincial administration is the agent of the central government as well, and its jurisdiction overlaps with the administrative divisions of the

¹⁵³ For the text (in Turkish), <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa21.htm> (accessed on 12.12.2011).

¹⁵⁴ For a historical overview of the local governments in Turkey, see Çağdaş, T. (2011), “Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimlerde İdari Özerklik”, *Marmara Üniversitesi İ.İ.B.F. Dergisi*, Cilt XXX, <http://iibf.marmara.edu.tr/iysdosya/fakultedergisi/2011/391-416cagdas.pdf> (accessed 15.12.2011).

¹⁵⁵ For the text (in Turkish), <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa24.htm> (accessed on 12.11.2011).

¹⁵⁶ For the text (in Turkish), http://www.yayad.org.tr/genel/mevzuat_detay.php?kod=11 (accessed on 12.11.2011).

¹⁵⁷ Currently, there are nearly 35.000 villages in the Republic of Turkey.

central government.¹⁵⁸ The provincial administration functions through three organs: provincial council, executive committee and governor. The governor, who is the head of the special provincial administration, is appointed and paid by the central government representing the state.¹⁵⁹ The reference law of the special provincial administrations was the Special Provincial Administration Act, firstly issued as a temporary law in 1913, then took its name in 1987 and numbered 3360. It was replaced by the Special Provincial Administration Act of 2005, numbered 5309. The Special Provincial Administration Act of 2005 is still in effect today. By 2011, there are 81 special provincial administrations in the Republic of Turkey. Thus, starting with the 1924 Constitution there is a centralization of the local administrative units.

Meanwhile, the Municipal Law no. 1580 of 1930¹⁶⁰ can be taken as the first piece of legislation that declares municipalities as the main local administration bodies in the Turkish Republic. This law, which remained in effect for 75 years, perceived local governments mainly as the extension of the central government, and also as instruments for the modernization process and socio-economic development of the country. Under this law, the municipalities were completely dependent on the central government,

¹⁵⁸ This paper will not attempt to analyze the provincial administrations and mainly deal with the municipal dimension of the Turkish administrative system. A comprehensive and historical analysis of the administration system in Turkey is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁵⁹ For further and recent information about a discussion on the provincial administration, see Bayraktar, S.U. (2011) *Dönüşüm ve Statüko: Reform Sonrası İl Genel Meclisleri*, Kalkedon, İstanbul.

¹⁶⁰ http://www.spo.org.tr/mevzuat/mevzuat_detay.php?kod=180&tipi=MES&turu=KA (accessed on 12.11.2011).

and there was an emphasis on their public service delivery function under central governments supervision. Thus, it can be argued that in the Turkish Republic, local governments are created by and for the central state.

Following the constitution of 1921, the constitutions of 1924, 1961¹⁶¹ and also 1982¹⁶² maintained this administrative structure of the local governmental. Meanwhile, it is with the 1961 Constitution and Law no. 307 dated 1963 mayors began to be elected directly by the locals, and the inspection of municipalities was assigned to judicial mechanisms.¹⁶³ Before 1961, and actually till 1970s, the single party system was maintained, thus the party holding power at the national level also controlled the local governments.¹⁶⁴ Therefore it can be argued that there was a lack of trust in citizens to make decisions, and local elections and participation of the locals through voting came into the agenda in the country only in 1960s.

At this point, it is vital to note that despite the fact that elections are crucial for democratization, they do not guarantee democracy in any locality and being elected by the locals does not make the local administrations democratic.¹⁶⁵ The tendency in Turkey at the time was to limit participation with the voting in the elections, and as Bayraktar mentions,

¹⁶¹ <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/1961constitution-text.pdf> (accessed on 14.11.2011).

¹⁶² <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/1982Constitution-EYasar.htm> (accessed on 14.11.2011).

¹⁶³ See Karaarslan, M. (2008), *Özerklik ve Denetim Açısından Yerel Yönetimler Reformu*, Ankara, Turhan Kitapevi, pp 111.

¹⁶⁴ Göymen, K. (1997) *Türkiye’de Kent Yönetimi*, Boyut Kitapları, İstanbul, pp 23.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid*, pp 16.

the centralist pressures continued till the 1970s, and “even accentuated with the transition to a planned economy¹⁶⁶ in 1960s.”¹⁶⁷ With the establishment of State Planning Organization (DPT) in 1960, 5-year development plans by DPT determined the regional policy of Turkey. In 1960s, development plans aimed to realize regional development projects by taking into consideration the capacities of the regions. But with the accelerating effect of liberalization and migration from the rural to urban, population in the cities increased in the 1970s, as did the number of the municipalities. In 1973, a social movement with social democrat tendencies, then called “New Municipalism”, emerged with the aim of transforming the local government from an “ineffectual appendage of the central administration in the uncontrolled character of urban transformation into a more active autonomous agency.”¹⁶⁸ This movement should be noted not just because it raised the argument that local problems could not be solved through centrally formulated intentions and municipalities should be free to initiate policies and respond to the needs, but also due to its strong focus on participation. Nevertheless, even though the movement mobilized with participatory, productive, fund-raiser, advisor, organizer and unionist principles, it “could not manage to form

¹⁶⁶ The last of these plans, the Ninth Development Plan, covering the years 2007 to 2013, was approved in the 121st plenary session of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 28.06.2006 in accordance with the provisions of the Law No: 3067 dated 30.10.1984. The Plans have an obligatory role for the public sector and a guidance role for the private. The 9th Development plan of the State Planning Institute can be reached at <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/plan/ix/9developmentplan.pdf>.

¹⁶⁷ Bayraktar, S. U. (2007), “Turkish Municipalities: Reconsidering Local Democracy Beyond Administrative Autonomy”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, pp 10.

¹⁶⁸ Finkel, A. (1995), “Municipal Politics and the State” in *Turkish Politics, Turkish State*, Finkel, A. & Sirman, N. (eds.) Routledge, London, pp 187.

strong relations with the public and remained to be an elitist movement supported by the middle class” and dissolved with the 1980 coup, just like many of the social movements of the era.¹⁶⁹

The legal framework that is drawn by the 1982 Constitution in line with the Constitution of 1921 mainly divides the organization of the administration into two as central and local administration. According to Article 126 “in terms of central administrative structures, Turkey is divided into provinces on the basis of geographical situation and economic conditions, and public service requirements; provinces are further divided into lower levels of administrative districts.” Article 127, as amended on July 23, 1995 states that “Local administrative bodies are public corporate entities established to meet the common local needs of the inhabitants of provinces, municipal districts and villages, whose decision making organs are elected by the electorate as described in law, and whose principles of structure are also determined by law.”

In the 1980s, also a number of laws passed in the parliament in favor of municipalities, and they were financially and administratively strengthened.¹⁷⁰ The law no. 2380¹⁷¹ titled Law about the Share Given to

¹⁶⁹ Bayraktar S. U. (2007), “Turkish Municipalities: Reconsidering Local Democracy Beyond Administrative Autonomy”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, pp 12.

¹⁷⁰ According to Güler, the local implications of the neoliberal steps could be followed by trends of decentralization, de-socialization and privatization. For further discussion, see Güler, N. A. (1998), *Yerel Yönetimler: Liberal Açıklamalara Eleştirel Yaklaşım*, TODAİE, Ankara, pp 185.

¹⁷¹ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 17242, 05 February 1981. For text (in Turkish)

Municipalities and Special Provision Administrations from General Budget Incomes, and the Municipality Income Law no. 2464¹⁷² aimed at increasing the financial resources of local governments. This tendency to strengthen the municipalities financially was also parallel with the liberalization of the market that aimed at reducing the responsibility of the central state and lightening the administrative and financial burden of the central government.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the municipalities' dependency on the central government was maintained as taxes, which are the source of the financial support for municipalities, were still decided by the central government. Thus, the removal of the pressure from the central government, accompanied with increasing interest and intervention from various interest groups, and the regulations and reforms for the local administration mainly targeted economic development as opposed to local democracy and participation and representation.¹⁷⁴

One of the crucial laws of the 1980s regarding the municipalities was the introduction of metropolitan municipalities in 1984 under the Law no. 3030¹⁷⁵ through which the largest cities' (such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) administration was reformed and divided into two different

<http://archive.ismmmo.org.tr/docs/yayinlar/kitaplar/5281/16%202380%20SAYILI%20KANUN.pdf>.

¹⁷²Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 17354, 29 May 1981. For text (in Turkish) http://www.tascilarymm.com/kanunlar/2464_Belediye_Gelirleri_Kanunu.html.

¹⁷³ In 1981, the laws numbered 2380 and 2464 aimed at increasing the financial resources of the local governments.

¹⁷⁴ Çapoğlu, G. (1994), *Türkiye'de Siyasal Tıkanıklığı Aşmak için*, Stratejik Araştırmalar Foundation, Ankara, pp 62.

¹⁷⁵Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 18453, 09 July 1984. <http://www.mevzuat.adalet.gov.tr/html/20357.html> (accessed on 15.11.2011).

municipal levels. With this law, a metropolitan municipality was introduced above the distinct municipalities, thereby adding another intermediate level of authority between local administration and central government. Arguably this had a detrimental effect on participation on the local level, which persisted through and beyond the 1980s.

3.1.2. From 2004 to 2011

Until the municipal law reform in 2005, the subject of local government has been captured with reference to its links to the central government, and the citizens' role as the local players remained quite neglected in Turkey. As Bayraktar argues, local democracy in Turkey is taken as "an administrative issue in the narrow framework of administrative and financial autonomy, and simplified in a general dichotomy with the central government," therefore far from capturing the power distribution, political representation and participation.¹⁷⁶ However, in 2005, The Turkish Grand National Assembly adopted new legislative reforms on local governments with the aim of restructuring local governments in the country. Thus, there precipitated a discussion of participation and participatory policy development, and participatory processes including the city dwellers role in decision making mechanisms turned to be at the center of the public agenda.

¹⁷⁶ Bayraktar, U.S. (2007), "Turkish Municipalities: Reconsidering Local Democracy Beyond Administrative Autonomy", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, pp 1.

The emergence of these reforms and discussions around participatory processes were chronologically and contextually linked with the initiation of the accession process and negotiations with the European Union on 17 December 2004. In the European Union accession process, candidate countries are required to build the capacity of central administration; and particularly local governance and their organization and operations should undergo reform accordingly. European Union required from Turkey to change its local administration legislation to become a member state and the integration process turned to be the driving force of the changes in the regulative measures regarding the local administration.¹⁷⁷ In Turkey, the development level of Eastern and Western provinces of Turkey are very different and with the aim of reducing this gap Turkey formed a new regional policy by taking the requirements of EU into consideration. European Union's regional policy has the purpose of reducing the difference between regions, and especially encouraging the socio-economic development focus in the disadvantaged regions and regional plans emphasis on the empowerment of local actors through decentralization. The principle of subsidiarity is to ensure the decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen. Thus, a number of new laws accepted in this process and especially the change in the municipality law

¹⁷⁷ In this context, Turkey was divided in statistical regions called NUTS, statistical classification of EU is based on three levels of NUTS I, NUTS II and NUTS III and there are 12 NUTS I, 26 NUTS II and 81 NUTS III in Turkey. Moreover, in 2003 regional development agencies were set up for each NUTS II. Regional development agencies aim to form cooperation among local actors and to increase the capacity of planning and its application, to help efficient use of local resources. These agencies provided also financial resources for the realization of plans. Law no 5449, promulgated in Turkish Official Gazette on 08.02.2006.

should be underlined here: the Municipality Law of 1930, no. 1580 was replaced by the Municipality Law no. 5393 in 2005.¹⁷⁸

The legal measures towards the restructuring and strengthening of local administration in Turkey were not limited with the municipalities, and reform also entailed new laws regarding metropolitan municipalities and the special provincial administration. Thus, in mentioning changes in local administration in Turkey in 2005, Law no.5227 on Basic Principles and Restructuring of Public Administration; Metropolitan Municipality Law no.5216¹⁷⁹ (12 July 2004) and Special Provincial Administration Law no.5302¹⁸⁰ (22 February 2005) should also be considered. The legislative reforms based on generally accepted justifications such as effectiveness, efficiency, local governance, accountability, participation and the principle of subsidiarity aimed to ensure that the decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizens.

However, reservations concerning the central-local government relations have slowed the pace of these efforts. Here, the European Charter of Local Self-Government¹⁸¹ envisaging the reinforcement of local governments against the central government can be given as an example. Turkey signed the ECLSG in 1988, and the Turkish General Assembly approved it in 1991 with the law no. 3723. However, Turkey held reservations to some

¹⁷⁸ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25874, 13 July 2005.

¹⁷⁹ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25531, 23 July 2004.

¹⁸⁰ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25745, 04 March 2005.

¹⁸¹ The European Charter on Local Self-Government (ECLSG or “Charter”) was accepted at the Conference of European Ministers, Assembly of Stockholm, on 15 October 1985.

articles of the ECLSG; (1) Self determination of the inner structure of local governments; (2) Permitting administrative oversight if the benefits are proportional; (3) Estimating the rise in the cost of services in providing resources to local governments; (4) Considering the viewpoints of local governments in distributing resources to local governments; (5) Ensuring fiscal support from central governments does not prevent local governments from applying their own policies; (6) Founding associations; (7) Participating in international associations; (8) cooperating with local governments in foreign countries to defend their rights; (9) Using authorizations freely assigned to them and applying judgment to protect the principle of autonomous local government.¹⁸²

The provisions of the Charter that entitle autonomy to local governments, and accord them the right to participate in decision processes of the central government on local government related issues were left out of the scope of the reform efforts; this is an approach which must be assessed as a reflection of Turkey's perspective on cultural diversity in issues of participation.¹⁸³

¹⁸² For further information about the discussion on ECLSG and Turkey see Keleş, R. (1994), *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset*, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, and Parlak, B. & Sobacı, Z. & Ökmen, M. (2008), "The Evaluation of Restructured Local Governments in Turkey Within the Context of the European Charter of Local Self Government", *Ankara Law Review*, Vol 5, No: 1, pp 23-52, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/64/1544/16903.pdf> (accessed 17.12.2011).

¹⁸³ The central government and local government relations and the reasons for the reservations require further analysis and also a focus on the Kurdish question in the country, which fall outside the scope of this study. For further information on the issue see TESEV Report (2010), *Towards the Solution of Kurdish Issue: Constitutional and Legal Solutions*, Tesev Publications, Istanbul and also Baran, S. (2003), *Demokrasi Mücadelesinde Yerel Yönetimler*, Aram Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Furthermore, the European Urban Charter that mentions participation in the first section of its chapter also needs to be underlined as one of the important documents that is accepted by the Congress of European Local and Regional Authorities in 1992.¹⁸⁴ The second of these, European Urban Charter II: Manifest for a New Urbanity was accepted by the Congress in May 2008 and participation rights in urban management as the principle indicator is included in this new Manifest.¹⁸⁵ The Manifest has the purpose of establishing a body of common principles and concepts enabling towns and cities to meet the current challenges facing urban societies and the concept “the right to the city” is also taken into consideration and spelled out in this Charter. Meanwhile, rather than to the states, the Urban Charter is an invitation to local authorities, in all their diversity and on the basis of shared European values, to implement the principles of ethical governance, sustainable development and greater solidarity in their public policies.

Consequently, despite the tension between central-local administration relations and the tutelage of the central government continues to be at the center of the local democracy discussions, it can be argued that European integration, developments on globalization and democratization movements including the Agenda 21 projects can be enumerated as the

¹⁸⁴ For the text, http://sustainable-cities.eu/upload/pdf_files/URBAN_CHARTER_EN.pdf (accessed on 17.12.2011).

¹⁸⁵ This Declaration stems from the European Urban Charter, adopted by the Council of Europe's Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE) on 18 March 1992, a Session held during the annual Plenary Session of the CLRAE (17-19 March 1992, Strasbourg).

main reformative motivations in regards to the discussions on participation and democratization in the recent decades in Turkey.

3.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND GROUNDS FOR PARTICIPATION

Despite the changes and openings in the legal framework, currently, there is no defined ‘perspective’ with respect to participation in local decision making processes in Turkey, and there is a prevailing lack of in-depth knowledge and understanding on how participatory processes can work. The movement towards democratization in Turkey has created new legal and policy frameworks for participation at local level and these frameworks, while necessary for creating avenues for participation, may not always suffice to ensure participation. Meanwhile, platforms such as Local Agenda 21 and also particular articles in the Municipality Law no.5393 require further elaboration as they set the main regulative framework and basis for the development of participatory practices in the country.

3.2.1 Local Agenda 21

Initiation of the Project Agenda 21, endorsed by the 1992 Rio Conference, constitutes an action plan to pave the way for “sustainable development”, aimed at intertwining environment and development objectives. In Chapter 28 of Agenda 21, local authorities in each country are called upon to undertake a consultative process with their populations and achieve a consensus on a Local Agenda 21 for their communities. The project has two main objectives; the first objective is to promote Local Agenda 21 and its implications for local governance at the national level, and the second is to establish consultative mechanisms in pilot cities, which will foster a local participatory planning process.¹⁸⁶

In Turkey, Local Agenda 21 processes were launched in late 1997 via series of projects that were developed as a response to the global mandate raised in the Rio Conference.¹⁸⁷ The first of these was the project entitled “Promotion and Development of Local Agenda 21s in Turkey”, coordinated by United Cities and Local Governments Middle East and West Asia section¹⁸⁸ under the auspices of United Nations Development Program-Turkey and Capacity 21 initiative. The purpose of the project was to have local authorities, via their commitment to Local Agenda 21, foster

¹⁸⁶ www.kentkonseyleri.net.

¹⁸⁷ Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and the Statement of principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests were adopted by more than 178 Governments at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3-14 June 1992. See <http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/agenda21/>.

¹⁸⁸ Formerly IULA-EMME – International Union of Local Authorities, Section for the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East Region.

a participatory, multi-sectoral process at the local level through the preparation and implementation of long-term, strategic action plans that address priority local sustainable development concerns. Thus, the intention was to mobilize local government and local stakeholders to seek control over their cities. In the following years the project ensured the support of the Ministry of Interior – General Directorate of Local Authorities as well.¹⁸⁹

The project, coordinated by IULA-EMME, manifested one of the most extensive and impressive illustrations of “partnerships” at the national as well as international levels. Project partners initially included the following municipalities in nine pilot cities: Metropolitan municipalities of Bursa, Izmir and Antalya, and the municipalities of Adıyaman, Ağrı, Çanakkale, Golbasi (Ankara), Harran (Sanliurfa) and Trabzon. Following the project revision in October 1999, fourteen new local authorities were included in the project as partners and the first phase of the project was concluded with 23 cities in total. In the first phase respective processes were launched in Metropolitan municipalities of Diyarbakır, Gaziantep and Izmit, the municipalities of Afyon, Aliaga (Izmir), Burdur, Catalca (Istanbul), Çesme (Izmir), Çorum, Foça (Izmir), Kaş (Antalya), Kızılkalesi (Icel), Zonguldak, and the Special Provincial Administration of Kastamonu. In addition to these 23 cities, the municipalities of Denizli,

¹⁸⁹ The various phases and sub-projects of the Local Agenda 21 have been supported by corresponding decisions of the Council of Ministers and have been published in the Official Gazette of Turkey as “International Agreements”.

Iznik (Bursa) and Silivri (Istanbul) joined the project, to be subsequently included as formal partners.¹⁹⁰

Building upon the achievements of the first phase, the continuation of the project was initiated in January 2000, with the title “Implementing Local Agenda 21s in Turkey” and continued till December 2003. Throughout this second phase, the aim was to strengthen local governance by ensuring that civil society participates in decision making and influences local investment. The second phase had five main objectives: (a) increasing the number of authorities engaging in Local Agenda 21, and the promotion and development of participatory processes in new partner cities; (b) the preparation of local action plans, as well as publicizing the process abroad to increase international support; (c) launching campaigns to inform the public as well as publicizing the process abroad to increase international support; (d) to ensure that the Local Agenda 21 process receives long term sustained support; (e) to enable Local Agenda 21 to play a facilitating role within the recovery and reconstruction process of the Marmara earthquake. In the second phase the number of the project partner cities was 48 and partners included Union of Mediterranean Municipalities, the Union of Eastern Black Sea Municipalities, the Union of Aegean Municipalities, the Union of GAP Municipalities, and the Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region.

¹⁹⁰ This summary is prepared with the information provided from www.kentkonseyleri.net

The third phase was initiated in May 2004 with the project “Localizing the United Nations Millennium Development Goals¹⁹¹ through the Turkey Local Agenda 21 Governance Network” and concluded in September 2006. The phase targeted institutionalizing Local Agenda 21 processes and mechanisms at the local and national levels through campaigns and capacity building initiatives, and launching a Local Agenda 21 Small Grants Program to promote and substantiate the MDGs at the local level.¹⁹²

The priorities identified by the partners of the Local Agenda 21 Program for the third phase included: (a) maintenance and further development of the Local Agenda 21 Governance Network to augment the sharing of experience and information amongst partners at all levels; (b) advocating for a suitable legislative framework for the institutional set-up to pave the way for the “institutionalization” of Local Agenda 21, particularly via developing a commonly-endorsed model for institutionalizing the participatory platforms and other mechanisms and processes; (c) promoting the ownership of the Local Agenda 21 by the Government and the Grand National Assembly; (d) building upon the inclusion of the “governance” principle in the Immediate Action Plan of the new

¹⁹¹ Adopted by world leaders in 2000 and set to be achieved by 2015, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) provide concrete, numerical benchmarks for tackling extreme poverty in its many dimensions. The eight MDGs, that are broken down into 21 quantifiable targets that are measured by 60 indicators, can be listed as follows: (1) to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (2) achieve universal primary education; (3) promote gender equality and empower women; (4) reduce child mortality; (5) improve maternal health; (6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other disease; (7) ensure environmental sustainability; (8) develop a global partnership for development. For further information, <http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml>.

¹⁹² For further information, www.kentkonseyleri.net.

Government to promote its practical implementation, and its integration into the program priorities of central government organizations; (e) promoting the better understanding and appreciation at the national and local levels of the crucial role of Local Agenda 21 in European Union accession process; (f) enhancing the general awareness on and recognition of the national press/media in relation to Local Agenda 21; (g) promoting the establishment of concrete linkages between the Local Agenda 21 action plans and the programs & budgets of the concerned municipalities and public agencies; (h) developing improved channels for increasing the involvement of the private sector, and for better access to funds for the implementation of local priority projects; (i) capacity building and training activities on Local Agenda 21 targeted toward local partners, encompassing the municipal staff, as well as representatives of local participatory platforms.¹⁹³

The fourth phase, “Localizing the United Nations Millennium Development Goals in Turkey through the Local Agenda 21 Governance Network” was initiated in September 2006 and concluded in June 2009 and this project aimed at localizing the Millennium Development Goals commitments by advocating the prioritization of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals in local action. The project strategy relied on participatory local governance as the basic means for the civil society and citizenry to mobilize local level action for achieving the Millennium Development Goals and rendering account for shortcomings; advocating

¹⁹³ www.kentkonseyleri.net.

the critical role of local authorities in promoting gender equality, and engaging broader segments of the society, including the private sector, in localizing the government's Millennium Development Goals commitments.

The final phase titled “Training and Capacity Building for Strengthening the City Councils and their Functioning as Local Democratic Governance Mechanisms” started in October 2009 and mainly focused on City Councils as the main city-wide participatory platform of Local Agenda 21 processes conducted under the Local Agenda 21 Program. The practice of participation through City Councils has been incorporated in Article 76 of the new Law on Municipalities (No. 5393) enacted in July 2005, thereby attaining a significant legal stronghold.

3.2.2 Municipality Law no.5393, City Councils and Participation

Both the practice of Local Agenda 21 initiated in 1997 and the changes in the local administration laws can be regarded as openings for participatory policy-making and involvement of the public in decision making mechanisms especially on the local level. In this context, there are particular articles that require attention as they set the main regulatory framework for participation and foresee legal obligations around the issue of participation.

Article 13 of the Municipal Law states that local residents have a right to participate in municipal decisions and municipal services. They, also, have a right to be informed about municipal functions.

According to Article 13:

“Everyone is a fellow-citizen of the country which he lives in. The fellow citizens shall be entitled to participate in the decisions and services of the municipality, to acquire knowledge about the municipal activities and to benefit from the aids of the municipal administration. It is a basic principle to extend aid without hurting human feelings. The municipality shall perform necessary activities to improve the social and cultural relations between the fellow-citizens and to preserve cultural values. While performing these activities, it shall take measures to enable participation of the universities, proficiency groups in the status of public institution, trade unions, non-governmental organizations and experts.”¹⁹⁴

This participatory approach is also stated as an obligation for strategic planning in Article 41 and disaster relief emergency plan processes in Article 53. The comprehensive changes in the Municipal Law in 2005

¹⁹⁴ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25874, 13 July 2005. http://www.legalisplatform.net/hukuk_metinleri/Nr.%20Code%205393.pdf (accessed on 12.12.2011)

foresee mandatory strategic plans for municipalities with populations of 50, 000 or more. Thus, Article 41 of the Municipality Law clearly assigns the task of the preparation of a development plan and programme, as well as a strategic plan to municipalities:

“Within the six months as of the local general elections, the Mayor shall prepare a development plan and program, as well as the strategic plan in compliance with the regional plan (if any) and an annual performance plan before the beginning of the relevant year, to be submitted to the municipal council. The strategic plan shall be prepared by obtaining the opinion of the universities, chambers (if any), and non-governmental organizations and shall enter into force after approval by the municipal council. It is not necessary to prepare a strategic plan in the municipalities with population less than 50.000. The strategic plan shall constitute the basis of the budget and shall have to be discussed and approved by the municipal council before the budget.”¹⁹⁵

One of the crucial articles of the Municipal Law is Article 76 that regulates a city council, which is a new body in municipal administration to undertake local participatory process on behalf of local residents, as a main institutional context reflecting a participatory approach. Article 76

¹⁹⁵ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25874, 13 July 2005. http://www.legalisplatform.net/hukuk_metinleri/Nr.%20Code%205393.pdf (accessed on 12.12.2011)

stipulates the establishment of the City Council for developing a vision for the city and a sense of citizenship and realizing sustainable development, as well as the principles of transparency, accountability, participation and subsidiarity. The Article 76 states that:

“City Council shall be responsible from promotion of urbanization and fellow-citizenship vision, preservation of the rights of the inhabitants and materializing the rules stipulating developmental consistency, environmental care, social solidarity, transparency, participation in management and stable operation of control mechanism. The Municipalities shall provide the necessary assistance and support to the City Council to enable performance of above listed activities effectively in cooperation with professional groups in the status of public institution, trade unions, notaries, universities (if any), concerned non-governmental organizations, political parties, public institutions and corporations, representatives of executive officers of parish and other authorized bodies taking part in the city council. The opinions declared by the City Council shall be put on the agenda and assessed during the first meeting of the Municipal Council. Working principles and procedures of the city

council shall be determined with a regulation to be prepared by the Ministry of Interior.”¹⁹⁶

Thus, the Municipality is called upon to support the establishment and effective functioning of the Council, which is envisaged to encompass representatives of civil society organizations, professional chambers, trade unions, universities, political parties, public institutions, etc. In order to pave the way for implementing the outputs of the City Council, the recommendations of the City Council are to be included and discussed in subsequent meetings of the Municipal Assembly.

Article 76 concludes by asserting that the framework for the operation and functioning of the City Council would be determined by the by-laws to be prepared by the Ministry of Interior. The by-laws of the City Council, whose draft was prepared with the contributions of Local Agenda 21 project partners, came into effect on 8 October 2006.¹⁹⁷

City Councils as city wide participatory mechanisms consist of representatives of a wide spectrum of local partners, including *ex officio* members such as the Governor, Mayor and Parliamentarians of the respective province, elected local councilors and neighborhood heads, and designated representatives of foundations and associations, professional chambers, private sector organizations, trade unions, academic institutions,

¹⁹⁶ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25874, 13 July 2005. http://www.legalisplatform.net/hukuk_metinleri/Nr.%20Code%205393.pdf (accessed on 12.12.2011)

¹⁹⁷ <http://www.kentkonseyleri.net/changepage.aspx?lg=1&pi=88>.

etc., as well as representatives of working groups and coalitions for women, youth, elderly and children. Meanwhile, despite fact that City Councils are formed under the Municipal Law 5393 and the regulations are set with the Ministry of Interior by-laws, there are no monitoring mechanisms for ensuring the effective implementation of City Councils and their participation to decision making mechanisms. Furthermore, who is included in the City Council, who are the representatives, whom are they representing and who is excluded from these mechanisms are questions that require further consideration in any locality. Equally important, the power relations within the council and particularly the role of civil initiatives as all local and central government representatives are also fundamental issues.

The last article that will be mentioned is Article 77 pertaining to voluntary participation of locals in some municipal services. The article reads:

“In order to enable public participation in the services and to increase the efficiency and to carry out the activities in the most economic manner, the Municipality shall prepare programs for the volunteers who are willing to contribute health, training, sports, environmental, cultural and social services, formation of libraries, parks etc. and other services rendered to the old people, women and children, disabled, poor people and to those in destitute.”

Consequently, this article mainly underlines voluntary work that locals could assume more responsibility in and can even be interpreted as an invitation to share the responsibility and burden of local governments for service provision, and also an opening for a delegation of municipal duties.

3.3. CULTURAL RIGHTS, CULTURAL POLICY AND PARTICIPATION

In the present world the concept of participation extends beyond voting and citizens mobilizing to seek their civil and political rights; it is an issue pertaining equally to economic, social and cultural rights, as much as civil and political rights. The objective of this study is to offer concrete suggestions relating to participatory practices; in line with the perspective, of integrating economic, social and cultural rights together with political and civil rights and displaying a holistic approach towards human rights, as stated in the Vienna Declaration of 1993.

3.3.1 Cultural Rights and Participation in Turkey

Cultural rights, cultural diversity and cultural participation are still not considered essential for the realization of the right to participation and the

right to the city, and these issues are not addressed in conjunction in Turkey. There is still a very limited awareness of the significance of culture and the right to partake in cultural life, in particular towards the ascertainment of cultural diversity and dialogue. The foundation for social dialogue can be strengthened through enabling people to partake in initiatives organized to shape the social and cultural conditions and future of the place they live in. Steps to promote the practice of participation in decision making mechanisms, urban social and cultural life and an in depth analysis of the right to participation in cultural life, may constitute a crucial component of democratization efforts in Turkey. Participatory practices in this regard can also be interpreted as one of the tools for demanding and actualizing the right to the city.

Meanwhile, whenever the cultural rights issue is brought to the agenda in Turkey, the main focus in both domestic and international debates is the minority policies. This is closely linked with the fact that for many years, minority policies in Turkey have been implemented with solely a security oriented approach and the consequent problems are not only limited to presence in the public sphere, but also manifest themselves as the rejection of freedom of expression, freedom of organization and right of participation.

The 1982 Constitution currently in force has gone through several modifications; however, it is still far from being qualified as a constitution that recognizes and encourages cultural diversity. The amendments in the

constitution reform package of 26 articles, accepted in the referendum held in March, 2010 are far from radically changing the relevant articles of the 1982 constitution which restrict fundamental rights and liberties and also far from reflecting the multilingual, multi-faith and multi-cultural structure of Turkey.¹⁹⁸ Concomitantly, the cultural policies pursued for many years have led to the establishment of a criminal and civil law framework impeding diverse ethnic groups from freely living their identities and cultures, while their demands for freedom of expression have been treated as a domestic security issue. Therefore, diverse ethnic groups in Turkey struggled with problems of recognition, and participation in decision making was taken as a secondary issue and not even on the agenda of the country till the reforms of 2005.

At this point, it crucial to underline that although various adjustments have been made during the EU process towards the resolution of these problems, current policies and practices do not recognize and encourage cultural diversity. In Turkey, there are several problems with regards to the recognition and practice of cultural rights and cultural diversity. There are numerous problems concerning the cultural rights in Turkey.¹⁹⁹ Among all, the language issue requires mentioning as it has a crucial negative impact in participatory practices. Accordingly, in the unchangeable 3rd

¹⁹⁸ Turkey's need for a new constitution is accepted by everyone and the government initiated its activities to write a new constitution in 2011. For following the debates you can visit <http://anayasaizleme.com/>

¹⁹⁹ Though a comprehensive analysis of the current state of the Republic of Turkey is crucial, this study will mainly deal with participation in decision making, and the analysis of the problems regarding cultural rights is outside the scope of this study.

article of the Constitution, it is emphasized that the native language of the Republic of Turkey is “Turkish”. The reflection of this article to daily life has been the adaptation of an exclusionary policy in the public sphere and institutions regarding the regional and local languages. Also due to the paragraph of the 42nd Article of the Constitution stating that “no language other than Turkish can be taught as the native language to Turkish citizens in educational institutions”, no groups except those minority groups recognized by the Treaty of Lausanne can receive education in their mother tongues.

On the other hand, with the law enacted in 2002, some of the restrictions on the instruction of the minority languages were eliminated and the opening of private courses teaching minority languages is now allowed provided that these courses are not contrary to the “indivisible unity of the state”. In 2002 the 1st and 2nd Articles of Foreign Language Education Law number 2923 were modified and the title of the law was changed as Law Concerning Foreign Language Education and the Instruction of Different Languages and Dialects to Turkish Citizens.²⁰⁰ Also in 2003 a new law enabling the instruction of these languages in existing private courses was enacted, however it is clearly stated that this does not mean “any languages other than Turkish can be taught to Turkish citizens as the native language”.²⁰¹ Subsequently, the Bylaw pertaining to the Instruction of Different Languages and Dialects Used by the Turkish Citizens in Daily

²⁰⁰ Law dated 8 March, 2002 no. 4771, Official Gazette dated 09.08.2002 no. 24841.

²⁰¹ Law dated 30 July, 2003 number 4963, Official Gazette dated 07.08.2003 number 25192.

Life has been enacted.²⁰² In this context; the first Kurdish language course was launched on April 1, 2004 in Batman. One of the steps taken towards this end is the approval of the establishment of Living Languages Institute in December 2009 at Artuklu University in Mardin on May 28, 2007. The first Kurdish Language and Literature Department in Turkey was established within the Institute in early 2010 and the foundation of the Assyrian Language and Literature Department is underway. In this context, Kurdish courses are being launched in some foundation universities. Besides this law, one of the most important and noteworthy regulations introduced in the last decade on cultural diversity is the modification of the Law on the Establishment and Broadcasting of Radios and Televisions.²⁰³ However, it is crucial to underline that despite the laws establish the framework it is crucial to follow the implementation phase and the experience through the realization.

²⁰² Official Gazette dated 05.12.2003 number 25307.

²⁰³ Law dated August 3, 2002 number 4771. With this modification, broadcasting in different languages and dialects used by Turkish citizens in daily life is now possible. The Supreme Board of Radio and Television has enacted the “Bylaw on the Radio and Television Broadcasts in Different Languages and Dialects Traditionally Used by Turkish Citizens in Daily Life” in order to regulate the implementation of this modification, which has been put into effect after being published in the Official Gazette dated January 25, 2004 number 25357. However, the time constraints mentioned in the Law of Radio and Television Supreme Board (RTÜK) continue to be in force except for motion picture and music programs, thus educational language training programs are not allowed. Except for songs, Turkish translation or Turkish subtitling of all broadcasts has been made obligatory and monitoring of all broadcasts by the security forces has been set as a rule; within this framework particularly televisions broadcasting in Kurdish have been subject to administrative and judicial penalties. The latest development in this respect is the launching of Kurdish broadcasts in January 2009 in channel TRT-6 and Arabic broadcasts in April 2010, both by TRT, the state radio-television institution. For further discussion see Kutlu, Ü.Z. & Aksoy, A. (2011), “Cultural Rights, Cultural Diversity, and Participatory Cultural Policies” in *Turkish Cultural Policy Report: A Civic Perspective* Ada, S. (ed.), Istanbul Bilgi University Publishing, Istanbul, pp 192.

Primarily, the perception of cultural rights in Turkey is far from being comprehensive and debates are limited to regulations, implementations and discussions related to the rights of the minority groups as defined in the Treaty of Lausanne signed on 24 July 1923; in other words, the minority groups under concern are limited with only non-Muslims. Although it is stated that the “framework offered by the Treaty of Lausanne with regard to minorities is valid” in all international accords signed and approved since 1923, now after a period of more than 80 years from the approval of the Treaty, it is still far from being fully implemented and the 37th Article of the Treaty concerning the “obligation of transferring the provisions of the treaty to domestic legislation” is not fulfilled. Furthermore, various international accords related to the protection of cultural minorities are not approved by the Republic of Turkey, and no arrangements are made in domestic legislation towards the protection of these groups.

Meanwhile, in talking about cultural rights and cultural diversity in Turkey, alongside non-Muslims defined in the Treaty of Lausanne, it is necessary to consider the Kurds, Assyrians, Romans, Alevis and also the refugees, the victims of internal and forced migration, handicapped, young, women, lesbian, gay, transvestite and transsexual population, and it is particularly important to bring to the agenda the self-expression, cultural access and participation rights of disadvantageous groups. Recently, workshops have been held with Romans and Alevis within the “National Unity and Solidarity Project” framework, popularly known as the “open

initiative policy”; however, no information is shared with the public on the steps forward and the concrete policies to be pursued after these workshops. It is essential to reify this initiative, to include the rest of the cultural minorities into such debates and workshops, and to take concrete steps towards civil rights and liberties. A comprehensive and explicit approach is needed for both the addressee and the scope of cultural rights.

Similarly, as stated in the Freiburg Declaration,²⁰⁴ the issues falling under the scope of cultural rights include “artistic manifestation and creativity”, “communication and information”, “cultural collaboration” and “participation to and taking part in cultural life” as well as “identity and cultural heritage” and “cultural expression and interpretation” rights. In talking about participation in culture, it is necessary to consider the infrastructure (for example, numbers of museums and auditoriums) and culture supply (plays, tours, films, exhibitions, etc.), use of the supplied culture (number of spectators and museum visitors, etc.), consumer preferences and leisure habits.

Moreover, it is important to state that participation in cultural life corresponds to something more than participating to cultural activities and that in exercising this right, the cities are the stage, citizens, the actors and the local governments are the addressees, and that it is vital to make the arrangements accordingly. Therefore, to adopt an approach that recognizes

²⁰⁴ Freiburg Declaration on Cultural Rights, approved in Freiburg on May 7, 2004. For text <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instate/Fribourg%20Declaration.pdf>.

the right of participation in decision making mechanisms and in social and cultural urban life, and to create an environment enabling the exercise of this right, it must be considered as a prerequisite for establishing democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Turkey. Hence, in offering concrete solutions to the issue of cultural rights, it is necessary to evaluate diversity, participation, cultural infrastructure, accessibility and the legislative regulations and practices in this field as a whole.

3.3.2 Local Cultural Policy and Participation in Turkey

As stated by Miller and Judice, “cultural policy refers to the institutional supports that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life. Cultural policy is embodied in systematic, regulatory guides to action that are adopted by organizations to achieve their goals.”²⁰⁵

Admittedly, since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey there has been a strong and definite cultural policy for the formulation of the collective ways of life in the country.²⁰⁶ The reforms advocated such as the unification of national education in 1924,²⁰⁷ establishment of the Turkish

²⁰⁵ Miller, T. & Yudice, G. (2002), *Cultural Policy*, Safe Publications, pp 1.

²⁰⁶ Öndin, N. (2003), *Cumhuriyet'in Kültür Politikaları ve Sanat*, İnsalcıl Publishing, İstanbul.

²⁰⁷ Law on Unification of National Education No: 430 was put into force on 3 March 1924. For further information see www.meb.gov.tr (accessed 20.01.2012).

Historical Society in 1931,²⁰⁸ Turkish Language Institute in 1934,²⁰⁹ opening of People's Houses in 1931²¹⁰ and Village Institutes in 1940²¹¹ could be regarded as the use of culture for the formation of a nation, and establishment of institutional support for the configuration of a collective life.²¹²

A general historical overview of cultural policy of the Republic of Turkey also require us to note the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in the cabinet in 1971 and also the foundation of the Istanbul Foundation of

²⁰⁸ The Turkish Historical Society was founded in April 1930 with 16 members, and was initially a dependent body of the Turkish Hearth Central Council under the name of "Türk Ocağı Türk Tarihi Tetkik Encümeni". Upon the closure of the Türk Ocakları on April 15, 1931, the members applied to the Ministry of Interior to found a society under the name "Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti" (**Society for the Study of Turkish History**). After the language reform in 1935, Atatürk changed the name of the Society to the "Türk Tarih Kurumu" (Turkish Historical Society). By Cabinet decree No. 2/14556 dated October 21, 1940 the Turkish Historical Society was granted the status of a non-profit association. By Law No. 2876 dated August 11, 1983 the **Turkish Historical Society** was incorporated in the Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History with the legal status of a public organization. For further information www.ttk.org.tr (accessed 22.01.2012).

²⁰⁹ On November 1, 1928, the new Turkish alphabet was introduced by the Language Commission, replacing the previously used perso-arabian script. The adoption of the Latin alphabet and the purging of foreign loanwords was part of modernization as non-Turkish words were seen as symbols of the past. A national campaign was encouraged and supported by governmental policies to purify the language. The Turkish Language Society (Türk Dil Kurumu), founded in 1932, supervised the collection and dissemination of Turkish folk vocabulary and folk phrases to be used in place of foreign words was mainly in service of this modernization process. For further information see <http://www.tdk.gov.tr/>.

²¹⁰ As Karpat mentions, the purpose of the People's Houses to "bridge the gap between the intelligentsia and people by teaching the first of these national cultures which lay among the Anatolian masses, and the second the rudiments of civilization and an indoctrination of the nationalist secular ideas of the Republican regime." Karpat, K. (1963), "The People's Houses in Turkey: Establishment and Growth", *Middle East Journal*, vol: 17, No:1-2, pp 55-67.

²¹¹ For further information see Vexliard, A. & Aytaç, K (1964), "The Village Institutes in Turkey", *Comparative Education Review*, vol.8, No:1, pp 41-47. Also see www.koyenstitutleri.net.

²¹² Koçak, O. (2001), "1920'lerden 1970'lere Türkiye'de Kültür Politikaları", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce: Kemalizm*, vol II, İletişim Publishing, İstanbul, pp 370-424.

Culture and Arts,²¹³ which signifies the entrance of a private institution into the cultural scene.²¹⁴ Both the name and the responsibility of the Ministry have changed several times and since 2003, the name is “Ministry of Culture and Tourism”.²¹⁵ Before the establishment of the Ministry the issue of culture was taken under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, since the foundation of the Republic in 1923 onwards there was no specific interest on participatory policy development and right to participation was not considered and underlined in the cultural policy discussions. The main theme was nation building and homogenization, and cultural policies have been taken as a functionalist sphere with top down decisions. Parallel to this, the reforms and institutions mainly aimed at creating a homogenous national culture and popularization of national culture among masses.²¹⁶ The objective was

²¹³ Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İKSİV) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization founded in 1973 by seventeen businessmen and art enthusiasts who assembled under the leadership of Dr. Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, with the aim of organizing an international arts festival in Istanbul. The Foundation's initial goal was to offer the finest examples of art from around the world, while at the same time promoting the national, cultural and artistic assets of Turkey, by using arts to create an international platform of communication. The first International Istanbul Festival, organized in 1973 on the 50th Anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, lasted one and a half months and focused mainly on classical music. Soon after, it included other artistic fields in its program such as film screenings, theatre productions, jazz and ballet performances, and art exhibitions held in historic venues. As public interest grew, groups of events organized in different artistic disciplines gradually evolved into distinct festivals. For further information, see www.iksv.org.

²¹⁴ K lt r Giriřimi (1998), *T rkiye’de K lt r Politikaları*, İKSİV, Doęan Books, İstanbul.

²¹⁵ These changes that the Ministry has gone through together with the responsibilities and focus areas are worth deeper analysis for a better understanding the cultural policies of the Republic, however the main issue that will be considered in this study will be participation in decision making for the cultural policies and the comprehensive analysis is outside the scope of this study. For the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism www.moc.gov.tr.

²¹⁶ İnce, A. & Önc , A. (2011), “Cultural Policy in Turkey Today: Introduction and Overview”, in *Turkish Cultural Policy Report: A Civic Perspective*, Ada, S. (ed.), İstanbul Bilgi University Publisihing, İstanbul, pp 192.

producing well-tempered, manageable cultural subjects with the implied goal of the management of populations through suggested behavior.

While reviewing the cultural policies of the Republic of Turkey, İnce, Öncü and Ada mention three main periods: while 1920-1950 represents the period of powerful and central institutions, 1950-2000 is defined as the period of privatization and ministries.²¹⁷ The third period that starts with 2000 is particularly underscored, as the discussion on cultural policy assumed a new dimension with the introduction of the EU accession debates and “with the steps that Turkey was taking to fulfill the EU requirements as well as the regulation promoting of the needs of the private sector which had began to invest in the cultural field.”²¹⁸ It is possible to consider the steps taken –albeit incomplete–with regards to local government reforms in this context, within the entire cultural participation framework.

Upon the openings of 2005, participatory policy development discussions were catalyzed with the initiation of civil society and municipalities in the country. Meanwhile, discussions on participation mainly evolved around the policy preparation processes of the municipalities, and participation was mainly referred city dwellers’ input for policy papers. Therefore, local governments, rather than social movements, were seen as primary driving

²¹⁷ İnce, A. & Öncü, A. (2011), “Cultural Policy in Turkey Today: Introduction and Overview”, in *Turkish Cultural Policy Report: A Civic Perspective*, Ada, S. (ed.), İstanbul Bilgi University Publishing, İstanbul, pp 192.

²¹⁸ Ada, S. (2009), “For a New Cultural Policy”, in *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, Ada, S. & İnce, H.A. (eds.), İstanbul Bilgi University Publications, pp 94-98.

forces and actors of authority and responsibility, and participation was interpreted within a rather narrow scope. Thus, despite the focus on participation, the whole perception of cultural policy development was bureaucratic rather than organic and creative, and development of cultural policy was limited to the preparation of systemic regulatory guides adopted by organizations to achieve their goals.²¹⁹

Meanwhile, besides participatory policy development discussions expanding with the European Union accession process and the local government reforms that address the requirements of the European Union membership, it is also crucial to note the steps taken by civil initiatives. First of all, even before the changes in the regulations, the interest of the cultural sector in social and cultural matters and regulations that mainly aimed to attract the attention of private interest groups in culture and arts. This resulted in the formation of a “Culture Initiative” under the leadership of İKSV who organized the symposium on “Cultural Approach to the European Union” in 2001. In this symposium, including participants from the central government as well as representatives from different European Union organizations, recommendations on cultural policy were formulated specifically addressing the issues of cultural diversity and participation.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Also see Üstel, F. (2009), “Cultural Policies in Europe: Debates and Dilemmas”, in *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, Ada, S. & İnce, H.A. (eds.), Istanbul Bilgi University Publications, pp 9.

²²⁰ Kültür Girişimi (1998), *Türkiye’de Kültür Politikaları*, İKSV, Doğan Books, İstanbul.

The second initiative worth mentioning is the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, which started as an initiative pioneered by a small but expanding group of non-governmental organizations that came together after the HABITAT meeting held in Istanbul in 1996. With the support of the local governments of Istanbul, candidacy was obtained and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs²²¹ was included in the process, a sequence, which offered a bottom-up approach. However, the whole implementation process was overtaken by the central government, so the participatory approach remained confined to the application process, and the issue of participation both in the administration and implementation created long and heated discussions throughout the year 2010.²²²

The third noteworthy case is the Cultural Policy Initiative that is developed and being implemented by Anadolu Kültür and Istanbul Bilgi University with a specific focus on the participatory local cultural policy development in the Anatolian cities. The initiative relied on Anadolu Kültür's experience and accumulated knowledge on cultural and artistic production and activity circulation in the Anatolian cities. The initiative was formed upon the changes in the local administration in 2004, and aimed at mobilizing civil initiatives for taking part in decision making processes and developing a collaborative environment for strategy planning and resource utilization. The first steps of the initiative utilized the local

²²¹ Law no 5706, Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, 02 November 2007.

²²² Oner, O. (2011), "İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti: Katılımcı Bir Kültüre Doğru mu?" in *İstanbul Nereye*, Göktürk, D. & Soysal, L. & Türeli, İ. (eds.) Metis Publishing, İstanbul, pp 320.

administrative reform and its reference to participatory strategic planning as the main basis, but were not limited with the preparation of the plans. Hence, activating city dwellers participation in decisions that shape their environment was also encouraged in different localities and the initiative searched for different ways for increasing the number and impact of participatory practices in Anatolian cities.

As a response to the Compendium project, which is a project developed and initiated by the Steering Committee of Culture of Council of Europe in 1998, the Cultural Policy Initiative also prepared a report entitled “Turkish Cultural Policy Report: A Civil Perspective” in 2011.²²³ The Compendium project is mainly a research project that aims to depict the picture of cultural policy country profiles and it is realized in partnership with independent cultural policy researchers, non-governmental organizations and national governments. Despite the contacts had been initiated in 2007, Turkey is not one of the countries that the cultural policy profile is prepared under the project and the process is still pending. The Initiative aimed at preparing a report on cultural policy that mainly represents the position of civil society and in line with the profiles prepared by the Council of Europe, the headings of the report included “Cultural Policy in Turkey Today: Introduction and an Overview”, “Legislation and Cultural Policy”, “Conditions for Artistic Creativity”, “Historical and Cultural Heritage”, “Cultural Industries”, “Cultural Rights, Cultural Diversity and Participatory Cultural Policies” and “International Cooperation”. The

²²³ For further information <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/compendium.php>

report is prepared with the contribution of 185 people from different areas including academicians, non-governmental organizations and also representatives of national and local governments, with using focus groups, in-depth interviews. Thus, the report can be seen as one of the crucial documents that bring a variety of issues under cultural policy research together. Despite the research done is not a comprehensive one and reports under subtitles are short summaries, the report as whole can be seen as a general overview of the cultural policy profile of the Turkish Republic.

Nevertheless, in a geography where everyone is accustomed to the central government making decisions on the local level, efforts and best practices in participatory policy building remain rather limited. Therefore, it is believed that bringing various participatory practices to the foreground; sharing and catalyzing discussion around methods employed in different cities; and an assessment of the concrete applications with their successes and failures will expand our perspective, enriching the discussions, which may ground the ongoing theoretical discussions and broaden our horizons. Depicting the problems and challenges observed in terms of ensuring participation in public decision making processes might prove useful in responding to questions of who participates in what, how and why.

CHAPTER IV

THE CASES OF KARS AND ÇANAKKALE:

BASIC INFORMATION AND THE BACKGROUND

For a better understanding of the issues of participation and the right to the city in the cities of Çanakkale and Kars, this chapter aims to provide basic information about these two cities including the composition of the population, socio-economic context and the cultural scene, and the attitude of actors towards participatory local cultural policy development in the cities. With this purpose, the chapter will start with an overview of these cities and continue with the results of the focus groups conducted with the aim of understanding how locals perceive themselves, their cities and define their priorities in terms of culture and arts in their cities.

4.1 POPULATION AND GEOGRAPHY

Kars is a province located in the northeastern part of Turkey, situated on the plateau of Eastern Anatolia and bordering the provinces of Ardahan, Erzurum and Iğdır. Kars also borders Armenia and Georgia and is strategically important as the gateway to the Caucasus Region. Meanwhile, the border to Armenia has been closed for over 10 years due to the tense political climate and relations between Turkey and Armenia.²²⁴

Iğdır and Ardahan, two large districts of Kars that increased the city's overall importance in the country, have been separated and turned into provinces in the 1990s. Ardahan has an open border with Georgia and Iğdır with Nahcivan. Both Iğdır and Ardahan have large military bases. Both these provinces enjoy the benefits of a dynamic populace due to these borders and military presence, and their separation has limited Kars's development.

²²⁴ The analysis of the relations between Turkey and Armenia is out of the scope of this study. But it can easily be argued that relations between the two countries are being affected by the disagreement about issues including how to address a common past, name the Armenian genocide and compensate for crimes, territorial disputes and Armenian occupation of Azerbaijani land. For further information and discussion you can see the reports of different institutions, with different perspectives such as Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) and Wise Man Centre for Strategic Studies from the websites www.tepav.org.tr; www.tesev.org.tr; www.bilgesam.org.tr

The population of Kars city center is 108, 064. According to the census conducted in 2010, the population of men in the city is 55,372, while the number of women is 52,692.²²⁵ It has a Human Development Index²²⁶ value of 0.644²²⁷ below the national average of 0.757.²²⁸ According to information provided by the State Planning Organization (DPT), that presented the socio-economic ranking of provinces in 2003, Kars ranks 67th among the 81 provinces of Turkey.²²⁹

Table 1. Kars and Çanakkale in the Turkey map



²²⁵ <http://www.serka.org.tr/kars.asp>.

²²⁶ The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite statistic used to rank countries by level of "human development" and separate developed (high development), developing (middle development), and underdeveloped (low development) countries. The statistic is composed from data on life expectancy, education and per-capita GDP (as an indicator of standard of living) collected at the national level using a specific formula. There are also HDI for states, cities, villages, etc. by local organizations or companies. For further information please see www.undp.org.

²²⁷ <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=1741>.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ The studies that determine socio-economic development level of regions, provinces and districts in Turkey are conducted by the State Planning Organization (DPT). The last one of these studies, which determines the level of socio-economic development of districts in Turkey, was carried out in 2004 and the last study, which determines development ranking of regions and provinces, was carried out in 2003. Despite the announcement that similar researches will be carried out periodically every five years, such a study hasn't been published up to date.

On the other hand, Çanakkale lies on both sides of the Dardanelles, which connects the Sea of Marmara to the Aegean Sea. Its shores border both Europe (with the Gelibolu Peninsula) and Asia (with the Biga Peninsula) and regular ferries run between the two sides. The population of Çanakkale city center is 136,484.²³⁰ According to the census conducted in 2010, the population of men in the city is 73,294, and women 63,190. It has a Human Development Index value of 0.766, slightly higher than the national average of 0.757. According to the State Planning Organization's (DPT) socio-economic ranking of provinces in 2003, Çanakkale ranks 24 among the 81 provinces of Turkey.

Both cities can easily be described as border cities, and there are no big differences among them in terms of population size.²³¹ However, considering the HDI, while Kars is under the national average, Çanakkale remains above the national value. Admittedly, the ranking conducted by the State Planning Organization also indicates that the level of socio-economic development is dramatically different in Kars and Çanakkale.

²³⁰ According to the census conducted by TÜİK in 2010.

²³¹ There is an important literature and discussion on borders and border cities. Soja, E. (1996), *Thirdspace*, Blackwell Publishers, USA.; Soja, E. (1989) *Postmodern Geographies: Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, Verso, London.; Donnan, H. & Wilson, M. T. (1999), *Borders: Frontiers of Nation, Identity and Space*, Oxford University Press.; Wilson, T.M. & Donnan, H. (1998) *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

4.2 ACTORS

The existence of civil initiatives and their attitude towards participatory policy development experiences are crucial as they are the main actors for participation. In both cities, local cultural policy development process was initiated just after the changes in the legal framework for local administration, thus, local governments play crucial role in the first steps of the participatory local policy development and the encouragement of the city dwellers to take part in the decisions that shape their environment. Hence, the following sections are devoted to further analysis of these two main actors in the two cities under consideration and will also provide information about the central government representative governorship and universities' attitude towards participatory local cultural policy development. The below table depicts the summary of the basic information and underlines the similarities and differences between Çanakkale and Kars.

	ÇANAKKALE	KARS
POPULATION	According to the census conducted by the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TUIK) in 2010, the population of Çanakkale city centre is 136484	According to the census conducted by the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TUIK) in 2010 the population of Kars city centre is 108064

ATTITUDE OF THE MUNICIPALITY	The Municipality supports participatory policy development and there is strong cooperation with civil initiatives, the governorship and the university.	In the period 2006-2009, the Municipality showed great interest in participatory planning and also in cultural participation. However, the attitude of the Municipality was dependent on the interest of the Mayor and with the change of the Mayor in 2009 with the local elections, this interest completely vanished.
ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNORSHIP	Neutral	Neutral
ATTITUDE OF THE UNIVERSITY	Neutral, but open to cooperation	Neutral, and hesitant regarding cooperation
LOCAL AGENDA 21	Since its establishment (1997), the Local Agenda 21 has been active in the city and has considerable knowledge and experience about participatory local policy development practices.	Established in 2001 and initially assumed an active part in the development of a participatory local cultural policy together with the Kars Municipality in 2006; however in recent years, it has not been active and does not take part in any activities in the city.

CIVIL INITIATIVES	Active and strong; operate according to the priorities and the needs of the city. Some recent actions that brought together various initiatives include: Action Plan, City Museum Initiative, and local history projects.	Not well organized; the cooperation between existing initiatives is weak and not sufficiently active to influence decision making processes. Many new civil initiatives struggle with building skills in basic management and obtaining resources to implement programs.
EXPERIENCE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING	The work for the development of a participatory action plan started in 2004, and was completed and published in September 2008. Meetings were organized on basic issues such as the environment, tourism, the economy, including culture, which were open to public under the coordination of the Municipality and the Local Agenda 21. With the aim of enhancing the participation of citizens, questionnaires eliciting their opinions and contributions were sent to every residence in the city. The Strategic Plan of the Municipality after the local elections in 2009 was also prepared according to these results.	In 2006, the participatory planning process was launched under the leadership of the Kars Municipality. Planning in the areas of culture and arts was completed with the support of Anadolu Kültür and the ‘Kars City Guidebook’, which was identified as a priority in the meetings and prepared in a participatory manner. The new Municipality did not develop and sustain the participatory planning. The Strategic Plan of the city in 2009 was prepared by the Municipality without taking the participatory practices and experience of previous years into account.

Table 3. Comparative Overview: Kars and Çanakkale

4.2.1 Municipalities

The municipal government of Kars is controlled by the AKP (Justice and Development Party) since 2004, which is the governing party in the parliament. However, the Mayor has changed with the March 2009 local elections. While Naif Alibeyoğlu worked as the Mayor of the city between March 2004 and March 2009, Nevzat Akkuş has been the Mayor from the March 2009 elections onward. In Çanakkale, the current municipal government is controlled by the CHP (Republican People Party), which is the opposition party in the parliament. Ülgür Gökhan has been working as the Mayor since the March 2004 local elections.

As stated earlier, the comprehensive changes in the Municipal Law in 2005 made the preparation of strategic plans necessary for municipalities with population of 50,000 or more. Thus, the Article 41 of the Municipality Law clearly assigns the municipalities to with the task to prepare a development plan and program, as well as a strategic plan in compliance with the regional plan (if any). While in Kars, the Mayor initiated the process for the development of a participatory strategic plan of the city with the support and facilitation of Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) and Anadolu Kültür, the process of participatory policy development in Çanakkale was initiated under the facilitation of local civil initiatives in cooperation with the Çanakkale Municipality even before the change in the Municipal Law in 2005 for the improvement of service delivery, participation of the local population in

decision making processes, transparency and accountability. Hence, both Municipalities showed interest in developing participatory plans for their localities and took steps for furthering the participation of the city dwellers in the decision making mechanisms through development of strategic action plans. Meanwhile, while this step was taken by the Municipality, specifically with the interest of the Mayor in the city of Kars, the steps taken in the city of Çanakkale were a joint effort of civil initiatives and the Municipality.

During the preparation of the strategic plan of the municipality, Anadolu K lt r took the responsibility for facilitating the social, cultural and tourism sections, and those were prepared with a participatory approach with the help of information gathered through focus groups and meetings held in the city of Kars in 2006.²³² As the first steps of the local cultural policy development process in Kars, there were six focus groups that were organized with; women, youth, non-governmental organization representatives, civil servants, local businesses and artists, and the people were reached through the snowball technique. In Kars, a meeting for the development of local cultural policy was organized upon the completion of the focus group works. The meeting was held with the aim of sharing the findings of the focus group research with the participants and representatives of civil initiatives in Kars came together with the Kars

²³² The preparation of the Strategic Plan of Kars Municipality as a whole that was prepared with the facilitation of TESEV under the project “Building Capacities for Effective Service Delivery” will not be analyzed in this study. For further information about the project and activities that are held in the city of Kars: www.tesev.org.tr.

Municipality to identify the needs and priorities in the field of culture and arts of their city. Despite the fact that the whole process was initiated by the Mayor, both civil society organizations and Kars Municipality played an active role throughout the meetings.

At this point, it is crucial to state that prior than the steps towards the local cultural policy development process, Anadolu Kültür was known in the city of Kars through the cultural and artistic activities that were held within the city in partnership with the Kars Municipality. Anadolu Kültür's activities in Kars started in 2004 with the Caucasus Cultures Festival, which was first organized in collaboration with Kars Municipality to support cultural cooperation among cities of the Caucasus; and expanded with the opening of Kars Arts Centre in 2005.

Kars Art Centre was activated with the collaboration of Kars Municipality and in a short time became a place where Kars people could gather for various purposes as it was the only multi-functional hall in the city. Kars Art Centre hosted various exhibitions, workshops, talks, theatre and concerts from its establishment in 2004 until March 2009 at which point, following the local elections, the venue was transferred back to Kars Provincial Directorate of National Education Public Education Centre and Kars Art Centre's activities came to an end. Besides the Kars Arts Centre,

Anadolu K lt r worked in the city in the fields of culture, art and cultural heritage.²³³

The opposite was the case in  anakkale, as the Municipality paid close attention to stakeholders' participation in the planning and there were numerous active civil society initiatives in the city that are particularly focused on participatory local policy making with the aim of influencing decision making processes. Thus, unlike Kars, the participatory practice is not dependent solely on the attitude of the Municipality in  anakkale; rather there is a common interest on the issue from the Municipality as a local government, and civil initiatives for the development of participatory policies and their implementation.

Beside the strategic plan that was assigned by the Law, preparation of an Action Plan first entered the agenda of  anakkale Local Agenda 21 in 2005. The main purpose was to improve the quality of service delivery to residents of the city and to prepare a plan for  anakkale, which can be formulated and implemented together with different stakeholders. With this aim, a search for collaboration started in 2006, and besides  anakkale Local Agenda 21,  anakkale Municipality,  anakkale 18 Mart University,  anakkale Governorship and civil initiatives and organizations in the city have actively contributed to the preparation of the Action Plan. What made

²³³ Projects can be listed such as the Restoration of the Old City, Handicraft Workshops with Women and Summer Schools for students of Kars G lahmet Aytemiz High School of Fine Arts, and Caucasus-focused projects such as 'Young Eyes of the Caucasus Workshop' that will be further analyzed in detail in the next parts of this study. For more information about the projects in Kars see: www.anadolukultur.org.

the Action plan different than the Strategic Plan was the time that was devoted to the whole process. While the Strategic Plan needs to be prepared in six months after the general local elections, the Action Plan is prepared in a more generous timeframe; approximately three years, as the intention was to reach almost every household and to take their ideas/comments and requests.²³⁴

The Action Plan integrated research and action, and there were comprised of three main stages: (a) analysis of the current state of the city; (b) vision and mission statements and future expectations; and (c) actions, plans and projects. At every stage, working groups were organized and all related initiatives, organizations, institutions and individuals were invited to the meetings. All meetings were announced and open to the public. Once the plan had been shared with every household in the city -the summary of the plan was sent to the addresses of the water public utility subscribers for final comments and recommendations- the Action Plan was concluded in June 2008.²³⁵ The whole process of the Action Plan in Çanakkale was initiated and implemented together with the civil society groups and the Municipality. This particular case indicates the existence of both empowered citizens with the desire and capacity to participate in decision

²³⁴ As of Kars, Çanakkale was also one of the pilot cities of the TESEV project “Strengthening the Capacity of Civil Society for Effective Service Delivery”. The main input of this project was to prepare the poverty mappings of the city for a better analysis of the current state of the city and the province. The meetings are done under the facilitation of an independent expert Prof. Dr. Korel Goymen, whom provided also consultancy throughout the preparation of the Action Plan of the city of Çanakkale.

²³⁵ For further information see: www.canakkale.bel.tr.

making, and flexible and representative government that encourages participation of the city dwellers in the city of Çanakkale.

4.2.2 Civil Initiatives

Active citizens are needed for participatory policy making practices, and also for actualizing human rights. Despite the fact that there are a few non-governmental organizations and civil initiatives in Kars, civic life is not active in the city. Rather than talking about civil initiatives, we can talk about leading figures; individuals under whose guidance limited participation become possible. Kars' civil initiatives are not well organized, cooperation between existing initiatives is weak and insufficient to influence decision making processes. Many new civil initiatives struggle with building up skills in basic project management and fundraising for the resources to implement their programs. In other words, citizens exercise the power of their vote while remaining at a distance from participatory practices; they do not engage in decision making mechanisms actively, and are far from perceiving participation from a rights-based approach. Participation is only possible even if the motivation is generated and pushed by the Municipality or outsiders' facilitation such as TESEV and Anadolu Kültür.

In contrast, in Çanakkale there exists a tradition of participation and active civil initiatives non-governmental organizations come together around

various local issues such as the restoration of an historic neighborhood, and the Troy House/Kaufmann House²³⁶ archaeology library in the city. In Çanakkale, besides the associations, there is also a group that calls themselves “Yalıhan Group”, who define themselves as fulltime activists. Most of the participants in this group are men in their 50s and their involvement in the city’s civic life is not merely a professional but more a personal interest. Their first gathering was a response to the construction of a bridge in the Dardanelles in 1994 and they meet every week. They do not have a formal legal status and they prefer to remain as an initiative that mobilizes around projects, and local issues concerning the city. Meanwhile, throughout discussions and meetings in the city, participants in Çanakkale repeatedly complained about the civic participation in the city, and they claimed that the active civil initiatives in the city are not strong enough. While they were admitting importance of the participatory practices, participants were also complaining about the limited number of people is interested in the participatory practices and activities in the city. It can be argued that the participants of the civic life in Çanakkale are aware of the fact that participatory practices are limited with a certain number and more importantly a group of people in the city.

The similarity between Çanakkale and Kars lies in Local Agenda 21, which operated in both of the cities. The Local Agenda 21 is active in

²³⁶ Korfmann Library is located in the old Çanakkale region. The library was dedicated to Professor Korfmann after his death and includes most of his researches, findings and several resources about the ancient relics of the ancient Troy. Professor Korfmann, as one of the most famous archeologists of the region, has devoted his academic life to the ancient Troia.

Çanakkale since 1997. According to the information provided by Local Agenda 21 Çanakkale, their work can be examined under four different headings: (1) development of participatory policy making and increasing participation; (2) capacity development activities; (3) developing cooperation and awareness between different initiatives; (4) following and developing relations between national and international organizations and initiatives such as the contacts with REC (Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe) and Ministry of Environment for environmental problems of the region.

The first initiatives for the preparation of current state analysis of the city took place in 2004 under the coordination of the Local Agenda 21 in Çanakkale. There are different drafts prepared since that time and the last of these was prepared and completed for the Action Plan in 2007. Besides the work on current state analysis, Local Agenda 21 also organized discussions and debates for improving participation of the citizens in local decision making mechanisms. Local Agenda 21 realized activities for improving the capacity of civil society organizations and the municipality in the city. In this respect, the following conferences and panels were organized in Çanakkale: Turkey-Greece & Cyprus Relations; EU and Copenhagen Criteria; Effective Presentation Techniques; Globalization and Its Contents; Oral History; Environment-Nature- Ecology.

For developing cooperation among different institutions and initiatives, Local Agenda 21 founded working groups such as youth, women,

disabled. Beside these, Local Agenda 21 also organized workshops on local history, archeology, environment, women rights, human rights, rights for disabled, and various meetings on historical heritage of the city. It is stated by the locals that the doors of Local Agenda 21 Çanakkale were always open to representatives of central and local governments and civil initiatives for the above-mentioned meetings and workshops. The active involvement of Local Agenda 21 is also important and a supportive fact for participatory policy development in the city.

The Local Agenda 21 in Kars was initiated in 2001. The locals in the city, with the support of the Mayor, formulated oral history works and also invited non-governmental organizations such as Anadolu Kültür for the facilitation of participatory policy development activities in the city. The main differences between the two Local Agenda 21s can be defined with reference to their inclusive nature. While in Çanakkale civil groups and non-governmental organizations were more active both in the formation, development and implementation of the activities and the whole structure of Local Agenda in the city; in Kars Local Agenda was implementing their activities through leading figures such as the Mayor and executive director of the Local Agenda 21. This difference also affected the sustainability of the work in the Local Agenda 21 and of the city's espousal of Local Agenda 21.

4.2.3 University and Governorship

Both of the cities have a university. In Çanakkale, the 18 Mart University was founded in 1992, and currently has over 33,000 students in a wide variety of programs with 10 faculties, 4 institutes, 7 colleges, 11 vocational schools, 26 research and application centers, and a research hospital.²³⁷ There are several campuses in the city of Çanakkale and some of the faculties are located in the other towns of the province. The largest campus is outside the city center.

Founded also in 1992, Kars Caucasus University has the capacity for 12,000 students and the main campus is at the city center.²³⁸ The university has eight separate campuses with six faculties, three schools, five vocational schools, one state conservatory, three institutes, and six research centers. Throughout the participatory policy development both universities remained distant to the processes and the participation from the universities was on individual basis rather than institutional representation.

In both of the cities, the existence of the university also raised the issue of youth participation in decision making and city life. Meanwhile in Çanakkale and Kars, the role of youth seems to be limited to consumption and their inclusion in planning, implementation and production seemed rather limited. This was also obvious in the discussions of focus groups;

²³⁷ For further information about the university: www.comu.edu.tr

²³⁸ For further information about the Kars Caucasus University: www.kafkas.edu.tr

while university administrations and students were blamed by civil initiatives for a lack of interest in cultural and social matters related to the city, the university representatives and youth pointed that the community is expecting too much too soon.

The main bodies representing the central government, the governorships, also remained distant and neutral to the processes overall. They were included in the focus groups, invited to the meetings and also all reports are submitted to these bodies, but even though they were present at all meetings, they chose not to take an active in either case.

4.3 HOW LOCALS PERCEIVE THEIR CITIES AND THEMSELVES?

Kars was one of the first cities that Anadolu Kültür, together with Istanbul Bilgi University and European Cultural Foundation, initiated the local cultural policy development process with the demand and consent of the local governments and the civil initiatives. While the process was initiated in 2006 in Kars, Çanakkale joined this process in 2007. Both in Kars and Çanakkale, the first steps were taken through research on the local cultural environment and current state using a focus group format. The focus group discussions provided the opportunity to illustrate the social and cultural life of the cities from the eyes of the locals.

In Kars, meetings were held at Kars Sim-Er Hotel meeting room, and in Çanakkale at Truva Hotel. The decision to hold meetings at hotel meeting rooms was deliberate, as the research group wanted to remain equally distant to all possible local power holders by using a neutral and public space. In Kars, there were six focus groups that were organized with women, youth, non-governmental organizations, civil servants, local business and artists in total 38 people, while in Çanakkale there were four focus groups conducted with youth, non-governmental organizations, central government, municipality and university representatives, and in total 28 people were reached, 15 of whom were women. Each focus group lasted around 2 hours on average and was tape-recorded.

Results of the research in both cities were analyzed to constitute the basis for structuring the debates in the workshops. Before the meetings held in each city, a report that included an analysis of the focus group discussions was prepared and shared with all of focus group participants and also with all potential stakeholders including the local governments, university, civil society and central government. The summary of the discussions was analyzed with using the strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats analysis. City dwellers are asked to share their feedbacks with the researchers and also any comments, criticisms, and corrections that they want to raise. Upon the dissemination of the reports within the cities, meetings were held for furthering the results of the focus group discussions, discussing the priorities of the cities, sharing the outcomes of the studies, and defining the steps for local cultural policy development.

The findings of the focus groups were shared with the public by way of a two-day meeting in each city. Besides the non-governmental organizations and the interviewees, the local governments, universities and governorships were also invited to these meetings. The first day was devoted to the presentation of the findings of the focus group work, while the second day's discussions focused on updating the analysis, and prioritizing the needs, together with the city dwellers.

Summary of the Report on KARS

STRENGTHS

Rich historical and cultural heritage;
A Mayor dedicated to improve the cultural life and willing to cooperate;
Motivated youth groups;
A university;
Motivated women who need direction and organization.

WEAKNESSES

Depressed economy, no money sources visible in the city to sponsor activities;
Lack of resources –human and financial;
A very long and harsh winter;
A damaged urban identity;
Weak ties between the municipality and the governorship;
Lack of civic organizational experience;
Low-level ethnic tension;
Domestic violence and limited women in the public sphere.

OPPORTUNITIES

The youth, the women and the artists have personal stakes in a prolific cultural life and they know it. They are motivated to work;
Established folk art tradition, especially folk dancing and bard tradition that is supported by current youth;
A local artist base: A local volunteer-based theatre group, several local photographers and amateur historians exist.

THREATS

Art and other art-related activities are seen as luxury items in the hierarchy of needs for people's lives;
Strong ideas among the artist group about what constitutes art leading to a high vs. low art distinction and marginalization of folk artists as 'pseudo-artists';
Small community: possible various personal and/or group conflicts/grudges with a long history;
Several well-established ideological camps already exist in people's minds that may hamper total participation such as secular/Islamist or extreme nationalist Turks/separatist Kurds;
Several community leaders with strong personalities may want to create dominance in the groups;
Established NGOs seem very bureaucratic, non innovative, and non-participatory .

Summary of the Report on Çanakkale:

<u>STRENGTHS</u> -Strong civic participation tradition; Well-established NGOs that work and produce results; A local government that values citizen input and committed to improving quality of life via arts and cultural activities; Working relations among the governorship and municipality; An active and well-established Local Agenda 21 and city counsel; A group of about 30 involved and active citizens working on developing a city; action plan; A brand new university.	<u>WEAKNESSES</u> A largely marginalized local gypsy population; Weak ties of the NGOs with youth; problem of youth participation in daily planning and organization; University administration -not necessarily the academics or the students- is not too welcoming of collaboration with the city. Both the local government and several “concerned citizens” complained about the lack of interest in city issues by the university.
<u>OPPORTUNITIES</u> Civic participation practice, further facilitated via the local action plan exercise, will be a valuable asset to local cultural policy development efforts; New daily flights to Istanbul will facilitate the existing connections.	<u>THREATS</u> Extreme nationalist influences gaining more ground in the city; If the current community participation practice fails to be transferred to a younger generation, the sustainability of the current desirable trend will be questionable.

Table 3 and Table 4 display the ways in which the locals perceive their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats posed by their cities:

4.3.1 Strengths

The analysis of the cities also draws their differences from the eyes and with the words of city dwellers. Thus, it is crucial to further elaborate on the points raised in the above presented analysis. While the existence of active, well organized non-governmental organizations and strong civic participation tradition are stated as the strengths of the city of Çanakkale, the locals in Kars just stated the existence of motivated youth and women in the city as strengths. Hence, whereas we can talk about a tradition of participation and experience of citizen involvement together with the existence of active civil initiatives in Çanakkale, we can just talk about not active but motivated groups that are not experienced or well equipped in the context of Kars. Therefore, it can be stated that locals in both cities are quite realistic about the actual and potential state of the civil initiatives in their city.

The second noteworthy point is how the Municipalities and their interest to participatory planning were perceived in the two different localities by the city dwellers. Before discussing the differences, it is important to mention that the focus groups and workshops were conducted in 2006 in Kars, while they were organized in Çanakkale in 2007. Thus, the local elections of March 2009 took place after the workshops, and the analyses of the two cities conducted prior to changes in administration with the elections.

While there was no change of party or/and mayor in Çanakkale, the party remained the same but the mayor changed in Kars.

When we look at the strengths in the two tables we see that in Kars, locals mentioned the interest of the Mayor in cooperation and participatory policy planning rather than the Municipality, whereas the locals in Çanakkale made reference to the engagement of the Municipality as an institution. Furthermore, the locals in Çanakkale also had the experience of acting and working together with the Municipality, and had already experienced participatory policy development practices even before the regulatory changes in 2005. In Çanakkale civil initiatives are actively taking part in and demanding participation and the Municipality is open to cooperation with a positive attitude.

Nevertheless, as locals stated in the analysis, the interest of the Municipality in cooperation and participatory planning was strongly related to the individual interest of the Mayor in case of Kars. Admittedly, there was no interest or demand for participation underlined by the locals that came from the civil initiatives. The interest of youth and women in Kars in culture and participation was strongly connected to the guidance and vision of the Mayor in those years and also with the interest of the international organizations in the cultural and historical heritage of the region.

Therefore, as the locals foresaw, upon the change of the Mayor with the March 2009 elections, the newly elected Mayor did not maintain the existent participatory approach. The Municipality started to take the issue of “culture and arts” as a secondary issue and both participation and culture were cast out of the scope of the plans and activities of the newly elected Municipality. The Municipality as a local entity lacked a sustainable approach to include locals in the decision making processes and civil initiatives did not raise their demands on culture and arts and participation in the decision making processes. Thus, the strategic plan, which was supposed to be prepared with a participatory approach, was drafted after a table work of some representatives from the Municipality in the six months following the local elections in 2009. This was completely the other way around in Çanakkale as the locals affirmed the existence of a local government that values citizen input and has a commitment to improving quality of life via arts and cultural activities. Culture and arts in the city of Çanakkale is perceived as one of the important components of human well-being and this standpoint is perceived as one of the strengths of the city by the dwellers.

Arguably, the existence of a university can also be listed as strength in both cities; a quality identified precisely as such by the locals themselves. While this can be highlighted as one of the similarities between the two, both universities remained distant observers to participatory policy development practices rather than taking active part in the process.

Finally, the existence of Local Agenda 21 was not even mentioned by the locals in Kars but in Çanakkale this initiative is seen as one of the strengths of the city. Also the existence of a group of locals who are active in the preparation of the participatory action plan of the city is perceived as one of the strong points of Çanakkale.

4.3.2 Weaknesses

As far as weaknesses are concerned, the differences between the two cities are evident. The perceived weaknesses of Çanakkale were the existence of a marginalized Roma population, and limited cooperation and connection of civil initiatives and the municipality with both the youth and the university. The Roma population did not attend the focus group discussions and meetings in the city even though they were invited several times. Also the participants of the focus groups and meetings were quite aware of the fact that Roma do not have a significant presence in the discussions and decisions.

Both in the focus groups and meetings, participants declared that participation of youth is limited. Some of the participants in the focus group also stated that once you include younger people you need to mentor them and this would create some kind of a dependency that they would not

like to be a part of.²³⁹ Hence, they are quite aware of who is excluded and the weaknesses of the city are clear, defined and well addressed by the locals.

However, the weaknesses of Kars are manifold, deeper and harder to deal with; economic deprivation, hard winter conditions, lack of resources, capacity, and organizational skills. The issue of domestic violence and limited existence and participation of women in the public sphere are also highlighted. Also different from Çanakkale, which is proud of the connection and communication among the different institutions in the city, the limited cooperation between municipality and governorship is also perceived as one of the weaknesses of Kars by the city dwellers.

The low-level ethnic tension, also strongly related to the fact of being a border city with Armenia and a partially Kurdish population in the town, which requires further analysis lies beyond the scope of this study. However, it can be stated that the civic life in the city is not active, participation of women and youth requires special effort and support in Kars. Lack of organizational skills is also a crucial challenge for developing funds and fundraising for culture and art activities, or for developing any kind of projects in the city.

²³⁹ The focus groups discussion reports were drafted by Aslı Çarkoğlu in 2008 and can be reached from Anadolu Kültür's website www.anadolukultur.org. The focus groups in Çanakkale were conducted on 18 December 2006.

4.3.3 Opportunities

The opportunities provide us with the chance to evaluate the visionary differences among the two cities; while the interest of the motivated youth and women are underlined in Kars, the points raised for Çanakkale are the strong civic participation tradition, as stated as in the strengths part, and also the networking opportunities with Istanbul.

Civic participation practice is seen as a valuable asset for furthering the participatory practices and also for the development of a participatory local cultural policy within the city. New daily flights are also seen as facilitatory for the strengthening existing connections between Istanbul and Çanakkale. Thus, while the city of Çanakkale has the intention to create links with Istanbul and with the other cities, Kars is still struggling with the issue of connecting the locals in the city.

Despite the fact that the cultural actors are not well organized, it is crucial to state also that locals in Kars perceive youth and their culture and arts activities as one of the opportunities in the city. There might not be an organized community, but the existence of figures with an interest on local culture; photography and folk art are seen as an opportunity for the city of Kars.

4.3.4 Threats

The threats stated in Kars are manifold; first of all, locals do see culture as a luxury and the issue of participation is not in the agenda at all. Thus, all culture and art related activities are secondary in the hierarchy of the needs for people and subsequently they are not motivated to enrich and increase the number of the activities or develop participatory cultural policies.

Existence of strong and dominant leaders rather than organized strong civil communities and/or non-governmental organizations is also described as a threat against developing an inclusive, participatory and sustainable civic tradition in the city. Also in such a small community, various group and personal conflicts with long history, as well as the ideological camps and polarization are also perceived as threats for participatory policy development practices and collaborative action in the city.

Meanwhile, in Çanakkale the relation with youth is limited and this is regarded a problem especially in terms of transmitting the knowledge and tradition of the civic participation to the next generations. The older generation does not have an inclusive and welcoming attitude towards the youth, and this is already seen as a problem and threat by all locals including the older ones. The last issue raised by dwellers in both cities is the possible tension linked to the political climate of county, which is a similarity that requires attention throughout discussions around participation practices.

4.4 AN OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENCES & SIMILARITIES

As stated in earlier chapters, both Çanakkale and Kars were selected as pilot cities due to the demand of local governments and civil initiatives to further participatory practices addressing culture and art in their localities, and developing a local cultural policy with a participatory approach. Meanwhile, even though a similar method of action, which will be described in the following sections, was employed in both cities there were some basic differences that are closely related to the socio economic dynamics of the cities under consideration, which are most pertinent for a better understanding of the context and processes.

Both cities can be described as border cities, and there are no big differences among them in terms of population size. However considering the Human Development Index, while Kars is under the national average, the value for Çanakkale is above the national mean. Socio-economic conditions are crucially important and remain to be one of the basic differentiating factors among Çanakkale and Kars. The depressed economy and harsh socio-economic conditions are also stated by the locals of Kars as one of the weaknesses of the city.

Secondly, although there are a few non-governmental organizations and civil initiatives in Kars, civic life is not active in the city. Rather than talking about strong civil initiatives, we can talk about the existence of leading figures; individuals under whose guidance, limited participation are possible. Kars' civil initiatives are not well organized; cooperation between existing initiatives is weak and insufficient to influence decision making processes. Many new civil initiatives struggle with building up skills in basic project management and fundraising for the resources to implement their programs. In other words, citizens exercise the power of their vote, while remaining at a distance from participatory practices, as also confirmed by locals. Participation is only possible even if the motivation is generated and promoted by the Municipality or outsiders, such as TESEV and Anadolu Kültür. In contrast, in Çanakkale there exists a tradition of participation and active civil initiatives non-governmental organizations come together around various local issues such as the preparation of an action plan for the city. The existence of outsiders is not necessary and in the case of existence they just prepare the role of facilitator in the city of Çanakkale.

The last point that requires attention is the participatory practices in the cities of Çanakkale and Kars. Participatory policy development does not have history in Kars. Rather, the practice was initiated by the Mayor with the facilitation of outsider actors such as Anadolu Kültür and TESEV, but drew the attention of a limited number of civil initiatives, and to a certain extent, institutions like the university and governorship. The case of

Çanakkale is completely opposite: civil initiatives are actively involved in the participatory practices and the connection and communication between different institutions are strong. The practice of participatory action plan also provides a fertile ground and experience for the development of any kind of inclusionary and participatory policy in the city. Despite that there are inadequacies in including groups such as Roma and youth, locals are quite aware of who is missing.

Consequently, despite capacity and experience differences, in both cities locals and institutions welcomed the attempts of participatory local cultural policy development practices and there was a consensus for taking steps to achieve it. Thus, their intention to take steps for developing local cultural policies can also be seen as one of the similarities between the two cities but the initiator and implementer of these processes remained different in the two cities under consideration. While the main actor was the Mayor in the city of Kars, it was civil initiatives together with the Çanakkale Municipality in Çanakkale.

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPATORY LOCAL CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN ÇANAKKALE AND KARS

We cannot engage planning for the future on the basis of positive theory; this would only contribute to the strengthening of the status quo.

David Harvey²⁴⁰

The issues tackled in this chapter address the development and transformation practices of participatory local cultural policies in the context of democracy theories and right to the city in Çanakkale and Kars. Taking participatory local cultural policy development experiences as the baseline, the objective of this chapter is to question how and to what extent participation was possible in these localities, and analyze the format of participation underlining the obstacles and solutions devised by relevant actors with reference to the literature on democracy.

²⁴⁰ Harvey, D. (2003), *Sosyal Adalet ve Şehir*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, pp 136.

Within this framework, the chapter will not attempt to describe and analyze the policies that eventually emerged from participatory local cultural policy development processes. Rather, the objective is to discuss the participatory practices during the preparation process of local cultural policies, as well as participation in the implementation of the ideas and policy formulations between the years 2006-2010. With this aim, this chapter mainly draws from the participatory observation of the author in the respective localities, discussions in the meetings and workshops, and aims to elucidate on participatory practices in Kars and Çanakkale.

5.1 A DELIBERATIVE START: PARTICIPATION IN THE FOCUS GROUPS

The first steps of participatory local policy development was mainly focused on the preparation of the strategic plans for both municipalities, as well as a strategic plan in compliance with the regional plan as mandated by Article 41 of the Municipality Law no.5393.²⁴¹ The same article also underlines the plan should be prepared with a participatory approach, stating that: “the strategic plan shall be prepared by obtaining the opinion of the universities, chambers (if any), and non-governmental organizations

²⁴¹ Promulgated in the Turkish Official Gazette - No. 25874, 13 July 2005. For text http://www.legalisplatform.net/hukuk_metinleri/Nr.%20Code%205393.pdf (accessed on 12.03.2012)

and shall enter into force after approval by the Municipal Council.” The above-mentioned provisions were regarded as openings for participatory local policy making and involvement of people in the decision making mechanisms especially on the local level.

Meanwhile, the Municipal Law assigned key responsibilities for participatory policy making to municipalities, who in most cases do not have the expertise to exercise these new roles and responsibilities or knowledge and experience on methodologies to develop participatory policies. Henceforth, there was a need and also search for know-how on development and practice of participatory policies in both of the localities. In the case of an already existent participatory policy development experience as in Çanakkale, no particular attention was paid to participation in decision making mechanisms addressing local cultural policy development. In this sense, the challenge of cultural policies customarily being determined and dominated by the central government, whose mandate was the creation of a national culture thereby distorting local realities of cultural expression, was not an issue. Concomitantly, there was no attention paid to participation in decision making as a part of basic human rights, and the concept the right to the city was not spelled out in either city by any of the actors.

Increasing access to decision making processes is vital to enhancing the democratic experience in Turkey, while access to innovative cultural programs that stimulate creativity, social engagement in neglected areas

that integrate excluded groups is also critical to local development and understanding. It is essential to create mechanisms to encourage city dwellers' participation in decision making mechanisms, and the formation of the Local Cultural Policy Initiative in Anadolu Kültür primarily aimed to fill this gap. The Initiative represented an effort to ensure the participation of civic groups and other local actors in policy-making processes. At this point it is crucial to underline that the Initiative did not have any previous practical experience developing and implementing local cultural policies, and both the know-how and methodologies on participatory practices are accumulated through the experiences in the cities of Kars, Çanakkale and Antakya with an experimental method. Thus, it can be stated that the strategic planning focus turned to be more on grassroots movements through the implementation of the activities and projects in the cities.

The interest in participatory local cultural policy development was also in line with Article 13 of the Municipality Law that underlines the “importance of promoting cultural relations between the municipality and inhabitants.” The mutual interest of local governments and civil initiatives to further participatory arts and culture policy and practices in both cases led to Anadolu Kültür involving Çanakkale and Kars as pilot cities in the Initiative. This also corresponded to the effort of the two municipalities, which initiated the preparations of the strategic plans in their localities, including culture and arts as one of the subdivisions. It is believed that participatory local cultural policy development can create practices that

may guide cities and actors in the cities for the development of participatory policies in general, and create alternative and innovative ways to develop participatory practices in the cities.

Within this framework, the first steps were mainly designed to better understand the current state of the localities under consideration, and depict the picture of the social and cultural life of the cities from the eyes of the locals. With the aim of using a participatory approach and method from the outset, as well as formulating and communicating city dwellers' views, needs, preferences and priorities, focus group discussions were held in both cities. As stated in the earlier chapters of this study, in Kars, there were six focus groups that were organized with women, youth, non-governmental organizations, civil servants, local business and artists with a total of 38 participants, while in Çanakkale there were four focus groups conducted with youth, non-governmental organizations, government, municipality and university representatives in total of 28 participants. The people were reached through snowball technique and each focus group lasted around 2 hours on average.²⁴²

The research team attempted to assemble focus groups and meetings that reflected the social plurality as accurately as possible using the snowball technique. Heterogeneity in terms of age, gender, education, professional status and class was considered, and it was aimed to keep the focus group

²⁴² The reports of these focus group discussions prepared by Aslı Çarkoğlu from Doğuş University and can be reached at www.anadolukultur.org. For further information about the results of the focus groups please see Chapter 4 of this study.

participants sociologically diverse by design. The participants joined the focus group discussions by invitation and on their own will. Throughout the focus group discussions, a professional facilitator ensured that participants communicate their own experiences and personal assessments of the current culture and art scene of their cities. The participants in the focus group series portrayed their cities through their personal perceptions but tried to generating them in the sense that affects every city dweller in their localities.

With the aim of coordinating and accommodating the views of participants in a common framework and enabling them to be creative in their search for solutions and concrete steps, the facilitators requested participants to elaborate on four points: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. This was also parallel with the strategic plan focus of the planning activities in the cities as analyzing these four points namely the SWOT analysis is a widely used method for strategic planning. Following the completion of the analysis of current state of the cities, the participants were also encouraged to maintain a self-interested perspective and formulate their priorities in their localities that can be transformed into concrete policies and practices. The open and free format of the groups allowed for a brainstorming space for solutions. At the end, focus group formats provided an opportunity for participants to practice active participation and express their views and proactively engage in shaping cultural and artistic life in their respective localities.

Upon the completion of the focus groups, meetings were held both in Kars and Çanakkale for furthering the results of the focus group discussions. The findings of the focus groups were shared with the public by way of these two-day meetings. The main aims were to elaborate on the priorities of the cities with participants from local governments and civil society; to share the outcomes of the studies; and to define the steps, agenda setting and policy formulation stages. Besides the non-governmental organizations and the interviewees, local governments, universities and governorships were also invited to these meetings that were open to public participation. The first day of the meetings was devoted to the presentation of the findings of the focus group work, while the second day's discussions focused on updating the analysis of the city and prioritizing the needs, together with the city dwellers. Anadolu Kültür continued its role as the facilitator during the meetings. From the focus group invitations onwards Anadolu Kültür together with the municipalities took an active role and tried to include as diverse groups as possible and announced the meetings using various means such as local media and posters.

Focus groups as a means of deliberative procedures are perceived and used as an institutional space in which different policy actors such as city dwellers, interest groups representatives, administrators, politicians, and city dwellers can come together and discuss. Together with the focus groups, the meetings held in the cities are seen as effective tool for the exchange of ideas of representatives of different groups and various stakeholders in the localities and also a means to create platform for open

discussion that allows city dwellers articulate their interests, fears and hopes. The meetings encouraged a process of creativity, which led to concrete project proposals that had an impact on policy development and implementation at the end. Therefore, the deliberative processes that were conducted through focus groups and meetings in both cities are believed to be participatory practices, and have produced inputs for policy processes and feedback to society and the policy makers. In other words, focus group discussions and meetings were used as means for policy deliberation and participation. Throughout the process it is believed that “via experiences of face-to-face interaction with people from different backgrounds, it is possible to think, work, and produce together.”²⁴³ Therefore, since the very beginning of the processes, the design and also the very idea of the focus groups and public meetings were quite synchronized with the idea of deliberative democracy that states the “interaction between individuals be based on rational and impartial argument.”²⁴⁴ Deliberation is a process of reasoning based on public argumentation, and the deliberative ideal visualizes the collective will flourish through an open discussion. Face to face interaction is seen as central for deliberative frameworks, and both Dryzek and Habermas argue that in deliberative frameworks, the decisions and priorities are shaped from a public exchange of arguments between

²⁴³ Ney, S. (2002), *Focus Groups, Citizen Participation and Governance in Europe*, accessible at <http://www.iccr-international.org/pen-ref/docs/penref-d4.pdf> (accessed on 17.01.2012)

²⁴⁴ Habermas, J. (1984), *Theories of Communicative Action*, Boston Beacon, pp 9.

‘free and equal’ citizens and “deliberation may neutralize any unfair advantages resulting from power, authority or wealth.”²⁴⁵

Meanwhile, creating the conditions for such discussion in line with what Habermas calls as an ‘ideal speech situation’ liberated from power, authority and wealth advantages is unlikely to be realized in any social context.²⁴⁶ This difficulty was also experienced while organizing the focus group discussions and meetings in both cities. As it was stated in the earlier parts of this work, the participants of the focus groups in Çanakkale and Kars were selected through a snowball technique and entailed the risk of not including the traditionally excluded populations in these cities such as Roma and youth in Çanakkale and women in Kars. Admittedly, even though the announcements of the meetings targeted an extensive outreach of different groups and segments in the cities, the researchers were quite aware of the fact that the invitations were quite limited to the visible groups in the localities, and there remained the risk of not including the traditionally excluded populations.²⁴⁷

The consensus for prioritizing the needs, which was easily held with regard to the current state of the localities, and also the consensus on policy formulations in both cities can also be interpreted as a sign of the lack of diversity among the participants. Participation in focus groups and

²⁴⁵ Dryzek, J.S. (1990), *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy and Political Science*, Cambridge University Press. Also see Habermas, J. (1984), *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Boston, Beacon.

²⁴⁶ Mutz, D. (2006), *Hearing the Other Side*, Cambridge University Press, pp 4.

²⁴⁷ See the reports on focus groups at www.anadolukultur.org.

meetings; in other words deliberative frameworks, require a knowledge and recognition of the specific values. Traditionally excluded populations are far from using the language, so attending and raising the arguments in the way that dominant groups will do often remains an aspiration. According to Fraser, the rules of the game are the specific values of the west, white and bourgeois males rather than universal values.²⁴⁸ As Fraser states “unequally powered social groups tend to develop unequally valued cultural styles which results in powerful informal pressures.”²⁴⁹ Hence, together with the recognition of the material inequality, cultural recognition is also unequally distributed in the society, and this brings the issues of sexuality, gender, ethnicity and class into the discussion. Considering all, it was obviously not realistic to expect the participation of traditionally excluded groups in the focus group discussions and meetings. Admittedly, there was no representative of the Roma population in the meetings that are conducted in Çanakkale and the number of youth was limited, and those who did were listeners rather than active participants. In Kars, the number of women was limited, and also participants were mainly already active dwellers who had close relations with the Mayor and the Municipality and were prominent figures of the city. Incidentally, in both cities, participants were mainly the leading and well-known figures, coming from the middle class. The fact that there was no conflict of interest or big differences among the participants and the quite effortless

²⁴⁸ Young, I. M. (1999), “Difference as a Resource for Democratic Communication” in *Deliberative Democracy*, J, Bohman and Regh W (eds.), Boston, MIT Press, pp 394.

²⁴⁹ Fraser, N. (1990), “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy”, *Social Text* 25/26, pp 67.

agreement in regards to the conditions and characteristics of the city can also be interpreted in reference to this homogeneity.

Consequently, it can be argued that the deliberative measures adopted in the cities had limitations, and were far from including the traditionally excluded populations in problem definition, agenda setting and policy formulation. Being aware of the limitations of the deliberative frameworks, both focus group works and meetings were regarded as the first steps of democratizing the early stages of the policy processes, and respected as modest yet crucial moves for participatory local policy development in general which was limited with the small and exclusive network of experts with a top down approach previously.

5.2 PARTICIPATION IN POLICY FORMULATIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION: THE CASE OF KARS

Despite the basic differences that were strongly related to the socio-economic dynamics of the cities under consideration, the similar method of action such as conducting focus groups and meetings was followed in both cities. In the meetings, locals were asked to come up with solutions to the needs and priorities of their cities and to develop projects to respond to the mentioned needs. From that point onwards, the content of the work

differed in the two cities. Due to the differing socio-economic situations; capacity and dynamics of actors had changed and as well as their priorities and needs. Hence, the policy recommendations that were formulized as small projects varied in both localities. The main thing that remained as the same was the search for methods for actualization of participatory practices.

The objective of small-scale project implementation was to facilitate coordination and cooperation among the authorities and civil society on the issue of local cultural policy making, to increase awareness and participation of civil society in the cities, to promote participatory practices in the mentioned localities with learning through doing and encourage civil actors' participation in the decisions about their cities. The importance of experiential learning and designing, implementing and producing a concrete project was considered key to increase inhabitants' participation. Obviously in conjunction with concrete projects, it was important to carry out a lively public relations campaign, attract inhabitants' attention and extensively use the local media to include residents in these processes. All such efforts encouraged and facilitated inhabitants' to be engaged in the process, leading them to espouse the city and activities and promote and increase their participation.

The following section aims to further elaborate on the process of participation in the concrete projects that were developed and raised by the

city dwellers during the focus groups and meetings in the cities of Kars and then Çanakkale.

5.2.1 Kars City Guidebook

In the meeting that was organized after the focus groups in the city, participants prioritized their needs for the city and they reached a consensus on the preparation of a city guidebook for Kars. In the meeting that was held on 25-26 March 2006, together with the idea of preparing a Kars Guidebook, the participants also discussed about two other project ideas; “Promotional Kars Products” and “City Museum and Labeling Work on Cultural and Historical Heritage of the City.”

It was argued by the locals in the meeting that a project that focuses on the promotional product could contribute to the city economy along with kasseri and honey, which are well-known products of the city nationwide. Meanwhile, it was also highlighted in the discussion that despite its possible contribution to fostering the city economy, “Promotional Kars Products” is a long-term project, and requires good management skills and good production and standardization capacities, which are hard to find in the city. No one and no initiative was ready to own, develop and implement and fundraise for such a project.

Secondly, along with Kars City Museum, starting with the 264 registered building with complete inventories, the identification of buildings which were to be labeled with plates based on their age, architectural structure, their historical; manufacturing of plates as result of content and design studies and granting personality to aforementioned buildings as an outcome of labeling study, were on the agenda of the meeting. It was stated that the labeling study required a small budget and was important for the protection and promotion of major architectural works in Kars and cultural and historical heritage of the city, and tourism. Furthermore, it was also stated by the participants that a labeling study had already been started by the Governorship and it might shorten the duration of the study and facilitate the works. Meanwhile, this project did not give any further opportunity to people of Kars to undertake a joint project, except the already continuing project and budget support. No participatory practice was needed for such a project. Furthermore, Kars City Museum was taken off the agenda because it was a long-term project and it required a big budget.

At this point, it is again crucial to underline that among the ones who participated in the focus groups and meetings, there was no conflict of interest in terms of defining the priorities. This easy consent was proof of the homogeneity of participants both in the meetings and in the focus groups process. Incidentally, the hard economic and social conditions in the city made the participants agree on the issues that require particular interest and in all three of the projects that were raised; the economic

dimension and its possible contribution to city's economic life were highlighted.

At the end, economic difficulties in the city were clearly underlined, and preparation of the Kars Guidebook was the unanimous priority due to its potential of making the city attractive to tourists, which might have positive economic impact and income for the locals. It was also stated by the participants in the meeting that the Kars City Guidebook would be prepared in a short time, with a limited budget and with maximum participation. Consequently, at the end of the two-day meeting, the participants agreed to put together the 'Kars City Guidebook,' which was in line with the aims and activities in the Culture, Art and Tourism section of the Kars Strategic Plan. It was also decided in the meeting that the Kars City Guidebook would be open to volunteers and would be prepared by the inhabitants of the city for making the participatory process more inclusive.

The Kars City Guidebook was the first concrete work the city produced under the local cultural policy development process. All interested parties were invited to the meetings to plan the content and structure of the Guidebook. The participants of the meeting were organized into six working groups in order to make a detailed study on the content of the book. Workgroups were given responsibility for detailing of the content and the coordination of task division. The groups were: (a) cultural heritage and history; (b) customs and traditions; (c) flora and mines; (d) music, art, literature; (e) tourism; (f) practical knowledge and maps.

Beginning in January 2007, Anadolu Kültür facilitated workgroups' meetings in the city and brought all the interested parties together. There were approximately 40 local contributors, and not all contributors were participants of the focus groups and meetings held in the city. The attention of different groups such as women and youth was secured and they contributed to preparation processes. The book had drawn on a significant number of sources that provide access to current information about the city, and was the fruit of extensive discussions and exchanges of individual observations and interpretations. Inspired by other professional guidebooks, the structure of the book took shape and the groups divided up the sections according to their research interests. Six meetings were organized during this time, and sometimes long discussions were held both on the structure and the content of the book. At the end of six months, the pieces were collected for editing and the Kars City Guidebook was ready and launched. The Guide has succeeded in attracting visitors to Kars. The launch of the book took place in November 2007. An English version was subsequently published in February 2008. The Guidebooks were distributed to people who are interested in Kars and they have successfully attracted the attention of visitors.²⁵⁰ As one of the editors of the Guidebook, also the former director of the Local Agenda 21 Kars Sezai Yazıcı stated:

“This has been a good project reflecting everyone’s efforts and thoughts. This guide prepared by people whom we may

²⁵⁰ The online version of the book is also accessible from www.karscityguide.com.

call civilians fills an important gap. Guides are for those visiting from outside. And in this respect, this project has reached its aim and target.”²⁵¹

Meanwhile, even though the Guidebook was successfully prepared and published and a participatory process was followed for increasing the number and variety of the contributors, there were also shortcomings in terms of participatory practices. First of all, as it was stated previously, the quite effortless agreement on the Kars Guidebook, the consensus on the guide’s potential economic contribution to the city, and also the smooth and conflict free process throughout the preparation can also be interpreted as due to the homogeneity of participants both in the meetings and also through the process.

Secondly, including the preparation of the Guidebook, almost all of the activities implemented in Kars such as the projects with women, which will further be discussed in the next chapters, needed facilitation and even the push of an outsider organization, initiative or an expert. Locals did not come together without the facilitation of experts from Anadolu Kültür and for the most part, they remained dependent to their guidance in terms of coming together. Equally important, locals had hesitations regarding taking responsibility and/or owning the whole process and the product. Even though the idea of the Guidebook came from the locals and realized

²⁵¹ Interview with Sezai Yazıcı on 26 November 2009, also available at www.anadolukultur.org.

through their contribution, the Guidebook was seen as an Anadolu Kültür project. As Tazebey Çakaz, a local historian from Kars and also one of the local editors of the Guidebook, mentioned:

“I find Anadolu Kültür’s book project successful, despite its shortcoming: the dissemination was not well organized and remained limited. The fact that the Guide was prepared by a civilian team is perhaps a first in Turkey”.²⁵²

Thus, even the editors and locals did not perceive the Kars Guidebook as their projects, and the Guidebook was perceived and described as “Anadolu Kültür’s project”. They neither owned the idea and the product nor took any responsibility for furthering the work there. Any follow up for the Guidebook such as the distribution of the book, preparation of the website and updating the information on the web were also seen as the responsibility of Anadolu Kültür.

Despite its shortcomings, Kars City Guidebook represented a crucial practice of participation in the city from the development to implementation phase. Locals had raised the idea in participatory policy development meetings, made the local government include the idea in the strategic plan of the Kars Municipality, and realized it with a participatory approach. Throughout its preparation, participants benefited from the process in which they shared their creativity, thus enhancing knowledge

²⁵² Meeting on 26 November 2009. Report is available at www.anadolukultur.org.

and mutual understanding. Locals had the chance to use the preparation phases of the Guidebook as a space for coming together to discuss their common interests. It can be argued that the deliberative framework ensured the public interest.

Unfortunately, the Kars City Guidebook proved to be an exception in terms of the level of cooperation and participatory efforts by civil initiatives in city. Participatory practice was not sustained; it waned and eventually stopped when the Mayor changed with the local elections in 2009.²⁵³ This change had a negative impact on the implementation of social and cultural projects in the city and the cooperation of the municipality and civil society initiatives, since most of the projects had been developed in close cooperation with the ex-Mayor. The former Mayor, was in office from March 2004 to March 2009, was interested in social and cultural projects in the city, and he supported all the participatory approaches facilitated by Anadolu Kültür during the preparation of the culture and arts session of the Municipality Strategic Plan. However, apart from his positive contribution to city life, the Mayor was also the primary driving force, resulting in a conundrum. This dependency on the Mayor was also related to the absence of strong and sustainable civil organizations and leaders who can take initiative for the implementation of activities in the city.

²⁵³ Turkey held local elections on 29 March 2009.

Consequently, as a result of the changes in the local government and but mainly and strongly related to the weak capacity of the limited civil initiatives in the city, the participatory projects that were designed and run by the locals as part of the local cultural policy development process since 2009 have been minor projects that aimed at empowering the local initiatives, and have failed to engage the whole city in the way the Guidebook had done. Participatory practices were developed and implemented without any collaboration with the local government, and there was no interest in developing participatory local cultural policy development in the newly elected municipality.

5.2.2 Empowerment Projects

Considering the need for strengthening the capacity of the civil initiatives, the projects developed and implemented in Kars mainly focused on empowering these groups. The purpose was to provide support to the locals by means of ‘learning by doing’, and to encourage collaboration and communication between different institutions in the city through the small-scale project development and implementation. Throughout the process, trainings on project development, implementation and management were also provided and all the small projects that were implemented using a hands-on approach, with the supervision of Anadolu Kültür. Upon the completion of the two workshops, in which the participants developed

their project ideas, steps for the implementation of the four projects that locals proposed were decided together with the participants. The first of these workshops was held on 17-18 January 2009 and the second on 14-15 March 2009 and mainly aimed at building project development and management capacities of the participants. During the workshops, rather than following a didactic method where participants would only listen, they were steered to devise and express their project ideas, develop, implement and follow them from the beginning till the completion. The workshops were also open to public and announced in the city via different methods including emails, telephone calls, and posters.

The projects that were developed and implemented by the participants were: (a) city visits with women, (b) workshops with children, (c) design and marketing strategies workshops for the Women Felt Workshop group (d) updating and re-edition of the Kars City Guidebook.

(a) **City Visits With Women:** The project was implemented by Kars Women Entrepreneurship Association²⁵⁴, which is a newly established association in the city. During the four-month implementation period between May and September 2009, three city tours were organized with an outreach of 105 women in Kars. The project objectives were to provide women the opportunity to interact with the city that they live in; to contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage by raising awareness;

²⁵⁴ For further information about the Kars Women Entrepreneurship Association, <http://kagikader.com/index.html>.

and to increase women's self confidence in the social sphere by facilitating their active participation to the city life. Serap Çağatay from Kars Women Entrepreneurs Association stated that:

“This was a very rich project, which I really enjoyed. How women enjoyed the tours really touched me. Women were able to expand their social circle, make new friends, visit the city without having to be accompanied by men, have lunch at a restaurant together. If I can find the funding I want to expand and continue the program. We all learned new things as we were implementing the project: we were also able to learn from the challenges. For example I learned that I really need to be careful in the team work. This project also helped publicize and promote our association among women of Kars. We gained more knowledge on project management. We discovered how useful it is to collaborate with civil society organizations. For example in the final representation of the project, the atmosphere was great, I felt really comfortable before a crowd, and this really encouraged me. After that, I gave speeches and presentations at various meetings; at least I was able to shake off my fear.”²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Interview with Serap Çağatay, on 26 November 2009. Also available at www.anadolukultur.org.

As a result of these city tours, 105 women had the chance to explore the city through visits to the important historical and cultural places such as Kars Castle, Kars Museum and the ancient city of Ani. The project was implemented in cooperation with the Kars Museum, Kars Municipality and Kars Caucasus University. The guides for the tours were supplied by the Kars Caucasus University, the buses for the city visits by the Municipality, and the Museum provided a free entrance for the visitors from the project.

(b) **Workshops with children:** In the scope of this project, cultural and artistic events targeting children living in Kars were organized each weekend for a period of four months. The project was designed to broaden the horizon of children through participation in art activities and increase the quantity, quality, and diversity of the cultural events for children in Kars, where children's participation in artistic production and available culture and art events remains limited. Project coordinators İsrail Parlak and Buluş Oygur from Kars Association for Culture and Arts²⁵⁶ stated that:

“We were anyway doing theatre with children, this program allowed us to continue this. Book clubs and animated film screenings began with this project. Now we are doing them with our own resources. These activities raised children's

²⁵⁶ For further information about the Association http://karsbebekleri.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=3.

self confidence and boosted their imagination. They began to read better. The families are thanking us.”²⁵⁷

The project was initiated on November 14th, 2009 and during the four-month period drama workshops, reading groups, and film screenings for children were organized each weekend and the project continued until March 2010. Book-reading sessions and film screenings were held on Saturdays with nearly 30 children and drama workshops were held on Sundays with 15 children. At the end of the drama workshops, a play was staged. In order to promote the activities they were announced at all schools in the city. As Parlak and Oygur stated the association was already conducting drama workshops with children, but the project provided them an opportunity for continuation, and also a variety in the activities that they offer to children.

(c) Workshops for Felt Group: Considering the economic and social situation and the lack of handicraft production in Kars, Anadolu Kültür, with collaboration of KAMER which is an women’s association mainly operating in the Eastern cities of Turkey,²⁵⁸ decided to promote local crafts production and thus job and skill building opportunities for women in 2007 in parallel with the local cultural policy work in the city. The main aim was to bring women together and enable them to work and produce

²⁵⁷ Notes from the meeting on 26 November 2009. Also available at www.anadolukultur.org.

²⁵⁸ Founded in 1997, KAMer operates in nearly 23 cities of Turkey. For further information about the organization: www.kamer.org.tr.

together. As a traditional material, ‘felt’ emerged as the main focus of the project.²⁵⁹ With the aim of empowering the women of the Felt Group a number of workshops were organized in Kars. Meanwhile, the participants of the Felt Group, who attended the local cultural policy development meetings, stated their need of workshops addressing their marketing and design skills. According to Selcuk Gurisik, designer and trainer of the felt workshops:

“The project was launched with the aim o increasing women’s participation in the labor force in regions where the local is defeated by the global and facilitating economic independence. Design support was provided to women with the use of the traditional material of Kars, wool. In time, products harmonious with the cultural geography and handcrafting skills of women emerged.”²⁶⁰

The implementers of the project were a group of women from the workshop and with no formal ties to any association in the city, and they mainly came together for the felt workshop with the facilitation of Anadolu Kültür. A venue rented by Anadolu Kültür for the workshop but this venue was not owned and effectively used by the women in the group

²⁵⁹ For further information about the Felt Group initiated in the city, see www.anadolukultur.org.

²⁶⁰ Interview with Selçuk Gürışık, on December 2009. Also available at www.anadolukultur.org.

and hence it closed down upon the completion of the cultural policy projects in 2010.

(d) Re-Edition of the Kars City Guidebook: The Kars Guidebook that was produced in the earlier stages of the cultural policy development in the city was sold out. Thus, a website was designed and launched with updated information revised and expanded by the two of the editors from Kars under the coordination of Anadolu K lt r. Through the dissemination of the book and also announcing the website of the Guidebook, Anadolu K lt r guided the process as there was no particular group or initiative who took responsibility for those activities. Admittedly, no one in the city took the responsibility of publishing the second edition of the book and its distribution either.

All above-mentioned projects that were proposed, developed and implemented by locals with the facilitation of Anadolu K lt r were completed by March 2010.

5.2.3 Parallel Works of Anadolu K lt r in Kars

It is crucial to note the parallel activities and projects developed and implemented by Anadolu K lt r in Kars, with the aim of enriching the cultural and artistic scene of the city and expanding the participatory practices in Kars. It can be argued that together with the focus groups and

meetings, alternative methods were sought for reaching the traditionally excluded groups such women, children and youth in Kars. This was parallel with Young's idea of expanding the definition of deliberation to include storytelling, jokes and other possible ways of emotional expressions.²⁶¹

Obviously, informal discussions were highly valued and everyday conversations, together with other informal ways of communication, were also sought in the city through projects developed and implemented. In addition to focus groups and meetings, any opportunity such as site visits, everyday conversations, cultural and artistic activities and dinners were evaluated as cultivation of participation, and those interactions among differing views and stakeholders were also encouraged. According to Calhoun "democratic public discourse does not depend on pre-existing harmony or similarity among citizens ... but rather on the ability to create meaningful discourses across lines of difference."²⁶² Hence, through the process of participatory local cultural policy development, the argument for "the importance of creating multiple publics rather than one single public that everyone can participate"²⁶³ was respected, and there remained

²⁶¹ Young, I. M. (1996), "Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy", in *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, Benhabib, S. (ed.), Princeton University Press, pp 67-94.

²⁶² Calhoun, C. (1998), "Populist Politics, Communication Media and Large Scale Social Integration", *Sociological Theory*, 6 (3) pp 220. Also see http://www.ssrc.org/calhoun/wp-content/uploads/articles/populist_politics.pdf (accessed on 11. 10.2011).

²⁶³ According to Fraser "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups (women, workers, people of color, gays, lesbians...) invent and circulate counter discourses permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities."

the search for different publics with the aim of encouraging city dwellers' to take part in participatory practices.

One important space for such activities was the Kars Arts Center, which was established in February 2005 as a result of the collaboration between Anadolu Kültür and the Municipality of Kars, the only multifunctional venue in the city.²⁶⁴ Kars Art Centre was established even before the local cultural policy work was initiated in the city. Between 2005 and 2009, with the collaboration of Anadolu Kültür and the Kars Municipality, Kars Art Centre functioned as a cultural communication center that locals came together for different purposes. Activities organized in Kars Art Centre included workshops, exhibitions, plays and music performances. The opening concert of Kars Art Centre brought together for the first time musicians from Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan in a joint performance, attended by 37 countries' ambassadors to Turkey. Kars Art Centre as a art complex that has a multi-purpose hall accommodating 311 persons, an art gallery that has international standards, a dark room for photography works and two workshop halls, hosted lots of activities between 2005 and 2009, including film screenings, plays, concerts. In 2009, after the local elections, as per the decision of the Municipality, Kars

Fraser, N. (1997), *Justus Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the Post-Socialist Conditions*, Routledge, New York, pp 81.

²⁶⁴ For further information about the activities between the mentioned years, www.anadolukultur.org.

Art Centre was transferred to Public Educational Center of Directorate of National Education.²⁶⁵

Together with Kars Art Centre there were also other projects that were developed and implemented by Anadolu Kültür that mainly addressed the empowerment of women, youth and children. Projects such as “The City and the Child”²⁶⁶, “Felt Workshops with Women”, “Ethno-Botany Workshops with Youth”²⁶⁷, “Cinema Clubs in the University”²⁶⁸ were developed and implemented with the participation of locals and highlighting the rich cultural and historical heritage of the city with focus on awareness raising for children and youth. Except Kars Art Centre, which remained to be a cultural center whose activities were mainly decided by the Municipality of Kars and Anadolu Kültür, it can be argued that the small projects implemented in the city were primarily developed according to the priorities of the locals and exemplified supportive projects encouraging participatory practices in Kars and aimed at empowering locals.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵ For further information about the activities of Kars Art Centre, see www.anadolukultur.org.

²⁶⁶ For further information, www.anadolukultur.org.

²⁶⁷ For further information about the association, see <http://www.kuzeydoga.org/>.

²⁶⁸ For further information, www.anadolukultur.org.

²⁶⁹ Kars Arts Centre was the second centre founded by Anadolu Kültür. The first was Diyarbakır Arts Centre, which opened its doors in 2002. The Cultural Centres that Anadolu Kültür runs in Anatolia and the development of the programs in these centres requires a comprehensive analysis including an impact analysis and how the programs are perceived. Meanwhile such comprehensives research is outside the scope of this study.

The aim of the project titled “The City and the Child: We Re-discover Kars!” was to help the new generation of Kars (mainly primary school students) to get to know the city, its history and its cultural heritage by using creative and participatory methods. The children focus in the project was mainly stemmed from the idea that all children are born with their civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights.²⁷⁰ The idea of the project was to organize city tours and site visits to historical places and museums for children in order to introduce them the cultural heritage of their own city and to create curiosity and awareness among the young generation. The program implemented in April-May 2009 reached 600 primary school students.

As such, unlike the Kars City Guidebook, the participants developing and implementing smaller projects had a particular audience and emphasis, rather than trying to capture and address the city as a whole. Women and children, who were identified as the disadvantaged population requiring particular attention during the focus groups, were brought into the agenda and they were visited and asked to raise their priorities and policy recommendations. The words of Berna Karaca, Kars Felt Workshop coordinator, also confirm this focus alongside its reflections:

“I am a housewife and I have been in the felt workshop for three years. We have this workshop thanks to KAMER and

²⁷⁰ The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) is the first human rights treaty to explicitly recognize children’s civil rights.

Anadolu Kùltùr. We received 2-3 trainings each year based on our needs. Now everything is settled, we can really focus on production. This workshop changed all our lives immensely. We have become good friends, we get out of the house, we produce, and we see each other's shortcomings. Normally, women here do not go out after 5 or 6 o'clock; it is a patriarchal city. The approaches of our husbands have also transformed, they really support us now.”²⁷¹

Foundation of a cinema club in the Kars Kafkas University was supported by Anadolu Kùltùr. The cinema club of Kars Kafkas University includes almost 70 students and it is known as one of the strongest and most active student clubs in the university. The club members, under the permission of the Directory of Education, organize film screenings for children in villages of Kars. The club also organizes film screenings for the students at the university regularly. The five workshops were attended by 20 members of the club during the project period. Lastly, in collaboration with Kuzey Nature Association from Kars, which mainly focuses on the ecological heritage of the city, a botany workshop was organized in September 2009.

Upon the completion of most of the projects on November 2009, there was a workshop at Kars Sim-Er Hotel to evaluate the projects that were

²⁷¹ Notes of the meetings on 26 November 2009. Also available at www.anadolukultur.org

developed and implemented by the locals under the local cultural policy development framework. The projects “City Visits with Women”, “Workshops for Children”, “Design and Marketing Workshops for Women” and “The Update of Kars City Guidebook” were evaluated, and the acquired information as well as the next steps was discussed.

5.2.4 Evaluation of Empowerment Projects

It can be argued that throughout the implementation of all these projects, the main aim was to empower the interested people and groups, to encourage participatory practices for the traditionally excluded populations such as women and children, and make them to come, decide and produce together. Thus, especially after the local elections in March 2009, which resulted in a new local government with a municipality and mayor with a different attitude, the small projects implemented were not aiming to have a direct impact on the policies of culture and the planning processes, resulting from disinterest on the mayor’s part, and absence of strong and active civil society.

It is observed that the absence of an active civil life and strong civil society in the city had crucial reflections on the democratic society, and resulted in the lack of a platform for unifying the civic identity. The participants that were interested in the meetings, preparation of the Guidebook and also the small projects were almost the same group of people, and they were far

from being strong actors in the city. Their civic existence Kars was limited and there were no platforms that they come, act, cooperate together. In Kars, there was not only to a weak commitment to the democratic participation of city dwellers in the meetings, development of policy formulation and implementation, but also to the participation of any associations or any civic engagement. Civic life in the city was not active at all; there were just limited number of leading figures that were interested in developing and implementing relatively small activities.

Civic engagement extends democratic participation beyond formal institutions stressing the individual choice. According to Putnam, social networks have a value in a society and the strength of the good democratic society may be measured by the levels of participation in organizations like soccer clubs, cooperatives.²⁷² He argues that though associations might result a self-interested and parochial groupings and underestimate the role of the political institutions, there is the potential to see their educative role and there remains the opportunity to use them as a platform for mobilizing the city dwellers. Also Hirst states that associations act as a vehicle to democratic empowerment of citizens and there is an educative role that they play in a society.²⁷³ Reconsidering these, the work done in Kars aimed at filling this gap, and focused on the capacity development of the city dwellers and cultivating for their participation and interaction.

²⁷² Putnam, R. D. (1994), "What Makes Democracy Work?", *IPA Review*, 47:1, pp 31. Also see Putnam, R. D. (2000), *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, pp 19.

²⁷³ Hirst, P. (1994), "Associational Democracy" in *Prospects for Democracy*, David Held (ed), University of Massachusetts Press, pp 112-135.

Thus, the projects were mainly aiming for empowerment of the existing civil initiatives and actors, and creating outputs that may lead to their recognition in the city.

The politics of empowerment concerns the agency and mobilization dimensions of social and political change, and empowerment can be defined as “the process of awareness and capacity building which increases the participation and decision making power of citizens and may potentially lead to transformative action which will change opportunity structures in an inclusive and equalizing direction.”²⁷⁴ Also in Kars, empowerment is considered as a means by which to include the participation of social groups in decision making at all levels of society. The small projects developed and implemented in Kars aimed at addressing capacity development, mobilization of multiple actor networks, and strengthening the pressure that includes the socioeconomic interests and developing platforms for participatory practices of the traditionally excluded groups such as women and children. The assumption that resulted in this decision was that any local government needs to take into account a powerful and active civil society when formulating plans and policies for a city. As stated earlier, the local government that has been elected in the 2009 had no interest of continuing the participatory policy work in the city, and there were no strong civil initiatives to enforce the

²⁷⁴ Siim, B. And Andersan, J. (2004), “Introduction: The Politics of Inclusion and Empowerment- Gender, Class and Citizenship” in *The Politics of Inclusion and Empowerment: Gender, Class and Citizenship*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp 2-3.

local government to follow the participatory practice that was initiated before.

After the 2009 local elections participants who joined the small projects development and implementation had limited contact with the Municipality, and limited support was delivered from the local government throughout the whole processes of the small project development and implementation. Considering these, locals continued to coordinate the small-scaled projects that they prioritized with the support of Anadolu Kültür. Upon completion of the projects, a meeting was held in April 2010 to share and evaluate the results, and also to determine possible future steps. The meeting was open to public and all interested partners including the governorship, municipality, university as well as civil initiatives, local media were invited to share and discuss the result of the whole process of cultural policy development and participatory practices for the years 2006-2010. It was the first time since 2009 that the Municipality appeared at a local cultural policy meeting organized in the city – a small but important step towards cooperation. Attendance showed that active civil initiatives do capture the attention of the local governments and it is therefore vital to strengthen the capacity of civil initiatives to make the recognition and participation possible.

However, upon the completion of the small projects there remained no change in the civic life in the city of Kars, and only the already existing figures who were doing their small projects continued to work according

to their interests, and participatory practices and projects could not be sustained.

5.3 PARTICIPATION IN POLICY FORMULATIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION: THE CASE OF ÇANAKKALE

The studies in local cultural policy in Çanakkale also began with focus group meetings. Subsequently, two meetings were organized in 2007 in order to share the results of the focus groups research and make it available for discussion. During the meetings the priorities and needs of the city were put forth and discussed with the locals. The main reason of organizing two meetings was the request of the locals for a longer and comprehensive discussion on the findings as well as what we mean with “culture”. Furthermore, the participants also raised their demand to invite academics to discuss the meaning of cultural rights and cultural policy for furthering their understanding on these issues. Hence, together with the discussions on focus group results, also presentations were made on cultural rights and cultural policy during the meetings that were held on 1-2 July 2007 and 23-24 November 2007. The presentation on Cultural Policy and Cultural Rights were delivered by Füsün Üstel while Ferhat Kentel made a presentation on “Sociology of Everyday Life and Cultural Policies”.

Following these meetings, and in view of the existing civic activism and the commitment to participatory local planning and decisiveness of its local administration, workshops were conducted where concrete activities were formulized by the locals in the direction of developing and implementing participatory cultural policies in the city.

5.3.1 Çanakkale 2010

Participants at the first workshop held on 7-8 February 2009 proposed and opened to discussion the idea of Çanakkale 2010, which they felt would allow all the actors involved in guiding the city's artistic and cultural life to work together in a coordinated and cooperative fashion, strengthen communication among the institutions for the implementation of projects and activities which would reach wide segments of the population. The idea of Çanakkale 2010 inspired by the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture²⁷⁵, as stated by the Executive Coordinator of Çanakkale 2010, İsmail Erten:

“We can say that at the outset of this initiative, both conceptually and as a slogan Istanbul 2010 has been

²⁷⁵ Started in 1985, cities for a period of one calendar year during which it organises a series of cultural events with a strong European dimension. The Council of European Union is the only institution that can award the European Capital of Culture and in 2010 Istanbul is selected as the European Capital of Culture together with Essen from Germany and Pecs from Hungary. for further information you can visit: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc413_en.htm

significant and encouraging. This initiative in Istanbul was inspiring and instructive.”²⁷⁶

Meanwhile the participants stated that they would develop their own way of creating a year of culture. Hence, throughout the first workshop, participants agreed Çanakkale 2010 would incorporate themes of tourism, participation, communication, publicity, information, peace, new places and new actors. The decision “we accept the idea of Çanakkale 2010, we all desire to collaborate with each other in the cultural sphere” was unanimously taken by participants.²⁷⁷ During the two-day workshop, participants identified currently existing players in the city, the activities that were organized on a regular basis and the venues where these events were being held.

Below you can find the list of the Main actors in the city of Çanakkale

Table 5: Main Actors in Çanakkale:

MAIN ACTORS	Human Rights Association
Municipality	Civil Initiatives
Provincial Directorate of Culture	Local Agenda 21
University	Custom Workshops
University Student Unions	Media
Governorship	Trade Unions
Enterprises (bars, cinemas,	Government Fine Art Gallery

²⁷⁶ Erten, İ. (2010), “Çanakkale 2010: Coordinator’s Note” in *Çanakkale 2010*, Kutlu, Ü.Z. (ed.) Anadolu Kültür Publications, pp 16.

²⁷⁷ Report of the 1st workshop in Çanakkale is available at www.anadolukultur.org.

bookstores)	Directorate of Protection Agency
Strait Command	Writer's Art House
Trade Chambers and Stock Markets	Korffman Library
Trade Associations	Troy Culture Center
ÇAFAD	Blue Colt (Cultural House of Children)
Çabisak	Çekül Representatives
Çagiad	Theater Groups
Turkish Women Union	Art Galleries
Impaired Associations	Ceramic Workshops
Youth Associations	Ant Art Center
Elder Association in Support of	Provincial Newspaper of Culture
Contemporary Living	
Pir Sultan Abdal Association	
Musicians Association	
Yalıhan Interference	

Upon the completion of the listing the actors in the city, the participants moved to main activities that are held regularly in the city of Çanakkale and listed all of them to have a general overview of the social, cultural and artistic scene of the city throughout a year.

Table 6: Main Activities/Events in Çanakkale:

MAIN ACTIVITIES/EVENTS	
Troy Festival	• Australia New Zealand Armys Corps (ANZAC)
Archeology Meetings	• Several events made by corporations or individuals
Ilyada Readings	• Diction writing courses
Tale Days	• Public Concerts
Spring Festivals	• Municipality Turkish Classical Music- Turkish Volk Music- Volk Dances- theater courses and events
Tenedos Vintage Biennial	• Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University Congress
City Museum Wednesday Events	• Çanakkale Values Symposium
Chorus'	• Tuesday Meetings
Contemporary Life Meetings	• Government Fine Art Gallery Exhibitions
Education and Science Labor Union Meetings	• Society Center Courses
Human Rights Association Events	• Fair
Ayazma Festivals	• 18 March Week

They also discussed the necessary steps for the coordination of a civic initiative on the subject of art and culture in the city to ensure cooperation and create the dynamism to overcome obstacles and difficulties they might encounter in the process, how these obstacles might be overcome, and, if they were successful, what kind of a contribution it would make to the city.

Table 7: Changes that Çanakkale 2010 Can Bring

WHAT CAN 2010 CHANGE IN ÇANAKKALE?

- It can bring in new places. (Cultural Center);
- The usage of indoor and outdoor places may be increased;
- Commercial, social, economical, cultural income;
- Increase accessibility for disadvantaged population (impaired, romans, Kurdish people, students, soldiers);
- Increase the number of cultural/artistic products;
- Increase cultural and social interaction;
- Develop tourism;
- It can help to solve the organization and collaboration problem in the city;
- It can help us to form a common cultural platform
- Increase participation; develops tolerance and respect within the city;
- It can help the city to become a historical, cultural, and artistic and tourism center. It can change the facet of the whole city;
- It can help to access to the financial sources;
- It can increase the support among corporations,
- It can expand the capacity of the artistic and cultural perception;
- It can increase the capital flow to the art and culture and increase the contribution;
- It can develop the city to an attraction center for both international and local actors of art.
- It can contribute to financial, logistics, human resources, communication and international participation.
- It can strengthen the communication and collaboration between Gallipoli and the islands.

As it can easily be followed from the above table, the participants of the meetings clearly listed the possible contributions that such an organization can bring to the city. Their clearness on this explanation can also be linked

with their previous experience of participatory policy development processes in which they gained know-how on how to analyze any proposal and policy that came as a suggestion. Also while discussing the obstacles that they may interference while developing and implementing the idea of 2010, the participants discussed it with the possible solutions rather than just underlining the problems. Below table provides the information from the obstacles and solutions discussion and aims to answer the questions “what re the obstacles of 2010 interference and how can we get over?”

Table 8: Obstacles and Solutions

<u>Obstacles?</u>	<u>How to get over?</u>
Coordination and collaboration problem among the actors/figures. Financial problems. It may be hard to convince the actors. There may be a lack of participation in demonstrations or lackings. Lack of experienced human resources Bureaucratic obstacles. Lack of place and hardware. Prejudice or impatience among different ideas. Egos of individuals or groups. Chauvinism of the city.	A coordination team can be formed. Funds and sponsors can be searched, an incentive support can be demanded from local administrations. Actors/figures can be convinced by solid projects and offers. By using appropriate communication means, there can be some events for the target group so that participation will increase. For the lack of human resources, a consultancy help may be taken. More effort to solve bureaucratic problems. Existing places in the city may be used and also some new attractive spots, places may be modified.

At the end of the second day they elected a steering committee, which they charged with the responsibility to list Çanakkale 2010's possible activities, to inform the establishments and institutions in the city of this work and to prepare a text of convocation. They named this committee as the "Çanakkale 2010 Initiative" and the aim of the Initiative was described as to facilitate coordination and the communication of actors operating in the field of arts and culture, to create cooperation among institutions, associations and individuals, and to encourage a broader participation of the local people in a one-year project.

After many hours of discussion among civil society initiatives in the city, the goal of Çanakkale 2010 was stated as follows: (a) to bring activities that take place in the city together in a single platform; (b) to present these activities more effectively to the city; (c) to discuss the cultural dynamism of the city together with the locals and people from outside the city in order to prepare the participatory local cultural policy of the city.

The second workshop, held on 25-26 April 2009, began with a discussion of the invitation text prepared by the steering committee. The projects to be realized for Çanakkale 2010 were categorized under three headings and responsibilities were redistributed accordingly; the job descriptions for the team of one coordinator, two culture directors, two art directors, two communications directors and one project assistant were drafted. The

vision and the mission of the Çanakkale 2010 were also decided at the meeting:

Vision: Çanakkale 2010 is a civil initiative aiming to realize the coordination and the communication of actors operating in the field of arts and culture, to create cooperation among institutions, associations and persons, and to promote a broader participation of the locals. The city of Çanakkale is known with its pluralism and peace, and also it has a special significance historically and geographically. The vision of Çanakkale 2010 is to protect and share its values and its cultural heritage and to increase participation that will lead to more cultural and artistic production and make Çanakkale a local, national and international center of attraction.

Mission: Çanakkale 2010's aim is to protect, develop and share the historical, cultural and natural values of the city and in 2010, to initiate a major, sustainable cultural movement in the field of arts and culture. In order to realize this goal, providing coordination and project development in cooperation with local, national and international level is planned.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ For further information see www.canakkale2010.org (accessed 01.08.2011). Also see Kutlu, Ü.Z. (2010), *Çanakkale 2010: A Story of A Year*, Anadolu Kültür Publications.

In this second meeting, Çanakkale 2010, with the aim of a year of culture, participants planned to realize activities under three main headings:

12 Month/12 Themes Discussions: 12 themes will be selected out of 40 as priority in light of the civil discussions that were held in the city. In order to define the cultural policy of the city in a participatory way, each month a discussion meeting around the selected theme will be held and a manifesto about the month's theme will be prepared by residents of the city. Manifestoes for each month will be prepared in three steps; (a) collecting the current/existing knowledge; (b) examining and revising the knowledge; (c) disseminating the knowledge.

Arts and Culture Activities: Maximum effort will be made to increase both the quality and the quantity of the activities in the field of arts and culture, as well as to increase participation to these activities through a well planned organization. Besides, to conduct activities in line with the "12 month/12 theme" program, local artists will be asked to exhibit their own projects and performances, and activities will be conducted to increase the dynamism and mobility in the field of art.

Spring Festivals: Traditional seasonal ceremonies, ‘hidirellez’ (celebration of spring), grape harvests, bazaars and fairs, village charity events, etc. that are held in some villages and neighborhoods of Çanakkale have over the years created a space for the residents of the region to meet, mingle, interact and engage in trade and entertainment. Inspired by these events, in order to create a sharing environment for culture and arts and entertainment two spring Festivals will be organized.²⁷⁹

The steps for 12 month/12 theme discussions were also described in detail as they were seen as an important means for activating city dwellers’ participation in decision making mechanisms. Three main steps were determined accordingly:

(a) Collecting the current/existing knowledge: Sub commissions will be established in order to collect the current information about the theme of the month, and structure this information in a preliminary report to form the basis for discussions;

(b) Examining and revisiting the knowledge: In every third week of each month, an open discussion will be held with city dwellers on the basis of the preliminary reports.

²⁷⁹ www.canakkale2010.org (accessed on 01.08.2011). Also see Kutlu, Ü.Z. (2010), *Çanakkale 2010: A Story of A Year*, Anadolu Kültür Publications.

The text will be discussed with the participation of experts related to the subject and revised accordingly. The manifestoes will be prepared in light of these discussions;

(c) **Dissemination of knowledge:** By using all the communication tools and methods available, the knowledge gathered will be disseminated throughout society. The main aim of this communication effort will be to ensure that the chosen theme is perceived as a local cultural value, influencing the identity and culture of the city and changing into a broad communal knowledge. Art will be upheld as the most important element of the process of dissemination and creating consciousness.

After the workshops, the coordinators of Çanakkale 2010 whom are selected by the participants of the workshops began to work in their own specific areas. The culture coordinators finalized the 12 themes for the 12-month/12-theme project based on discussions in the city and the 12 themes are selected among 40. The 12 themes were decided as follows: Kinesis; Communication; City's Identity & Urban Consciousness; Tourism; Ceramics and Art in the City; Agrarian City & Agricultural Economy; Water; Participation and Coexistence; War & Peace; Cultural Heritage; Public Space; Pluralism. Also, commissions were established that consisted of the city's relevant experts for each theme.

The cultural directors composed a list of ongoing activities in the city, meeting with the organizations and institutions involved and determining how they could work in tandem with respect to the activities that would take place on a monthly basis, as well as which persons and institutions could be invited. The directors produced ideas regarding the design of a logo, composition of brochures and communication methods that could be used throughout the year. The Çanakkale 2010 Coordinator was responsible for ensuring the coordinated operation of all the efforts and the sharing of it with all stakeholders.

Çanakkale 2010 project required a lot of work that demanded a great deal of coordination, collaboration and co-production. There is no doubt that the city's long experience in discussions of participatory planning along with applications and experiments like the Action Plan and Local Agenda 21 both supported and contributed greatly to the development of Çanakkale 2010. In Çanakkale 2010, which is a model of participatory planning for many Anatolian cities, the goal of all of the activities and discussions was to ensure that there would be wide-ranging participation.

Upon the completion of the preparations the Çanakkale 2010 Initiative was launched on 9 January 2010 and ended on 31 December 2010. All relevant partners including the Governorship, Municipality, and the University pledged their support for the project. The project with its inclusive structure and objectives was selected as one of the international best

practices by the United Cities and Local Governments²⁸⁰ (UCLG). The project outputs were numerous and impressive but two of them deserve particular mention; 12 manifests written by the city dwellers on the priorities of the city underlining the position and demands of the civil initiatives of Çanakkale, and hundreds of artistic events in different venues of the city reaching as far as the outskirts.

A typical manifest included the definition of the theme of the month and also recommendation relating to the city for the well being of city dwellers. As an example of the manifests, the January manifest that is prepared by the city dwellers is provided below:

“**Kinesis**, which means motion, can also be defined as the sum of social processes that determine the main characteristics and mode of existence of events in the society. Kinesis, with its momentum and variable continuity, is one of the most determinant factors in the city of Çanakkale.

Observations: Culture in human history forms and multiplies through accumulation. History of civilization begins and develops with the settlement of humans and their creation of culture. However, within this vast history of civilization,

²⁸⁰ United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) represents and defends the interests of local governments on the world stage, regardless of the size of the communities they serve. Headquartered in Barcelona, the organization’s stated mission is: to be the united voice and world advocate of democratic local self-government, promoting its values, objectives and interests, through cooperation between local governments, and within the wider international community. For further information, <http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/#>.

humanity is not static. It both transforms itself towards the next advancement and it also moves from one geography to the other. The movements; that is to say kinesis, leads to an abundance, development and affluence of settlements such as cities and urban cultures. As in numerous Anatolian cities, Çanakkale is in motion within its own historical process on the one hand, while also directly engaging with other dynamic cultures through multi way transitions. The city has continued its cultural interaction through outbound and inbound migration in the last century. The city has grown ten fold over the last 60 years. Especially over the last 15 years, the surge of students with the foundation of the university, has not only transformed the demographic structure of the city, but also influenced its culture directly. The most recent data of the Turkish Statistics Institute show that while the rate of migration from rural to urban has decreased, urban to urban migration continues at the same rate. The migration movement in Çanakkale is of similar nature. The migration the city receives from rural areas decreases, while the migration from its own counties and suburbs and other cities increases. The same applies to migration from the city. The reasons for migrating to or from the city are not only based on poverty and economic hardship. Socio-cultural reasons increasingly gain prevalence and significance. The increase

in transportation options in Çanakkale, and the city's sophisticated use of communication tools affect the transformation of city culture. These two opportunities (transportation-communication) also lead to an increase in the number of tourists and visitors, thus contributing to the cultural transformation of Çanakkale which is a transit city. Çanakkale, embodying kinesis in its history and present, has the habit and reflex of building life with a pluralistic, multicultural population with diverse cultures. Many universal concepts of democracy have been founded upon lived experiences in the historical process of this city. Collaborating with the other, building something anew together, enriching-advancing culture are all transmitted to those of us in the present day as local values.

Recommendations: The historical process, the present and the upcoming future show that human movement, migration and short/long term resettlement will continue at an increasing rate. Cities should learn to live with this motion. Considering the motion in its past, Çanakkale is well-equipped for this life. This situation should be transformed into local cultural policies beyond habit and reflex by extensive and widespread awareness rising in all segments and actors of society. The high momentum of kinesis in Çanakkale increases the significance of public spaces where

citizens can interact with each other. Therefore, the public spaces in the city should be designed as spaces where citizens can meet and exchange information enabling the expression of diverse cultures and ideas and the establishment of the city's agenda by the people.”²⁸¹

It can be stated that the 12 manifests prepared together with the cultural and artistic events created an important platform to blossom the participation in decision making and implementation in the city. According to Seyhan Boztepe, the Art director of Çanakkale 2010:

“During 2010, noteworthy events such as concepts, dance performances, theatre, exhibitions, panels, forums and discussion sessions focusing primarily on contemporary art and the 2nd International Çanakkale Biennial including a training program were realized. In these events, considerable effort has been made to make use of alternative spaces, in addition to the customary ones in order to broaden the outreach of events to the entire city. In this process the old Armenian Church, the Old Tobacco Warehouse, Naval Museum Exhibition Hall, abandoned buildings along the

²⁸¹ For the manifests of the 12 months; www.anadolukultur.org. The manifests and the social and the list of the cultural and artistic events of 12 months is also available in the Annex of this study.

Sarıçay riverbank, rental stores, local governance buildings, depots and university facilities have been used.”²⁸²

Thus, a comprehensive perspective especially for using different venues in the city was specifically paid attention as a method for increasing the number of people reached and participation of city dwellers to activities.

5.3.2 Is Participation Possible?

But how was it possible to develop and implement policy formulations with such cooperation and participation in the city? First of all, it is vital to underline the socio-economic conditions of Çanakkale. As mentioned previously, there is a dramatic difference in the socio-economic conditions between the two cities under consideration. The poverty rate is quite low compared to the national average in Çanakkale and there was no specific emphasis on the social and economic difficulties neither in the focus groups nor in the meetings and discussions held in the city. It can easily be stated that the existence of an active civil life, strong civil initiatives and also previous participatory practices were quite crucial factors, and they constituted the foundation for the development and implementation of policy discussions and formulations, participation in decision making, as well as participatory practices.

²⁸² Kutlu, Ü. Z. (2011) *A Story of a Year*, Anadolu Kültür Publications, Istanbul, pp 19.

Throughout the processes of participatory local cultural policy development, deliberative frameworks were used in Çanakkale. The emphasis on consensus through discussion was the choice of the participants, and it was stated that they rather prefer to come to a unanimous agreement before they take further steps and initiate any implementation or action. Furthermore, besides the meetings and workshops facilitated by Anadolu Kültür, the locals continued to gather and continue discussion if they believed any arguments required further elaboration and negotiation among themselves. Hence, unlike Kars, there was no particular need of a facilitator or a push to organize meetings in the cities related to the projects and/or processes.

As noted previously, free and open discussion among equal citizens and rational consensus are crucial components of deliberative understanding and it is argued that these processes enhance city dwellers' participation in policy decisions. The focus on consensus; being open to public participation; and widespread announcement and invitations for the meetings formed the institutional framework and settings for a deliberative understanding in Çanakkale. For Habermas, "discourse theory has the success of deliberative politics depend not on a collectively acting citizenry but on the institutionalization of the corresponding procedures and conditions of communication."²⁸³ Accordingly, besides the legal obligations that came together with the changes in the Municipal Laws, the

²⁸³ Benhabib, S. (1996), *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, Benhabib, S. (ed.) Princeton University Press, pp 27.

existence of a tradition of participation and deliberation in the city were quite important institutional frameworks for the participation of the city dwellers in decision making, policy formulations and implementation.

However, what is equally important is to raise the question of who was participating in these publicly open meetings, workshops, discussions, policy formulation and implementation processes and further explore the exclusion and inclusion dynamics in the city. In other words, who were the 'equal citizens' that were activating the institutional framework of deliberation needs further elaboration for a better understanding of the participation practices in the city of Çanakkale, given deliberative democracy has the potential forestalling the processing deep difference, and the pursuit of consensus may mask and serve to reinforce power.²⁸⁴

Admittedly, as the locals in the focus group meetings stated, youth and especially Roma were the blatantly missing groups in all of these discussions, meetings, and workshops. Although the civil initiatives were well organized and sufficiently active to influence decision making processes, participants of the meetings and activities were mainly the same group of people and broadening participation, especially to include the Roma population, remained problematic. There was reluctance on the part of the organizers to include members of the Roma population, and the Roma population in the city was itself reluctant to take part. Incidentally,

²⁸⁴ Dryzek, S.J. (2005), "Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies: Alternatives to Agonism and Analgesia", *Political Theory*, vol 3 (2), pp 220.

in the discussion and projects developed with the aim of inclusion, the projects were mostly kept the Roma population in its conventionally marginalized place, limiting their cultural and artistic participation to music and dance as separate projects. In this sense, despite the discourse of inclusion, except a few, most of the participants were referring to a stereotype while thinking of participatory practices involving the Roma. In actual practice, throughout the year 2010, the participation of Roma in the discussions and meetings remained limited, and extensive participation of Roma population was only possible in the street festival organized in June 2010, where they performed dance and music events of the Çanakkale 2010 project. An event around Roma issues was organized to discuss the urban transformation in Sulukule, Istanbul, which captured the attention of the Roma in Çanakkale but these two events, the discussion on Sulukule and the street festival, marked the extent of their participation. The Roma population refused to take part in the discussions, focus groups and meetings and the others did not insist.

For Çanakkale, the question was how inclusive was the participatory cultural policy development process, and the aim was to attract new participants to the activities and discussions and to underline the specific attention required to encourage the participation of youth and the Roma community. To this end different approaches were adopted and it is crucial to note that all meetings, workshops and discussions were open to public and announced with using different means such as local newspapers and posters. Particular attention was paid to the use of local and national

newspapers for publicizing activities. The discussions/panels and activities regularly appeared on local television channels to disseminate them to the wider public, which also opened the way for further participation of city dwellers. Different venues, mediums and areas of the city were used both for announcing and realizing the events.

Secondly, similar with Kars, also in Çanakkale, informal discussions were highly valued, and everyday conversations and meetings were also sought together with the other informal ways of communication. In addition to focus groups and meetings, any opportunity such as site visits, everyday conversations, cultural and artistic activities and dinners were evaluated as cultivation of participation, and those interactions among differing views and stakeholders were encouraged. Rather than taking consensus that results from rationality in the meetings as the main method and aim, being and working together and recognition of different groups in the same locality was underscored and valued, as these were expected to bring meaningful benefits for the city dwellers.²⁸⁵ Yalıhan, where youth and also leading figures of the city hang out, and the Roma neighborhood Fevzipaşa were visited frequently for furthering the communication and discussion on the city and their priorities and needs. While Yalıhan visits provided the opportunity to reach youngsters in the city, visits to the Roma

²⁸⁵ This was also in line with the arguments of deliberative theorists like Habermas, and Benhabib, as well as Arendt, who underline the importance of interaction with others of differing views: Habermas, J. (1989), *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, MIT Press; Arendt, H. (1968), *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, New York, Viking Press; Benhabib, S. (1992), *Situating the Self*, New York, Routledge.

neighborhood created a chance of contact for a better understanding of perceptions on each other. It was through these visits two Roma participants started to regularly attend the meetings. Equally important, as events started to become regular, and better known, the initiative group – comprised of the ‘usual suspects’ behind all the events in the city – was insufficient to deal with the organization. Thus, young people began to take part in organizational and programming aspects of the activities to fulfill this need and there occurred a delegation of the responsibilities.

The executive team of the Çanakkale 2010 project also developed and implemented different approaches in response to the challenges in terms of limited participation of children. Within this framework, invitations were sent to the community centers and primary schools in the disadvantaged areas of Çanakkale. The Çanakkale 2010 Initiative made visits to these places for this purpose, rather than waiting for the active participation of the different stakeholders, hence they took a proactive role for increasing the participation.

Consequently, Çanakkale 2010 Initiative tried to find ways to encourage the contribution and participation of more participants in the activities and discussions that were taking place. They believed that having an inclusive discussion for deciding how to deal with the limited participation of the city dwellers was important and followed a communicative perspective. However, at this point it is vitally important to state that opening a door for a particular group and attracting their attention does not guarantee a long-

lasting or regular involvement. For the activities of Çanakkale 2010, the limited participation of youth and limited engagement of the Roma population had been secured, and the situation provided fertile ground for furthering the participatory local cultural policy development and implementation. But the question of sustainability and also the inclusion of Roma remain to be seen.

5.4 AN EVALUATION OF THE ACTUAL PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATION IN ÇANAKKALE AND KARS

This chapter attempted to provide information about the two cases under consideration and depict the picture of the steps that had been taken under the framework of local cultural policy development in Çanakkale and Kars. It is hard to summarize the efforts, observations, discussions, changes, challenges and all positive and negative impressions and results that were accumulated in nearly four years of experience in the two cities. Therefore, rather than making concluding statements, it is more appropriate to identify the challenges and the obstacles for establishing participation as a regular mechanism of public decision making as has been observed in the field.

A basic summary of the work done in the two cities with the pros and cons and challenges can be outlined as follows:

Table: Comparison of Çanakkale and Kars

	ÇANAKKALE	KARS
POLICY FORMULATIONS AND PROJECTS DESIGNED By LOCALS	ÇANAKKALE 2010	Kars City Guidebook Capacity Development Projects City Visits With Women Workshops for Children Women's Felt Workshop

PROs	Relatively good social and economic conditions Participatory planning practice The existence of strong civil society The practice of cooperation between the Governorship, University, Municipality and NGOs The Municipality's positive attitude regarding contributions in-kind (accommodation) for exhibitions and events arranged in the city	• The experience of participatory local cultural policy development in 2006
CONs	Participation of youth in the planning activities is limited Roma population is excluded from large-scale or high budget Despite the existence of culture and arts activities, these events are very poorly publicized	Social and economic difficulties and high poverty rate The civic initiatives in the city are very low profile and there are no strong civil initiatives in the city The local election resulted in a change in the Municipality, which now has no interest in the issue of participation in culture or cultural rights
CHALLENGES	Inclusion of youth and Roma population Sustainable strategy	Low profile civil initiatives and a Municipality that does not have an agenda of participation, culture and cultural rights

It can be argued that in Kars, the challenge was the lack of strong civil society initiatives that had the knowledge and capacity to influence decision making processes, and the dependency of participatory policy development practices on the solely the commitment of the Mayor. The weak civil society in the city acted as a counter force for the creation of a sense of community and civil spirit. Civil initiatives showed limited interest in participation in decision making mechanisms and participatory policy development was not the in the agenda of the local government, especially after the local elections in 2009. The initiative of participatory policy development that was introduced by the Mayor in 2006 came to end in 2009, and the civil initiatives in the city were not powerful enough to insist on continuation of these processes. It is observed that though local governments are formally obliged to prepare participatory local policies, participatory policy development is limited both by the intention of the local governments and the lack of strong civil society organizations. This was mainly the result of the social and economic conditions in the city. Admittedly, betterment of the hard economic and social conditions is stated as the first priority in the city both by the civil groups and local governments, and both participatory policy development and cultural and artistic issues are seen as secondary topics in the city of Kars, where participation and participatory practices were far from capturing the attention of the locals.

As participants in the Kars were new to politics and participation, the process involved a developmental ideal in that participation and political

learning was built into the process, and a hands-on approach was followed. Furthermore, Anadolu Kültür acted as the moderator and facilitator throughout the discussions and participants were informed that they will be provided expertise on project development, management and implementation. Thus, empowerment was the main idea alongside the aim of increasing the city dwellers participation in decisions that shapes their everyday life. Equally important specific attention was given to the traditionally excluded groups such as women and children in the city as expanding participation means extending political influence to those who have been traditionally excluded from politics. Different than Çanakkale, in Kars, Anadolu Kültür also established a cultural center and provided support for cultural activities and projects parallel to the local cultural policy development practices in the city. While this comprehensive involvement of Anadolu Kültür in Kars requires further analysis, it is quite obvious that all the empowerment efforts did not blossom in the city as expected and the participatory practices and activities remained dependent to an outsider organization's facilitation and drive.

On the other hand in Çanakkale, where we can talk about accumulated experience, capacity and willingness of both the civil society and the local government to develop participatory policies regarding the city, the problem was the inclusion of youth and the disadvantaged populations, specifically the Roma. Thus, the case of Çanakkale illustrated that in cases of the existence of civil initiatives that are sufficiently active to influence decision making processes, participation is still usually limited to a regular

few, which means that participants and commentators in policy-making processes are usually the same people who are active in most of city events. This was also the same for the case of Kars. Far more attention needs to be devoted to actively encouraging the participation on the part of diverse communities, especially disadvantaged groups like migrants, minorities, youth and women in decision making processes, so that this becomes a everyday reality rather than pure wishful thinking. Therefore in Çanakkale, city dwellers were reached through cultural and artistic activities and discussions, which targeted previously excluded and ignored populations such as Roma and youth. Activities and approaches were discussed, evaluated and implemented by the locals and facilitation from outside was not required. Accordingly, in Çanakkale the agenda of expanding participation in decision making involved resisting the existing structure and status quo to some extent.²⁸⁶

For both Çanakkale and Kars one could safely affirm that though the formal right of access to participation and institutional frameworks are vitally important, these are obviously not enough to ensure full access and active participation. Proactive participation is dependent on different factors such as socio-economic conditions, age, gender, community networks and even language. It is clear that for disadvantaged groups the issue of participation requires particular attention, support, and guidance in any locality; as for any individual and/or group, access to any right

²⁸⁶ Harvey, D. (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, New York.

presupposes knowledge of rights. As Young states, democratic discussions and decision making processes ought to take special measures to assure that the voices of all social segments.²⁸⁷ Therefore, in every locality there is a need for innovative, diverse approaches and practicalities for empowering larger group of city dwellers about their rights to shape the city that they live in and have a say in all relevant decisions.

Consequently, the dramatic socio-economic differences between Kars and Çanakkale can be underlined as the main reason and grounds for the different perception and actualization of participation in decision making mechanisms and participatory practices. Meanwhile, a detailed socioeconomic analysis of the problems and challenges faced in the cities of Kars and Çanakkale is beyond the scope of this study. Rather, this study focuses on solutions and opportunities for developing and advocating alternative ways of participatory practices, with the working assumption that participatory practices and reclaiming democracy build a path and open a space for propitious democratic urban futures and resistance.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Young, I. M. (2004), "Situated Knowledge and Democratic Discussions" in *The Politics of Inclusion and Empowerment*, Palgrave, Macmillan, pp 20.

²⁸⁸ Purcell, M. (2008), *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalism and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, New York, pp 34.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

“The argument of democratization requires not instituting elections or associations, or a new way of talking, but rather it requires a full-blown transformation of society.”

*Mark Purcell*²⁸⁹

In the last couple of months, tens of thousands occupying the streets of the world from Tahrir Square to Times Square re-contemplate the importance of the concepts of the city, participation, grassroots movements and the right to the city more than ever. Inspired by the occupation of Tahrir Square in Cairo, Occupy Wall Street movements expanded all around the world and people in hundreds of cities worldwide are occupying public spaces, demanding change from governments and corporations. With the words of one of the participants of the Occupy Wall Street movement

²⁸⁹ *ibid*, pp57.

“people are waking up and realizing that they can’t just go the ballot box, they are building a movement to make their leaders listen.”²⁹⁰

The demands of these movements are mainly focusing on social and economic inequality and the motto of “we are 99%” particularly accentuates the difference in wealth and income. No doubt the reason and driving force of this movement and its reflections all around world require a comprehensive economic and socio-political analysis of the capitalist system and its crises, but the participation of people from different backgrounds in these movements and the gender, age and ethnic composition of the protesters make us consider the new meanings of participation, grassroots democracy and also the potential changes that they can instigate in our times. People are on the streets, occupying the public spaces and the Occupy movement is defined as direct democracy by its initiators.²⁹¹ Even though it is too early to evaluate the movement and reach a conclusion in terms of its experience of direct democracy and its impact, there is no doubt that with the help of these movements we better evaluate and think about the theories, discussions and practical experiences of democracy and our understanding of participation and participatory practices.

It is obvious that the experiences in Çanakkale and Kars are far from being movements that directly claim the right to the city. But in line with the

²⁹⁰ <http://occupywallst.org/article/tahrir-square-times-square-protests-erupt-over-150/>.

²⁹¹ <http://www.ibtimes.com/articles/237339/20111025/occupy-wall-street-occupy-wall-street-structure-occupy-wall-street-general-assembly-occupy-wall-stre.htm?cid=2As>

findings and assessments these case, some principal suggestions in regard to democratizing cities in Turkey and the right to the city can be made for claiming democracy and demanding a change for our cities and for our lives. The following parts aim to discuss this suggestions under three main headings: (a) participation in decision making: challenging the scope; (b) limits of deliberation: exclusion and inclusion dynamics; (c) democratizing cities: the right to the city.

6.1 PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING: CHALLENGING THE SCOPE

As Purcell states, liberal democratic citizen participation particularly empowers citizen's participation in state affairs.²⁹² Also the practical experience that stems from the fieldwork shows that participation in policy making is confined to policy paper preparation processes of the local governments, there are no evaluation or monitoring mechanisms for participation in local policy making practices, and the participation of city dwellers in the implementation of local policies is not even taken into consideration. Admittedly, there are no measures to further the participatory practices in the cities and participation in decision making is limited with the policy decisions, policy plans in the case of existence. In

²⁹² Purcell, M. (2003), "Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol.27.3, pp 577.

consequence, the term participation in local policy making refers to small ‘cosmetic changes’ in the policy planning process in general and the practice is far from being a grassroots democracy.

However, throughout processes in both cities, participation in decision making is not perceived only as participation in policy preparation and decisions related to the development and implementation of the policies in the city. Even though the efforts in both Kars and Çanakkale were catalyzed by the opportunity provided by the new legal framework to encourage city dwellers and local initiatives for participatory policy development, the participatory practices did not come to an end upon the completion of the paper work by the local governments. Rather a wide range of activities was used as tools through which locals found and claimed their voice in both Kars and Çanakkale with the aim of expanding the options and fields that pertain to decision making. This comprehensive approach to decision making relied on Lefebvre’s path breaking concept the right to the city. Accordingly, rather than solely limiting decision making with the decisions around state affairs, it is argued that every city dweller has the basic right to shape their environment as to take part in the decisions affect their everyday life.²⁹³ Thus, the very idea of the right to the city reframes the arena of decision making, and brings the use and production of urban space and everyday life issues into the decision making debates. This comprehensive approach is also parallel with

²⁹³ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “Right to the City”, English translation of 1968 text in Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. (eds and translators) *Writings on Cities*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

theories of deliberative democracy that argue communicative rationality should be extended to as many decision making areas as possible.²⁹⁴ Furthermore, participatory democracy captures the issue of participation as a central issue in all aspects of daily life, and stresses the importance of democratizing all manners of institutions ranging from the economy to the family and to civil society.²⁹⁵ Therefore, areas that were subject to participation in decision making are considered to encompass all aspects of daily life in the cities, beyond only policy planning processes.

As a final point, it is crucial to underline the practical fact that participatory practices take time and they are slow. The limited time; six months, that is allocated to municipalities to develop their plans by the Municipality Law is not enough for comprehensive participatory work as the short timeframe requires steps towards planning to be taken quickly. The obligation of local governments to prepare their plans within the six months after the local elections is considered as a ground for taking the first steps towards participatory policy development and implementation, but not as the only base for participatory practices. The comprehensive perception of participation in decision making that goes beyond state decisions also provided an opportunity to overcome the barriers of time and methodology in this case. In both cities, besides the planning that was initiated by local governments, policy formulations, project development

²⁹⁴ Gutmann, A. & Thompson, D. (2004), *Why Deliberative Democracy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton pp 34. Also see Dryzek, J. (2000), *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

²⁹⁵ Cunningham, F. (2001), *Theories of Democracy*, Routledge, New York.

and implementation, and cultural and artistic events are considered as grounds for increasing the participatory practices with the aim of increasing their active involvement for shaping and acting in and for their cities. This approach both challenged the general idea of participatory decision making that is limited with the planning process and provided an opportunity to increase the attention and participation of different groups and people in the decision making and implementation processes. As a very last point the fact that a high level of participation in decision making processes does not necessarily bring the participation of systematically excluded ones in and guarantee decisions that are appropriate for the representation of the interests of different groups and stakeholders in the decisions and policies taken. Hence it is vitally important to discuss the limits of deliberation together with exclusion and inclusion dynamics while analysing participation in decision making in local policy making and implementation.

6.2 LIMITS OF DELIBERATION: EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION DYNAMICS

Despite the changes in local administration regulations introducing the basic framework for participatory and accountable government, in practice there is a prevailing lack of in-depth knowledge and understanding of the

meaning of participation and how participatory processes can function in the Turkish Republic. Hence, there occurs the need to develop innovative and inclusive methods for increasing the participation of city dwellers in the decision making mechanisms.

Throughout this work, an essentialist perception and conceptualization of democracy is rejected, and it is acknowledged that each tradition of democracy features much internal debate which can provide fertile ground for a better understanding of the actual situation and developing diverse methodologies to increase city dwellers' participation in decision making mechanisms. Accordingly, depending on the characteristics of the localities and challenges faced, solutions and strategies were diverse and suggestive, rather than rigid. With reviewing the rich heritage of democratic thought, the discussions and theories of democracy were very much considered while advocating for alternative ways throughout participatory local cultural policy development in both of the pilot cities.

Diverse approaches were used in both localities, and deliberative measures and different communication styles were not taken as mutually exclusive methods. Besides the deliberative frameworks such as focus groups, publicly open meetings and discussions, many communication tools such as concerts, exhibitions, drama works, city visits were also respected and used. Cultural activities and discussions were strongly considered and regarded as means for reaching city dwellers, motivating them and capturing their attention and also for bringing stakeholders together for

advocating participatory practices. Eventually, the local cultural policy development practices in both localities achieved creating mixture of deliberative democracy and participatory democracy in accordance with the passion and agonistic nature of democracy in mind. The main reason of this mixture of the methodologies was strongly related to the recognition of the limits of deliberation and the impossibility of creating settings for an ideal communication environment that was mentioned as the prerequisite of communicative rationality by Habermas.²⁹⁶

Accordingly, deliberative democracy underlines that “processes of collective deliberation conducted rationally and fairly among free and equal individuals.”²⁹⁷ In the deliberative ideal, participants should have equal power. However, power and conflict are unavoidably present in all polities, exclusion and inclusion dynamics are inevitable, and they are constitutive of social relations. So there is no possibility of creating power-free platforms. As Laclau and Mouffe state, liberation from power is illusory, and power is not the property of state institutions or classes, it exists in all forms of social relations.²⁹⁸ Thus, rather than trying to create a platform with participants having equal power, which is impossible to achieve, it is vital to acknowledge and critically examine the processes and

²⁹⁶ Habermas, J. (1984), *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Boston, Beacon Press.

²⁹⁷ Benhabib, S. (1994), Deliberative Rationality and Models of Democratic Legitimacy”, *Constellations* 1, (1), pp 24.

²⁹⁸ Smith, M.A. (1998), *Laclau and Mouffe: The Radical Democratic Imaginary*, Routledge, pp 10.

identify the systematically included and excluded ones in the decision making structure.

Admittedly, forms of participation are about power, and participation in decision making is about power relations. Deliberation also relies on the argument that proper aim of democratic decision making is to achieve unity, consensus and/or the common good. Consensus is impossible to achieve, and once achieved, this unity clearly signifies unity among one interest group and exclusion of the others. Every decision will silence some and exclusion is all too often not random but systematic.²⁹⁹

According to Mouffe, “instead of trying to erase the traces of power and exclusion democratic politics requires that we bring them to the fore to make them visible so that they can enter the terrain of contestation.”³⁰⁰

Hence, while considering the issue of participation in decision making mechanisms, rather than focusing on building a consensus, the main theme should be developing and enabling a better understanding of power relations and the extension of democracy into more and more areas of the social. Therefore, the issue that we should focus on is how to constitute forms of power compatible with democratic values that recognize the other’s right to exist, rather than trying to eliminate power or mask it with only aiming for agreement.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Purcell, M. (2008), *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalisation and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, New York, pp 71.

³⁰⁰ Mouffe, C. (2000), *The Democratic Paradox*, London, Verso, pp 34.

³⁰¹ Purcell, M. (2008), *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalisation and Alternative Urban Futures*, Routledge, New York, pp 66.

Following agonistic theories, both in Kars and Çanakkale, it is believed that recognition of economic and cultural forms of oppression is crucial while analyzing the practice of participation. With reference to the observations from the field, it can safely be stated that strengthening the legal and policy frameworks is vitally important for participatory policy making processes, but these do not guarantee active participation and implementation of the legally provided rights. In the actual practice, those who did not traditionally participate in decision making because they are poor, uneducated and/or women, were neglected from the focus groups and meetings. Even though there was special attention devoted to traditionally excluded populations in both cities, their participation in deliberative processes remained limited. It is believed that the preferred openness and richness in the methodology may lead to an opportunity of reaching different groups and people in the cities and engage them in the participatory practices.

Besides material inequalities, proactive participation in both of the localities was also dependent on different factors such as age, ethnicity, gender, and community networks. Roma and youth were particularly mentioned as the traditionally and systematically excluded population in Çanakkale, while especially the participation of women remained limited in all the activities and meetings in Kars. Furthermore, participation in the general sense of the concept was not agenda of the city dwellers in Kars; the main theme and the critical issue was the harsh economic conditions and cultural activities and participation were regarded as secondary issues

throughout the whole process. Equally important, the ethnic tension between the Kurdish and Turkish population in the city beyond the scope of the participants' attention throughout the participatory policy development and implementation. It was never raised as a discussion point in any of the meetings or activities by locals.

In contrast, in Çanakkale specific attention was paid to the traditionally excluded groups. Inclusion of youth was particularly focused on the agenda and achieved to a large extent. This attention is explained with the demand to share the experience and know-how with the next generations. However, the inclusion of youth groups was only possible after the Çanakkale 2010 activities started. The inclusion of youth was smooth, as the richness and great number of activities organized required lots of people in the organizational and daily work. On the other hand, inclusion of Roma was not achieved and could only be ensured in certain specific events, rather than the whole processes. One crucial issue that requires particular attention in Çanakkale was the special attention given to reach children and also the participation of people in the poorer areas of the city. Different techniques were used and activities were organized in different venues and parts of the city with the aim of activating the participation of the city dwellers.

Another issue that has to be raised is that in cases where influential civil initiatives with the power to influence decision making processes do exist, usually participation is limited to the “usual suspects”. This implies that

those participating in decision making processes, those having a say on these processes, and people active in events organized in the city are the same group of individuals. Consequently, there is limited citizen participation in policy making processes and problems in terms of sustainability. Along the same line, ensuring participation at only a certain stage; for instance during the planning phase, does not guarantee that participation will be sustained throughout the process. The participatory approach requires employing a variety of methods and being creative in order to involve inhabitants in all processes.

As a last point, it is important to evaluate the focus on consensus throughout the discussions, workshops and focus groups in Çanakkale. For the basics such as the vision and mission, participants searched for consensus and decisions were taken upon agreement among the participants. However, while discussing the activities, the diverging interests became obvious among the participants, and groups advocated for their own interests. This was crucial as it is parallel to the very idea of the right to the city that is comprised of demands for different rights and provides the space for different struggles within. Recognition of the specificity of the demands created the way for the formation of different movements under the general mission. There were different groups that organized according to their target groups or their areas of interest such as youth, children, and contemporary art, who ran their own plan under the same mission but with different activities.

As such, in addition to the technique used, who participates and who is excluded in the participatory practices developed and implemented in the cities always needs to be in the agenda. Challenging the emphasis on consensus makes us reconsider the interests of the particular groups and contemplate how to include the populations that are excluded from policy decisions and participatory practices. Inclusiveness can never be total and being concerned and attentive to excluded ones and initiating techniques for their inclusion and representation in the decision making mechanisms is vitally important for democratizing the cities.

6.3 DEMOCRATIZING CITIES: THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

The right to the city is not a part of the human rights regime, but rather an approach for urban opportunity as it poses an exciting and direct challenge to the nature of citizenship, and places the city at the primary level of decision making where the social value of urban space weighs equally with its monetary value.³⁰² From an ethical standpoint, the right to the city adopts a rights language to describe the participation of citizens in the oeuvre of their city. It is an adaption of all rights to everyday life, and takes democracy and the discourse on rights as an open and evolving framework. Accordingly, participation in decision making needs to be

³⁰² Purcell, M. (2002), "Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *GeoJournal* 58, pp 99-108. Also see Brown, A. & Kristiansen, A. (2009), *Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, Most2 Urban Policy Series.

considered both as the basic human rights of the peoples to shape their localities, and as an “opportunity for creating a civic space.”³⁰³

Participation in decision making processes and the right to exist, act and transform within a city remains one of the basic characteristics of the right to the city, no matter which particular rights in the city we are claiming in the first place. The right to the city with its all encompassing character provides social and political outcomes and has the potential to bring new struggles into the agenda of the human rights discourse and challenge the existing individual -based rights definitions.³⁰⁴ The concept of the right to the city brings collective rights to the agenda, and reminds us of the importance of social movements for the realization of a just and habitable world. It brings the hope for creating a dialogue and interaction among the different actors, groups, peoples in the city and perceives decision making as a “dynamic process and conquest in which social movements are the engine driving the achievement of this right.”³⁰⁵ In the footsteps of this idea, in both cities the first steps were addressing the culture and art scenes of the cities, and a wide range of activities from concerts to discussions, drama workshops to city visits and exhibitions to street festivals were

³⁰³ Lefebvre, H. (1996), “Right to the City”, English translation of 1968 text in Kofman, E. and Lebas, E. (eds. and translators), *Writings on Cities*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

³⁰⁴ Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985), *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London, Verso, pp 176. Also see Lefort, C. (1986), *The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy and Totalitarianism*, J. Thompson (eds.) MA, Polity Press.

³⁰⁵ Mathievet, C. (2010), “The Right to the City: Keys to Understanding the Proposal for ‘Another City is Possible’” in *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet (eds.), Habitat International Coalition Publications, pp 22.

designed and implemented as means for including the traditionally excluded populations to participatory practices.

However, participation in decision making in actual practice is not tackled with a comprehensive right-based approach as the right of every city dweller. The experience that stems from the field shows that for all the partners/actors' participation, participation is far from being understood as a fundamental right. Therefore, the importance of promoting participation with a holistic approach to human rights continues to be a theoretical discussion, though divorced from actual experience in the field. Indeed, culture and particularly the right to take part and play an active role in cultural life has been neglected in all the discussions up to date, and both civil society and local governments are far from understanding the potential role of culture and its contribution to social inclusion. Even in the case of Çanakkale, where we can talk about the existence of strong civil initiatives and movements, there is limited knowledge of cultural and participatory rights and the discussion is not conducted with a right-based approach. Participation is not perceived as one of the basic rights and neither the civil initiatives nor the local governments brought the issue of rights into the discussion.

In Kars none of the activities throughout the process had the potential of creating such dynamic process for collective movement, but in Çanakkale, the project Çanakkale 2010 created a platform for a call for establishing ways that different movements can work together and the exercising of a

collective power to reshape the process of urbanization. Meanwhile, in Çanakkale the conflict among different interest groups and traditionally excluded populations was recognized and it can be argued that there was the search for activating the right to the city through the discussion and activities, even though “the right to the city” was not spelled out. Although there was no specific focus on rights in general and the right to the city in particular, the activities that were designed and implemented under Çanakkale 2010 had the intention to capture the city as a whole, which created a basis for bringing different advocates together and a commitment and motivation among the participants to change their lives. With the recognition of the youth and Roma there occurred the possibility of the inclusion of the excluded ones and also the potential for change. Nevertheless, the democratic discourse on human rights and its potential to stimulate different forms of emancipatory struggles as argued by Laclau and Mouffe was not brought to the agenda in either of the cities under consideration.

Consequently, this study aimed to explore different practices for a better understanding of the limits, obstacles, challenges and opportunities for the actualization of participation in decision making and the right to the city in Turkey through cases of cultural policy making in two Anatolian cities, Çanakkale and Kars. Thus, aimed at bringing the academic discussions with the practical experience in the field. Evidently, efforts undertaken in Anatolian cities are not limited to the case studies explored in this study. Numerous projects and programs have been implemented throughout

Anatolia in recent years and certainly a lot of cities have experienced different practices than those cited in this study. Along the same line, it will be enlightening to bear in mind that there is no single right way for participatory practices. There is a possibility to interpret the right to the city in numerous ways employing legal, social and cultural tools or any combination thereof. The assessment of the given case studies with their achievements and shortcomings and a consideration of diverse experiences may contribute to propagating best practices.

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APPENDIX

ÇANAKKALE 2010 MANFESTOES AND ACTIVITIES

JANUARY 2010

Kinesis

Recommendations:

- The historical process, the present and the upcoming future show that human movement, migration and short/long term resettlement will continue at an increasing rate. Cities should learn to live with this motion.
- Considering the motion in its past, Çanakkale is well-equipped for this life. This situation should be transformed into local cultural policies beyond habit and reflex by extensive and widespread awareness rising in all segments and actors of society.
- The high momentum of kinesis in Çanakkale increases the significance of public spaces where citizens can interact with each other. Therefore, the public spaces in the city should be designed as spaces where citizens can meet and exchange information enabling the expression of diverse cultures and ideas and the establishment of the city's agenda by the people.

ART AND CULTURE ACTIVITIES

9 January 2010 Panel

“Çanakkale 2010 Art and Culture Year Launch”

In the conference organized to launch Çanakkale 2010 Initiative activities throughout the year and draw public attention to these events,

representatives from local governance institutions, artists, academicians and city residents came together at the old Armenian Church restored as the experimental stage of the Fine Arts Faculty Department of Theater and Acting. Following the opening speeches by Çanakkale Deputy Governor Ali Partal, Çanakkale Mayor Ülgür Gökhan and Çanakkale University Fine Arts Faculty Dean Prof. Osman Demircan on “Çanakkale 2010”, the conference proceeded with two panel sessions.

23 January 2010 Panel+Forum

“Kinesis”

The panel and discussion forum on “kinesis” that was originally scheduled for January, but had to be postponed to March 13 2010 due to bad weather conditions, started out with a presentation by Prof. Murat Güvenç, where he explored migration as one of the fundamental elements of kinesis. The panel continued with speeches by Cumhur Aslan and Devrim Uysal on the site-specific kinesis-culture relationship in Çanakkale and concluded with a forum discussion during which the audience shared their questions, comments and suggestions.

8-27 January 2010 -Exhibition

“Açık Şehir Çanakkale/Open City Çanakkale”

Açık Şehir/Open City is a name given to cities which are not defended in any threat of war in order to prevent their demolition. Cities that are deeply rooted and engrained in history are usually left undefended in times of war without armed resistance. No matter what name or concept it precedes, the adjective open qualifies the subsequent noun similarly. If what is described is a city, “openness” means the freedom, tolerance and democracy of that city. Only cities deeply rooted and upheld in history deserve to be “Open Cities”. Becoming an open city makes it a point of attraction. The proposition of Çanakkale, Açık Şehir/Open City entails a rich

accumulation of history and experience. Founded upon a crucial water way, the city of Çanakkale has become an important attraction for settlements both in ancient times (the Trojan War) and in modern times (the Çanakkale War and today's climate of economic war).

11 February 2010

“Sulukule Platform in Çanakkale”

The panel discussion featured Derya Nüket Özer and Funda Oral from the Sulukule Platform. The speakers shared their experiences during the urban transformation project to initiate a discussion on urban transformation projects and the problems of Romans living in Fevzi Paşa, Çanakkale. The event concluded with a concert by the Children's Group of Fevzi Paşa Orchestra.

12 February 2010 Tuesday

“Gülsin Onay Concerts”

Pianist Gülsin Onay played for Çanakkale residents in the scope of the Çanakkale 2010 Art and Culture Year. The concert on 12 January Tuesday 13:00 o'clock at the university Anafartalar Campus Süleyman Demirel Auditorium opened with two songs by Mavitay Children's Chorus, conducted by Mete Gökçe, and was followed by a program for children by Gülsin Onay. The pianist then performed a recital for the city-dwellers at 19:00. Renowned internationally for her performance, Onay presented a musical feast for the audience.

20 January-10 February 2010

“İz Group Exhibition”

The “İz Group”, composed of eight artists from İzmir, opened an exhibition in the scope of Çanakkale 2010. In the exhibition curated by

Reyhan Abacığlu, works of İz Group artists Reyhan Abacıoğlu, Mehmet Aslan, Bedri Karayağmurlar, İlknur Kocabıyık, Mehlika Korol, Zeki Serbest, Yusuf Toprak and Münir Yücel were exhibited at the Çanakkale Naval Museum Command Post, Çimenlik Castle Muavenet-i Milliye Art Gallery. The exhibition also featuring works produced around “kinesis”, the January theme of Çanakkale 2010, was acclaimed widely.

21 January 2010

“Film Screening on the Theme of Kinesis”

Four films selected from the annual İstanbul International Architecture and City Film Festival organized by the İstanbul Metropolitan Branch of the Chamber of Architects were screened at the Erkan Yavuz Experimental Art Studio.

FEBRUARY 2010

Communication and Culture

Recommendations:

- In order to enable the entire population of Çanakkale to access opportunities of developing technology, facilitating methods should be sought and applied.
- The city’s public spaces should be restructured in order to develop a common language, socialization, organizing and to enable everyone to have a say regarding the city.
- Social policies and strategies should be devised to facilitate communication between people from different segments of society in a reciprocal and equal manner.

- A common language that can be understood and used by all should be established in Çanakkale. All institutions, persons and the media should act in unison and equally in the establishment of this language. The media should strive to provide local and objective news and all individuals must be encouraged by institutions.

FEBRUARY 2010 ART AND CULTURE EVENTS

4 -18 February 2010

Two simultaneous exhibitions

Çanakkale 2010 February events started out with exhibitions at the State Fine Arts Gallery. In the scope of the event entitled “Two Simultaneous Exhibitions”, “Original Lithography Portfolio Exhibition” curated by Prof. Hacı Yakup Öztuna and “Gallipoli Mail Art Project” curated by Hülya Küpçüoğlu were launched in the same space simultaneously.

6 February 2010

Art and Communication- Panel

The event organized by Çanakkale 2010 Initiative was moderated by Çanakkale 2010 Initiative Coordinator Architect İsmail Erten. The panel that took place at the Korfmann Library provided a meeting platform for academicians and participants working in the realm of art and culture to share their views and recommendations. Following presentations by Seyhan Boztepe and Fatih Balcı on the development of art, concept of contemporary art, the function of art, and art as a form of communication, the panel continued with contributions for the participants. The prevalent observation at the panel was the need for more such debate around the city.

10-14 February 2010

Video Art Screening

The video art project “Direct Channel” was screened in the scope of Çanakkale 2010 art and culture events. This project aiming to draw attention to video art through a selection of international videos, took place on the Çanakkale boardwalk.

12 February 2010

Direkt Kanal (Direct Channel)

The panel featuring Prof. Turan Aksoy from Yıldız Technical University Faculty of Arts and Design was held in Yalı Han, one of the city’s meeting points. Aksoy also shared information on the “Direkt Kanal” project during the event.

17 February 2010

Başay Okay Jazz Concert

This concert was organized in the scope of Çanakkale 2010 events with the support of the Lions Club. In the concert which took place at Çanakkale University Anafartalar Campus Süleyman Demirel Auditorium, Başay Okay was accompanied by pianist Zefer Çebi. Delivering an outstanding performance, Okay presented classical jazz pieces to the audience.

19 February 2010

The City, Economy and Politics

The panel featuring METU Social Sciences Institute Director Dr. Sencer Ayata was held at Çanakkale University Anafartalar Campus Süleyman Demirel Auditorium.

19 February 2010

İki Dil bir Bavul (Two Languages One Suitcase)

This event at Erkan Yavuz Experimental Art Studio featured a screening of the film “İki Dil Bir Bavul” and a discussion with the co-director Orhan Eskiköy. “İki Dil Bir Bavul”, the recipient of the Best Picture Award, presented for the first time in 2009, at the 46th Antalya Altın Portakal Film Festival, was also awarded the Best Middle Eastern Documentary Prize at the International Middle East Film Festival the same night. The film, praised extensively by Nuri Bilge Ceylan at the award ceremony of the 16th International Altın Koza Film Festival, is also the recipient of the SİYAD award and Yılmaz Güney Special Jury Prize.

20 February 2010

“Communication”

In this panel and forum on communication, the relationship between communication and culture was explored both conceptually, and in terms of the practices specific to the context of Çanakkale. The panel, which is moderated by Eyüp Görgüler started out with presentations of participants from and outside the city, and continued with a discussion including the questions, comments and recommendations of the audience.

20-21 February 2010

Live from If İstanbul

The “!f2” initiative, which is significant step in digital cinema both on the national level and internationally, brought 6 films to audiences at different parts of Turkey and the world. The screenings which were done simultaneously via internet in 15 different cities were followed by a

discussion entitled “Changing Geographies, New Tribes” with the participation of artists, directors and writers from Turkey and abroad. The screenings in Çanakkale were realized in collaboration with ÇABİSAK, Çanakkale 2010 and A Civil Initiative Kara.

MARCH 2010

City’s Identity and Urban Consciousness

Recommendations:

- As opposed to defining the city with one single identity, it is necessary to define it with a diverse and pluralist identity, encompassing more than a single value.
- Public spaces are spaces defining a city’s identity. These spaces have to be rendered functional and be designed as to support the pluralist life of the city.
- “City aesthetics” should urgently and meticulously be applied to the horizontal and vertical entirety of public spaces in a way to incorporate all values constituting city identity.
- The culture of living together with differences and how differences enrich the city’s identity should be rendered more visible.
- The pluralist values emerging from intercultural interactions should be promoted and supported.
- Participatory and pluralists projects should be developed to preserve the architectural and cultural assets of the city.
- The comparison of city identity with other cities and dwellings and of the value of one cultural identity with the other within the city

should be based on partnership and collaboration, as opposed to differences and superiority. Such a collaborative and constructive approach should unite the entire city and create an urban identity asset that can influence others.

- Urban consciousness should spread through reciprocal processes open to interaction, and urban identity values should be accessible to all segments of the population.
- In order to establish and raise urban consciousness, local values should be brought to the fore with accurate information based on universal values, and should be interpreted through a synthesis based on extensive consensus and be promoted in participatory spaces.

MARCH ART AND CULTURE ACTIVITIES

12 March 2010

Recon-Heart-Structure – Dance Performance

Onur Demirbasa delivered a solo contemporary dance performance in the scope of Çanakkale 2010 March activities. The performance was held at the old Armenian Church, one of the few spaces for arts and culture events of the city also used as a rehearsal space by the Theater and Acting Department of Çanakkale University and drew extensive interest.

13 March 2010

Sanat Nesnesi-Nesnesi Sanat (Object of Art-Art as Object)

This conference titled “Object of Art-Art as Object” featuring Associate Prof. Rıfat Şahiner from Yıldız Technical University Faculty of Art and Design as the keynote speaker was held at Korffmann Library.

20 March 2010

City's Identity and Urban Consciousness –Panel+Forum

The panel on “city identity and urban consciousness” started out with a presentation by Associate Professor Serhan Ada on the relationship between the city, identity and culture, followed by presentations by Rüstem Aslan and Sevim Ateş on Çanakkale city identity. The panel concluded with a discussion session featuring questions, observations and suggestions from the audience. Dr. Dilek Tunalı and Mehmet Kahyaoğlu shared their experiences of the founding of Ahmet Adnan Saygun Art Center at the panel.

25 March 2010

Ortada Bulusalim (Let's meet at the middle)

This project exploring the ties between the cities of İzmir-Çanakkale-İstanbul as a channel of communication was realized with the contributions of academicians from these cities as consultants. Assistant Prof. Ragıp Taranç (Dokuz Eylül University) from İzmir, Meral Eşli (Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University) and Prof. Turan Aksoy (Yıldız Technical University) from İstanbul worked as consultants in the project. Three films from each of these cities were screened at the Erkan Yavuz Experimental Art Studio in the scope of the project.

APRIL 2010

Tourism

Recommendations:

- Tourism activities in the city should be planned in a way to promote, preserve and enrich natural and cultural assets. Local

governance and civil society organizations should participate actively in the planning process.

- Targeted physical and culture infrastructure should be built in order to prevent the destruction/degeneration of natural and cultural resources in the city.
- Tourism activities in the city should give equal weight to social and economic outputs and approaches and methods beneficial for the city and inhabitants.
- Tourism activities should be realized in a participatory manner and all stakeholders should actively participate in developing this approach.
- Tourism initiatives should be developed with methods that will enable the publicizing of city culture to the world and interaction with other cultures.

April 2010

Çanakkale Art Exhibition

The group exhibition, with Seyhan Boztepe as the project director, aimed to bring together all the people producing and following art in Çanakkale. Supported by the Lions Club, the exhibition brought together the works of numerous artists in the city. The works in the exhibit were considered as donations and the income from the sales were allocated to the construction of playgrounds for disabled children. Paintings, sculptures, chinaware, lithographs, photographs and ceramics of approximately 80 artists were exhibited at the organization, held at the State Fine Arts Gallery between 8-21 April.

17 April 2010

Tourism- Panel+ Forum

The panel session moderated by Erdiñç Almiak featured a discussion of the relationship between tourism and culture based on examples from Çanakkale and around the world. Yeşim Dizdaroğlu's presentation on the positive and negative effects of tourism on culture in various cities was followed by presentations by Murat Gümüş, Aşkın Değirmenci and Tolga Çebi on tourism activities in Çanakkale, and perception of tourism in the city. After the presentations, a discussion forum was held with the participation of the audience.

22 April 2010

Hisar Short Film Screening

Four award winning short films from the 2005 Hisar Short Film Festival were screened at Erkan Yavuz Experimental Art Studio.

26 April 2010

Ezgi Anıl Flamenco Recital

The solo flamenco guitar recital by guitarist Ezgi Anıl took place at the old Armenian Church and was widely applauded by the audience. The artist, who included flamenco renditions of Turkish music in her program, was commended for her performance.

27 April 2010

“Adını Taşıyan” Contemporary Dance Theater

The dance theater performance, choreographed by Buket Deniz (Lecturer, Çanakkale University Department of Theater and Acting), featuring

department students was performed at the university's Anafartalar Campus Süleyman Demirel Auditorium. The performance based on the legendary epic hero Gilgamesh's quest for immortality with references to modern human life was the final event of Çanakkale 2010 April activities.

MAY 2010

Ceramics and Arts in The City

Recommendations:

- All activities in the field of art should be designed with the objective of reaching the entire city and all inhabitants, and spaces and organizations should be structured accordingly. Equal opportunities and means for participation should be ensured.
- The role of art in promoting inhabitants' participation in city life, especially for disadvantaged groups, should be strengthened.
- The exchange of information and cultural interaction in the city should be promoted via art events and activities.
- Art events in the city should entail participatory, widespread and genuine processes.
- The popular arts activities (ceramics, painting, dance, theater, traditional handicrafts workshops and classes) in the city should be improved and expanded both qualitatively and quantitatively. Furthermore dialogue should be established between different working groups.
- All institutions in the city should assume responsibility in the city's art life and discard commanding and condescending attitudes in

arts activities they undertake in order to enable participatory processes.

- The needs and demands in the sphere of art should be taken into consideration for city planning as a priority.
- A sustainable relationship based on responsibility as opposed to self-interest should be established between the city's capital and private sector and arts in the city.
- Expertise and academic work in the field of ceramics should be promoted and the knowledge and skills should be disseminated widely.
- More spaces such as museums, art galleries, and cultural centers should be established to increase the visibility of ceramics; events like exhibitions, symposiums, workshops and competitions should be organized with the objective of widespread social and cultural outreach.

8 May 2010

Local Flavors Local Tastes Festival

With the partnership of Women's Assembly of Çanakkale City Council and Çanakkale 2010 Initiative, and with the support of Çanakkale Municipality, "Local Flavors Local Tastes Festival" was held in Public Garden, on 8th May 2010. As a part of the festival, women made olive oil dishes, salads, meaties, cracked wheat, pickles, pastries, desserts, many flavors and tastes. These dishes were presented, to the people of Çanakkale in the Public Garden. Seventy six women participated with their dishes and eight professional business owners supported the festival by distributing their products for free. Discussions about cultural heritage and local food culture were also conducted. The festival where İftihar Vanlı, the conductor of Çanakkale Municipality's Turkish Folk Music Choir and his group also performed, attracted great deal of interest.

10-16 May 2010

Historical Turkish Houses Week

This year, the theme of 28th Historical Turkish Houses Week was “Historical and Identified Future in Çanakkale”. This week was organized with the partnership of Turkey’s Houses Protection Association (TÜRKEV), Çanakkale Municipality, Çanakkale Branch of the Chamber of Architects and Çanakkale 2010 Initiative. The event began with the speeches of Ülgür Gökhan, Mayor of Çanakkale, Prof. Dr. Cengiz Eruzun, chair of Turkey’s Houses Protection Association, İsmail Erten, Coordinator of Çanakkale 2010 Initiative and Sevil Ural, Head of Çanakkale Branch of the Chamber of Architects, and continued with presentations of various experts. The week was completed with the panel+forum section.

14-15 May 2010

Visitors - Video art

“Visitors” Video Selection was organized at Erkan Yavuz Experimental Art Workshop. After the presentation, a panel discussion was held with Şinasi Güneş, the curator of Visitors and with Özgen Yıldırım, assistant curator.

16 May 2010

Panel Discussion with Murat Uyurkulak

The author of two novels, “Tol” and “Har”, Murat Uyurkulak met with his readers in Yalı Han and a panel discussion about literature was held.

22 May 2010

Ceramics and Art in the City – Panel+Forum

The “Ceramics and Art in the City” panel+forum moderated by Seyhan Boztepe, was held with the participation of Sibel Yardımcı, Melih Görgün, Hülya Acar, Mehmet Eşli and Birim Ömer Erol.

JUNE 2010

Agrarian City and Agricultural Economy

Recommendations:

- A strategy to increase the city’s agriculture and marketing prospects as a strategy to combat poverty in Çanakkale should be developed in conjunction with cultural policy strategies to enhance urban awareness and active citizenship.
- Strategies should be devised to enable Çanakkale neighborhood markets to survive as local agricultural culture, encounter, shopping and exchange centers.
- Çanakkale agriculture should not be neglected, because Çanakkale is considerable affluent in terms of agriculture. With the high PH level of its soil, the quality of its goods due to the climate, agriculture should preserve its status in Çanakkale urban identity.

5 – 13 June 2010

“Terra Cota” Ceramics Exhibition

The exhibition consisting of the authentic artworks created with inspiration of mythology by ceramic artists Zerrin and Ahmet Ergülen, opened in Çanakkale Sea Museum, Muavenet-i Milliye Hall on June 5th, 2010. An

activity with children was also conducted within the exhibition by Mavitay Children's Culture House. During the event, children visited the exhibition accompanied by Zerrin and Ahmet Ergülen and a discussion was held.

10 June 2010

“Min Dît” Film Screening

After the screening of “Min Dît” which was held in Erkan Yavuz Experimental Arts Center, a discussion was conducted with Selim Güntürkün from Nar Film, the distribution company of the film.

11 -13 June 2010

“Strategies for Local Cultural Policy” Project Çanakkale Evaluation Meeting and Festival

Cultural authorities, academicians and representatives of NGOs from Antakya, Çanakkale, İstanbul and Kars came together on June 10-13th, 2010, in order to share “Çanakkale 2010” project and to exchange ideas on local cultural policy. Besides the cultural actors, academicians and participants from NGOs from Antakya, Çanakkale, and Kars, cultural institutions from İstanbul, Mardin, Diyarbakır, Bursa, İzmir and the Netherlands also participated in the meeting and created an opportunity for experience sharing and collaborations. In the evening of June 11th, public street activities were held in Kordon, with the participation of Galata Ritimhanesi, Pozitofol, Karagoz Roman Orchestra, Fevzi Paşa Orchestra and Dance Group.

16 June 2010

Uludag University State Conservatory Chamber Orchestra Concert

With the Maestro Ass. Prof. Dr. Görkem Çağlan; Uludag University State Conservatory Chamber Orchestra gave a concert in Süleyman Demirel

Conference Hall. Pianist Ass. Prof. Dr. Beril algan also participated to the concert.

17-18 June 2010

“Peace and Memory” Video Screening

Curated by Fatih Balci, “Peace and Memory” Video Screenings were held in Erkan Yavuz Experimental Arts Workshop. After the screening, a discussion was held with Fatih Balci.

17-18 June 2010

“Antakya- A77” Video Screening

“Antakya- A77” Video Screening that consists of the videos made by A77 Art Collective was held in Erkan Yavuz Experimental Arts Workshop.

19 June 2010

“Rural City& Agricultural Economy” Panel+ Forum

The “Rural City & Agricultural Economy” Panel was held with the participation of Businessman İbrahim Özdemiir and İsmail Tümay, Secretary General of anakkale Yerel Gündem 21. The panel and forum was moderated by anakkale 2010 Coordinator, İsmail Erten.

26 June 2010

“My Marlon & Brando” Film Screening

After the screening in Erkan Yavuz Experimental Arts Workshop, a discussion was conducted with Hüseyin Karabey, the director of the film.

JULY 2010

Water

Recommendations:

- The city needs a sustainable water policy. This policy should be developed around not just physical priorities, but also cultural priorities.
- The Atikhisar dam, groundwater, the use of rain and other such water resources should be regulated with the objective of “sustainable life”.
- The city of Çanakkale, with Sarıçay and its two waterfront boardwalks, is a city where there is an intense interaction between people and water. Therefore, strategies should be devised in order to prevent the loss of this enriching characteristic, and to enable the public use of the shores and these natural public spaces and sites should be established in a way to promote the active use of the inhabitants.
- The Dardanelles Strait is an important physical formation in terms of waterway and transportation opportunities. Additionally, it is a major boulevard where cultures flow to life. The transportation on the strait should be promoted and sustained, and city centered transportation should enable the city population with a gateway to any place in the world.
- The settlement and physical plan of the city must be integrated with the phenomenon of water in the city. The shoreline surrounding the city, the Sarıçay axis which carries a decisive mission on the east-west axis for the city, the risks of groundwater for construction, the Atikhisar dam as the city’s life force and the drainage basins should all become the primary data and sustainable principle of city planning.

- Socio cultural policies that integrate the water in, around, and before the city as a principal cultural asset should be developed. These strategies should be devised with participatory processes and be applied immediately.

17 July 2010

“Water” Panel+ Forum

The panel and forum that İsmail Tümay participated as speaker were moderated by Ezgi Yemenicioğlu.

16-24 July 2010

International Traditional Çanakkale Troia “Şeffaf Beygir” Film Festival

The International Traditional Çanakkale Troia “Şeffaf Beygir” Film Festival that was held between July 16th- 24th, 2010 was launched with a cocktail in Çanakkale Yalı Han and with the screening of the film; “Acı” (Pain), directed by Cemal Şan. This year, the theme was decided to be “World Festivals are Meeting in Çanakkale” and within the festival, the films; “40”, “Acı”(Pain), “Sis ve Gece”(Fog and Night), “Bornova Bornova”, “Kıskanmak”(Envy), “Köprüdekiler”(Men on the Bridge), “Aşk Geliyorum Demez” and “Nefes: Vatan Sağolsun”(Breath) were screened in seven neighbourhoods of the city. After the screenings, a jury made up of mukhtars of the neighbourhood and the people living in the area selected the film “Aşk Geliyorum Demez” by Murat Şeker as the best film of the festival, with open vote system and discussion.

19-24 July 2010

“Transparency” Design Exhibition

In collaboration with Çanakkale 2010 and Çanakkale City Museum, the exhibition themed “Transparency” was conducted as part of the “Şeffaf Beygir” Film Festival. The artworks of Erdem Akan, Gamze Güven, Nil Deniz, Orhan Irmak, Mehtap Elaidi, Aysun Altındağ, Meltem Maralcan, Aslı Kıyak İngin and Tamar Nakışçı were exhibited at the Çanakkale City Museum.

20-24 July 2010

Transparency- themed Design Workshops

Three workshops were conducted in Çanakkale City Museum parallel to the “Transparency” Design Exhibition.

AUGUST 2010

Participation and Coexistence

Recommendations

- Coexistence with “others” or those who are different, providing everyone with equal opportunity in life, which are urban characteristics and contemporary values of the present and recent past, should be addressed in a broader framework in the city and discussed citywide. The opportunity for individuals to express their life choices as they wish (clothing, belief, sexual orientation, ideology etc) should be placed on the city’s agenda.

- All sorts of micro debates are of significance. It is important that urban policies are devised together and negotiated with inhabitants and relevant institutions.
- There is a high demand for participation in Çanakkale from various levels and for different reasons. As can be seen in the literature, the concept of participation is by no means identical to direct participation in governance. City inhabitants actually express their demands for participation through “complaints regarding the city”, “city service complaints”, or “the rapid concretization” protests on the minimum level. More elaborate demands for participation include “for the youth...” or “for the neighborhood...” The first step of participation in city life is being aware of inadequacies in urban services in the neighborhood or district and reporting them respectively.
- Civil society organizations in Çanakkale also have the need to learn various dimensions of participation through actions. Here, as learning by action might be through discussion platforms, information sharing and collective acts, it can also be realized within the action itself. Here the need of various groups and individuals to share power, be recognized and get acquainted with each other should be recognized and different platforms should be created to enable diverse groups to work together for various causes.

10 August 2010

“Water is Life” – Photography Exhibition

Exhibition that consists of photographs by Özcan Yaman, academician in Yeditepe University, was held with the partnership of Homur Humor Group, Community of Scholars of ÇOMÜ (Çanakkale 18 Mart University)

Faculty of Fine Arts, Çanakkale Naval Museum Command and Çanakkale Municipality at ÇOMÜ Culture House.

10-13 August 2010

“Water is Life” – Workshops with Children

During the event conducted by Canol Kocagöz (Current General Secretary Autonomous Art Council and Ex-head of Society of Caricaturists), Umut Germeç (Academic at ÇOMÜ, Department of Painting), Ezgi Yemencioğlu Negir (Academic at ÇOMÜ, Department of Painting), Kadir Selçuk Yaşa (Painter) and Ulaş Önder (Painter), children attended excavation and painting workshops after visiting water-themed caricature exhibition in Public Garden.

13 August 2010

“Water and Current Problems” – Panel

The event was held in the Auditorium of Çanakkale Naval Museum and included discussions about water in the city, art and life. Ahmet Atalık, Head of Istanbul Branch of the Chamber of Agricultural Engineers, Abdullah Aysu from Çiftçi-Sen Confederation [Trade Union Confederation of Farmers], Asst. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Yaraş (Head of Alliano Excavation), Prof. Dr. Kemal Çelik (ÇOMÜ, Faculty of Agriculture, and Department of Animal Sciences) attended the panel moderated by Canol Kocagöz.

21 August 2010

“Participation and Coexistence” Panel+Forum

In the event that was held in Korfmann Library and moderated by Didem Gürdoğan, Arzu Başaran Uysal and Hasan Temel Turhanlı discussed the

current situation of participation and common life in Turkey and in Çanakkale.

SEPTEMBER 2010

War and Peace

Recommendations

- In order to establish a culture of peace, a new platform/committee should be formed to discuss war and peace in the city and a new dialogue/working model should be adopted.
- War and peace should be discussed beyond geographic boundaries, and all sorts of rights violations should be brought to the platform/dialogue space in order to take a proactive stand/action in face of violations.
- The concept of peace in particular, should be discussed with a right based approach, without being confined to a certain sphere or segment of history and this discussion should be based upon “conscience”. The rights based approach does not address only human rights; it should be employed to encompass the rights of all living and nonliving things and all types of cultural values.
- A sustainable process should be ensured with all these activities and this process should become one that promotes the city’s message of peace in a manner to unite all segments of society.
- All the assets pertaining to war from Gallipoli to the cannon in the Republic Square from “Stop Wayfarer” monument to bastions should be reorganized to convey a message of peace and promoted accordingly.

18 September 2010 Saturday

“War&Peace”Panel +Forum

Moderated by Erdiñ Alniak, the panel+forum themed “War and Peace”, was conducted in Korffmann Library, with İsmail Özey and Hayrettin Pişkin.

20 September -10 October 2010

2nd International Biennial of Çanakkale

Curated by Seyhan Boztepe and Denizhan Özer, 2nd International Biennial of Çanakkale was coordinated by İsmail Erten. Elisabeth Del Prete was the assistant curator.

25 September – 25 December 2010

Bienal: My Friend

During this event that was held parallel to the 2nd Biennial of Çanakkale, children visited the biennial and attended contemporary arts workshops given by various artists and trainers. After the project, the works of children were firstly exhibited in Çanakkale between August 27th and 29th, 2010 and secondly in Istanbul Art Biennial of Children and Youth between December 14th and 25th, 2010. The project was held with more than 200 children, in collaboration with Mavitay Children’s Cultural House, Çanakkale Cumhuriyet Primary School, Çanakkale College, Municipality of Çanakkale, and Çanakkale Directorate of National Education, Çanakkale Sea Museum, 2nd International Biennial of Çanakkale, Library of Barbaros District and Çanakkale 2010.

OCTOBER 2010

Historical and Cultural Heritage

Recommendations

- Many of the historic residential buildings in Çanakkale have undergone renovations. However many of the buildings in military zones are derelict. These buildings should be restored and made operational again to contribute to city life.
- Even though there are potential national and international resources for the restoration and renovation of cultural heritage buildings, the capacity to follow procedures and access these is limited. It would be beneficial to hold trainings and information sessions on the subject.
- Urban consciousness and sense of belonging play a significant role in the concept of cultural heritage. Learning the history of these buildings is crucial to developing a sense of responsibility in this respect. There is a need for such documentation and communication efforts in order to promote the cultural heritage of Çanakkale and enable inhabitants to own up to this heritage. In order for the inhabitants to relate to this heritage they first have to empathize with the past and respect the heritage to carry it to the future.
- Cultural heritage has become a touristic tool. In order to extend the heritage beyond a commercial approach, it is important to develop a genuine relationship with the city and convey this feeling to visitors.
- There are historical sites and building Çanakkale has lost. The photographs, documentation and information on such sites should be archived and published.
- Information pertaining to culinary culture, means of production etc should be documented and archived.

- The reasons and implications of the departure of minorities and non-Muslims from Çanakkale should be researched and the city should make peace with its past.

23 October 2010

**“Cultural Heritage: Unmovable, Movable and Intangible” Panel +
forum**

The panel+forum was held in Korffmann Library with the contribution of Cevat İnce and Devrim Uysal. The panel+forum was moderated by İsmail Erten.

NOVEMBER 2010

Public Space

Recommendations

- In Çanakkale where civil organizing and activity is widespread, public spaces where such activities can be shared and extended should be increased and people should be able to come together in these spaces and interact within social dynamics.
- The foundation of the concept of public space is communication. The city’s public spaces and sites should be restructured with the objective of creating a common language and socialization, organizing, participation in city life and inhabitants should have equal opportunity and rights to access and use those spaces.
- The spaces where people used to gather but are now obsolete should be organized as spaces where individuals can discuss their

ideas and organize freely in an open environment. (Zafer Square, Fatih Square, Friday Market, etc.)

- The deliberation processes between local governance and city inhabitants or the society during the transformation processes of public spaces should be realized in a participatory manner, and all inhabitants should be included in this process.
- Ideological squares such as the republic square must be designated to be used not only as ceremonial sites, but also spaces open for frequent public use.
- Public art will not only increase the use of public spaces, but also their quality. Locations for art objects should be determined through a consensus between artists, city inhabitants and local governance.
- The relationship between the university and the city in the context of organizing in public space and collaborative projects should be improved and expanded.

6-7 November 2010

Human Rights Documentaries

During the event held in Erkan Yavuz Experimental Art Workshop, *Miraz*, *Taşlaşan Vicdanlar* [Brutal Consciousness], *Kahpe Devran* [Nasty Age], *İki Tutam Saç: Dersim'in Kayıp Kızları* [Two Locks of Hair: The Missing Girls of Dersim], *Burma VJ*, *Humerosca* [Humoresque], *Hayırsızada* [Barking Island], *Zehirli Oyun Bahçesi* [Toxic Playground], *Duvar* [The Wall] and *Direnışçi* [Resister] were screened. In addition to the screenings, a panel discussion entitled “Confrontation with History” was held with the attendance of Bülent Bilmez from Istanbul Bilgi University.

27 November 2010

“Public Spaces” Panel+Forum

Arzu Başaran and Şahabettin Kalfa attended the panel forum held in Korfmann Library. Bahattin Köylü was the moderator of this Panel+Forum.

27 November 2010

Discussion with Mehmet Aksoy

A discussion with the sculptor Mehmet Aksoy was held at Istasyon Art Center, in Yalı Han. During the event, Mehmet Aksoy cited his opinions and experiences about sculpture and artwork in public space. Afterwards, the documentary entitled *Nazım Hikmet'in Peşi Sıra* [Following Nazım Hikmet] was shown.

DECEMBER 2010

Pluralism

Recommendations

- In order to develop and sustain a pluralistic perspective, city inhabitants should assume critical responsibility towards one another and be willing to change themselves to be able to coexist.
- It is extremely important to negotiate problems to create the environment for coexistence. It would be important to establish a culture of negotiation as opposed to one of debate, and conduct workshops on the issue in order to promote empathy with the “other”.

- Everyone has to be able to overcome their prejudices and accept others with their differences for coexistence. Public spaces have to be increased in order to enable different cultures to get in contact with one another. In particular the organization of Church (Zafer) Square in Çanakkale as a public space will be important for the pluralistic composition of the city.
- One of the essential objectives of emerging movements is to render visible the diversity of all identities marginalized by modern life, promote their rights and policies to construct an alternative life space. Increasing the number of spaces where everyone can express themselves freely and ensuring that diversities are represented equitably in the public sphere will support the city's pioneering position in this respect.

18 December 2010

“Pluralism” – Panel+Forum

The last panel+forum were held with participation of Semra Canbulat, Hasan Turhanlı and Erdiñç Alniak in Korfmann Library.

25 December 2010

“Local Governments and Women”

The panel was held with attendance of Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayten Alkan in Korfmann Library. The meaning of local policies for men and women as a part of “gender mainstreaming of local governments” was interrogated in the course of the panel. Possibilities that the current state of local policy offered for women's needs and their obstacles were discussed in the panel. Afterwards, the panelists discussed what can change in the whole life of local community and society through local policy.