



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Intergroup Relations and Intercultural Policies in Zeytinburnu, Turkey



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Foreword

European cities, in particular major cities with strong economies, attract migrants from rural or less developed areas as well as from all over the world. As a result, urban populations became increasingly heterogeneous in ethnic, cultural and religious terms. The multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious structures of urban society are, on the one hand, an opportunity for cities. On the other hand, heterogeneity challenges a city's ability to maintain peaceful and productive relations among the different segments of the population.

For this reason, cities have a genuine interest in successful local integration practices. Therefore, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CoE), the City of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions ('Eurofound') came together to form the European network of 'Cities for Local Integration Policies' (CLIP) for migrants. This network, launched in 2006, brings together about 30 European cities in a joint learning process: through the structured sharing of experiences, the network aims to enable local authorities as well as national and European policymakers to learn from each other and, thus, pursue more effective integration policies for migrants at a regional, national and European level. The learning process is accompanied by researchers from six academic research centres.¹

The city of Zeytinburnu joined the CLIP network at the beginning of this third module of CLIP. The researchers at the efms of the University of Bamberg are responsible for this first report on Zeytinburnu.² We would like to thank the contact person from the municipality of Zeytinburnu, Ms. Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu, who helped us to collect the data for this report. Due to the late decision to include Zeytinburnu as local case study in the Istanbul municipality, only few officials and local experts in Zeytinburnu could be interviewed during the city visit in May 2009. However, their information has been completed by extensive interviews with other experts in Istanbul, as well as by desk research and telephone interviews. I would like to thank all those who have cooperated in providing information and comments.

Wolfgang Bosswick

Bamberg, September 18, 2009

¹ The European forum for migration studies (efms) in Bamberg, the Institute for Urban and Regional Research (ISR) in Vienna, the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam, the Forum of International and European Research on Immigration (FIERI) in Turin, the Institute of International Studies in Wrocław and the Centre for Migration Policy Research (CMPR) in Swansea.

² The author – not the city – is responsible for the content of this report; the copyright remains with Eurofound: © European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2007, Wyattville Road, Loughlinstown, Dublin 18, Ireland. Statistics and charts compiled by Harald Schüler.

1. Introduction

Cities are very heterogeneous in the heritage, culture and religion of their citizens. The diverse structures of urban populations challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or maintain peaceful relations among the different population segments. In this third module of the CLIP project, we are interested in the relations between different groups in the city, in local policies established to deal with these groups, and in the way in which representatives of migrant associations, religious communities and NGOs assess the local activities.

The concept of ‘group’ used in this CLIP module is rather broad, since “the term ‘group’ basically has two different meanings in the social sciences: on the one hand it stands for stable structures of interaction among persons, on the other hand ‘group’ is understood as a social category that does not necessarily imply relations among the persons that are included in the category. National, ethnic or religious ‘groups’ in a city would be cases of such categories” (Heckmann 2008: 3-4). Hence, ‘intergroup relations’ deals with relations between ‘real groups’ such as the city administration, the city council, welfare organisations, migrant organisations, religious communities and the police, but also with social categories such as ‘the Turks from Rumelia group’ or ‘the group of Christians’ etc.

For most Western European cities, the CLIP network in this module had a special focus on the relations to and dialogue with Muslim communities since the Islam is by far the largest ‘new’ religion in European countries of immigration, and that Muslims are perceived as particularly disconnected from ‘European life’. Compared to other migrant groups, in most cities there are higher rates of discrimination and more prejudices against and fears of Muslims. In cities in which Islam is the predominant religion as in the case of Istanbul, the municipality to which the city of Zeytinburnu belongs, the research of this module looked instead on groups with a specific cultural background (such as internal migrants from South-East Anatolia in Turkey). The rationale behind this choice has been the focus of CLIP research on *perceived challenges* for local policies on integration and social cohesion facing an increasing diverse population.

Led by these theoretical and political assumptions, the CLIP research group developed a questionnaire that has been filled out by city officials. In case of Zeytinburnu, there has been due to the late decision to join, no information collected by the questionnaire; the information given is based on existing literature on this field as well as on interviews with local experts conducted by the researcher in spring 2009.

The municipality of Zeytinburnu joined CLIP in the third module only; thus, basic work had to be done during the case study research whilst in other case studies researchers could rely upon information, contacts and knowledge already gathered during the previous two CLIP modules. Thus, this case study had only selective and limited access to potentially relevant information and differs for this reason from the other case studies of the third module.

2. Background information on Turkey

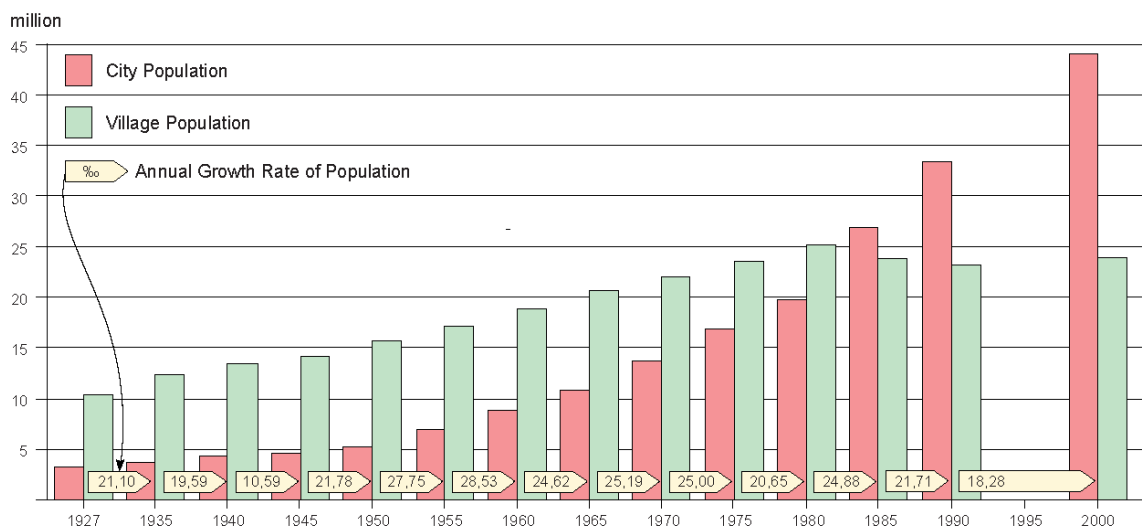
The following chapter provides general information about Turkey. The section describes the history of migration in Turkey and the consequent composition of the migrant population.

2.1. History of migration and composition of the migrant populations

By many Europeans, Turkey is seen as a country of origin of migrants. However, the Turkish Republic is not only a country of emigration: in addition to the emigration of Turkish citizens, an internal migration of the rural population from the eastern areas into cities, as well as the immigration of different population groups into the country are important phenomena. These components of migration movements in Turkey (emigration, internal migration, immigration) and the resulting migrant populations are outlined below.

At the beginning of the last century, the Turkish history of migration was strongly influenced by the downfall of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire, the Balkan war during the years 1912/13 and the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. During the first 30 years of the 20th century a large number of Muslims immigrated into the Ottoman Empire and later into the Turkish Republic. At the same time, many Non-Muslims migrated into Greece. These were mainly Greek-orthodox groups. This population exchange mainly occurred due to political pressures and banishments. It was agreed in The Lausanne Population Exchange Agreement signed on 30 September 1923 “to start the compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of Greek Orthodox religion living on Turkish soil and Greek nationals of Muslim religion settled on Greek soil starting from 1st of May 1923”. In accordance with this Agreement approximately 1.3 million ethnic Greeks were resettled into Greece and approximately 500,000 ethnic Turkish were resettled into Turkey in 1923.

*Figure 1: Turkey: City and Village Population
Size and Annual Growth Rate of Population 1927-2000*



Data source: DIE/SIS, 2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Nüfusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri. Yay. No: 2759. Ankara: 2003., p. 45-46

Compiled 2009 by Harald Schuler

Figure 2: Turkey: Annual Growth Rate of Population 1990-2000, de facto Population

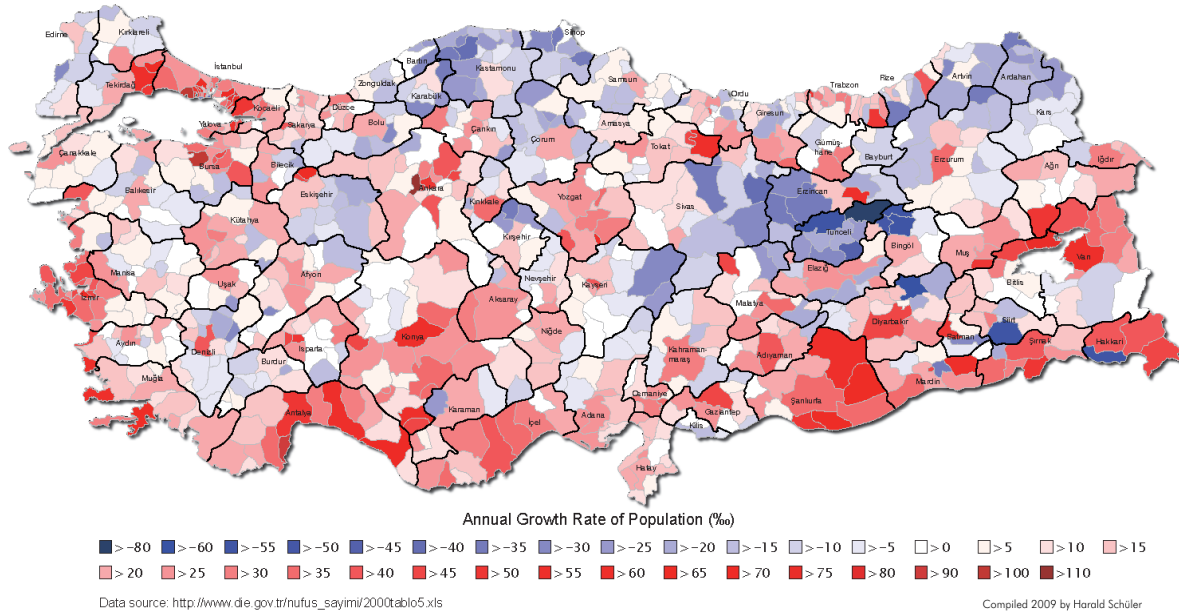
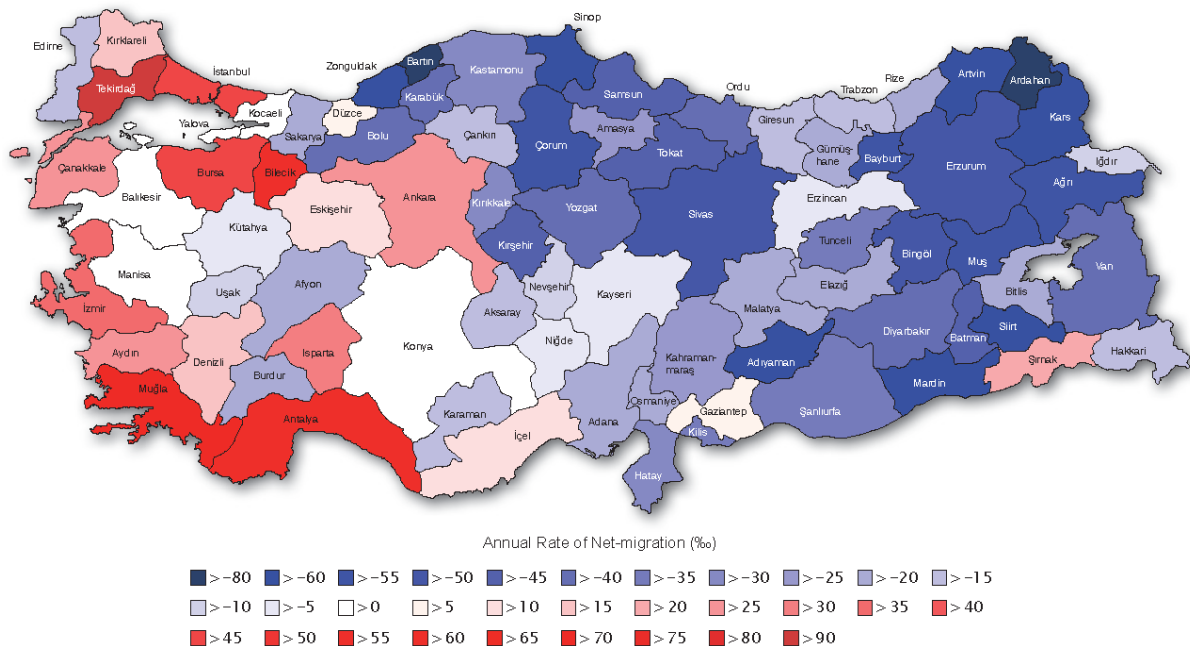


Figure 3: Annual Rate of Net-migration 1995-2000, de jure Population over 5 Years of Age



The second important component of the Turkish migration movements is the interior migration. The reasons for the migration into cities since the 1950s are, on the one hand, a rapid growth of the population, the mechanisation of agriculture with decreased labour demand, and the state of economic underdevelopment and poverty in the rural areas, and on the other hand a one-dimensional state economic policy, which aids the development of cities. The primary destinations for the rural population were Istanbul and surrounding areas, the Greater İzmir area, the capital city Ankara and the Greater Adana-Mersin.

Due to a significant housing shortage in the cities, gecekondus – irregular residential settlements being socially marginalized – were formed. Over time, the gecekondus were joined with the urban infrastructure; from the 1980s onwards some of these residential settlements evolved into modern suburbs. Zeytinburnu has been one of the first gecekondus in Istanbul and started to grow by squatter housing already in 1946.

During the years 1995 to 2000, nearly 4.8 million people (8% of the population) migrated between provinces. The demographic growth of Turkey's population decreased considerably from the fifties (the total fertility rate in 2000 has been 2,53, and projections predicted a further decline to the reproduction level of 2.1 until 2005). Notwithstanding the massive internal migration from rural areas into large cities since the fifties, the population in the rural areas remained quite stable (approx. 23,5 mio. in 1975 and 2000). However, the proportion of rural versus urban population decreased considerably from 60% to 35% in the same period. A significant internal migration from rural areas in South-East Anatolia to the cities in that region, but as well to Istanbul and other large cities in Western Turkey took place after 1990 due to the violent clashes with Kurdish separatists (Ozbudun 2000).

As part of the population census in the year 2000, the internal migrants were asked for the main motives for their migration. Family reasons were most frequently named (26%, proportionally greater for women), but employment opportunities (20%) and designation/appointment reasons (13%) were also significant. Since the population census in 2000, approximately one year after the Marmara and Düzce earthquake in 1999, it is thought that around 147,000 people migrated because of the earthquake.

From the establishment of Turkey in 1923 to 1997, more than 1.6 million immigrants came and settled in Turkey, more than half of them by the early 1950s. These immigrants were successfully assimilated into the "Turkish" national identity. The last major wave of immigration has about 300,000 Turks and Pomaks who were expelled from Bulgaria in 1989.

Towards the end of the 1970s Turkey also became a target country for migrants, especially for transit migrants on their way west, and for refugees and labour migrants. The annual immigration numbers for the early years of the millennium are estimated to be around 100,000 people for illegal workforce migration and around 150,000 people for the legal immigration. Another relevant group are EU member-state nationals engaged in professional activities are also settling in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, as well as European retirees in some of the Mediterranean resorts. Their numbers are estimated at 100,000-120,000. Between the years 1995 and 2000, the largest group of immigrants (one third of the about 234,000 immigrants) came from Germany; most of these migrants are Turkish citizens or German citizens with a Turkish background. They are followed by migrants from Bulgaria (12%) and from the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (6%). The majority of migrants are between 20 and 39 years old; immigrant women tend to be younger than the immigrant men.

Figure 4: Country of origin of migration flows into Turkey (2000)

Source: compiled by efms based on data of TURKSTAT 2009

Turkey has a total population of around 70 million inhabitants. Between 1995 and 2000, the proportion of immigrants from abroad was, according to the population census of 2000, 0.38% of the total population. Other sources show the proportion of the population born abroad to be between 0.2% and 1.9%, the largest group being migrants of Bulgarian source with 481,000 people in Turkey, followed by German born Turks with 274,000 people.

The last census in Turkey took place on October 22, 2000, and the next one is scheduled for October 2010; thus, current demographic data are based on official flow recordings extrapolating the 2000 census results. Their reliability can be assessed after the results of the 2010 census will be published (2015/16). However, the scope of demographic data provided by TURKSTAT has been considerably widened, and current data from the population registry are available online (<http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/adnksdagitapp/adnks.zul>). The data cover residence, age, sex, marital status, location of birth and educational level. Since the 1980, however, the language spoken in the family is not registered anymore, so any association to a group of regional heritage can be assessed only indirectly by location of birth. Apart from the various groups with a specific cultural and/or religious heritage - Abkhazians, Adjarians, Albanians, Arabs, Assyrians, Bosniaks, Circassians, Hamshenis, Kurds, Laz, Pomaks, Roma, Zazas, which are considered as Turkish nationals, three groups are officially recognized as non-Muslim minorities by the Treaty of Lausanne from 1920: the Armenians, Greeks and Jews. They have, however, no recent internal or international migration background and usually belong to established families being locally resident since generations, and are consequently not of interest for the discussions of this module.

2.2. National policy context

The Ottoman Empire, the predecessor of the Turkish Republic, had a long history of emigration, immigration, and forced migration. During the last two centuries, the Ottoman Empire received refugees from the Habsburg Empire during nationalist upheavals in the 19th century, particularly Hungarians and Poles; the Russian defeat of the Circassians (Çerkezler)

in the North Caucasus in 1864 led to an estimated one million Muslim refugees fleeing to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire had a long-standing experience with managing a poly-ethnic society and hosted a diversity of groups with their own cultural and religious heritages, and languages.

The first constitution of the Turkish Republic in 1924 invented by Atatürk replaced the overarching identity of the “Osman” people by the people of Turkey (“Türkiye Ahalisi”), introducing an ethnic and religious framework for the poly-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-lingual heritage from the Osman Empire. The later constitutions issued after the military coups – the one of 9.7.1961, and the one of 18.10.1982 – reinforced the notion of an assimilative Turkish citizenship; ethnic, religious or other similar criteria are disregarded. Thus, the Turkish concept of citizenship includes the ethnic groups related to the “non-Muslim” category of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne (Jews, Armenians and Greeks) as Turks entitled to the full rights of citizens. However, the violent conflicts with Kurdish groups in the South-East cumulating at the beginning of the nineties nurtured worries about separatist tendencies and a disintegration of the Turkish Republic which historically had been envisioned by the Sèvres Treaty of 1920, being voided after the Turkish war for independence only by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. A very controversial study (İHDK 2004) criticised the resulting narrow concept of minorities as defined in the Treaty of Lausanne, the confusion of recognising minority identities in Turkey with granting special rights for minorities, the equating of internal with external self-determination presuming secession tendencies, and the ignoring of specific ethnic and religious aspects of Turkish identity. This situation causes high sensitivity in issues of relations to groups with a different cultural, religious or language background; members of these groups are considered as Turkish citizens stemming from specific regions only, and further differentiation in the public sphere is highly problematic. In January 2009, however, a 24-hour TV channel in Kurdish language - TRT 6 – has been opened with support by the national government, a controversial step towards an acknowledgement of the diversity in the Turkish republic. Another relevant policy change in this respect is the reform of the legal provisions for registering an association which have been eased in June 14, 2004 as part of a general process of strengthening the civil society institutions in Turkey. Until then, associations were subject to a registration process at the local police directorates under direct control of the ministry of the interior. Since then, numerous local associations have been founded which are preserving their specific tradition by keeping alive the customs, costumes and heritage of their members stemming from specific regions or even villages.

Another relevant policy change has been the reform process strengthening the local policy level which started in 1984 with the law 3030 introducing local municipalities with new responsibilities and resources; this process gathered new dynamics with the ratification of the European Charter of Local Self Government in 1993, and the public administration restructuring bills enacted by the Parliament between 2004 and 2006 (such as the Metropolitan Municipality Law, Municipality Law, Public Fiscal Management and Control Law and Special Provincial Administration Law). This new legal framework promoted the focus on partnerships of different stakeholders in the governing process, requiring the local government actors to cooperate with the private sector as well as civil society organizations,

professional bodies and the universities. The new laws introduced participation channels such as city councils, expert participation in commissions, public opinion polls, requiring preparation of strategic plans in a participative process and greater involvement of the mukhtar in municipal matters. This process is most progressed in large metropolitan centres but is now also developing in other urban regions of Turkey; within the Local Agenda 21, participation strategies on the local level are promoted. They aim at securing stakeholders participation to commissions, setting up city councils as an umbrella platform for all stakeholders, securing citizens right to participate into decision-making, obligating participatory preparation of strategic plans, and support neighbourhood leaders in promoting voluntary participation.

3. Background information on Zeytinburnu

This chapter provides selected background information on the municipality of Zeytinburnu. The first section gives a brief general description on the municipality of Istanbul (cf. section 3.1), and the second illustrates the composition and the characteristics of the local (migrant) population in Zeytinburnu (cf. section 3.2). Since Zeytinburnu is a city district with an own mayor and an own administration, but belongs to the greater municipality of Istanbul which is formed out of 40 city districts, this chapter discusses first also some basic information about Istanbul as a whole.

3.1. Brief description of Zeytinburnu and Istanbul

Istanbul is located in the north-west Marmara Region of Turkey. The southern Bosphorus divides the city on two continents - the western European portion of Istanbul, and the eastern Asian city districts. The municipality boundaries cover 1,830.92 km², while the metropolitan region (Province of Istanbul) covers 6,220 km². The northern areas towards the Black Sea coasts are covered by extensive forests, which are protected as natural resort. They serve as recreational areas and provide important water sources for metropolis. Zeytinburnu is a city district of the municipality of Istanbul just outside the western medieval city walls on the European side of Istanbul.

Figure 5: Location of Zeytinburnu District



The Zeytinburnu District is located at the western side of the province of Istanbul, covering a total of 1142 hectares. Zeytinburnu is located between Bakırköy, Fatih and Bayrampaşa. It is surrounded by Fatih to the east, Bayrampaşa to the north, Güngören and Bakırköy to the west and Marmara Sea to the south. The district was governed by the Fatih Municipality in the east and the Bakırköy Municipality in the west until 1953, then has been an own municipality since 1953, and in 1957, it became the 14th district of Istanbul. In year 2000, Zeytinburnu had a population density of 20,639 persons per square kilometre. The district is the 8th most densely populated district in Istanbul, although it has quite some green areas and industrial parks.

First settlements in the today's Zeytinburnu area have been founded near Kızılcşeme. Turkey's short history of leather working industry has started at Kızılcşeme more than 150 years ago. Already in 1946, squatter housing started in this area. Until 1953, the area called the Zeytinburnu district today was in the borders of Fatih and Bakırköy districts; due to the massive growth of the squatter housing, the need for a own administrative organisation arose. First it was a subdistrict of Fatih in 1953 and then in 1957 the whole region consisting mainly of squatter housing became a district called the "Zeytinburnu District". The Zeytinburnu district's population was 89,297 at the 1960 census. Population increase due to squatter growth has been lower than the average rate of the population increase in Istanbul as a whole until 1990. The Zeytinburnu district's population reached to 247,669 at the 2000 census. The population growth rate between 1990 and 2000 has been 49.5%, while the growth of the total population of Istanbul amounted to 37.1%.

Since Zeytinburnu has been an early focus of gecekondu in Turkey, and sheltered a major share of the early migration to Istanbul, it lacked a proper urbanization process and thus, it suffers today from a high building density and a low housing quality. After the 1999 Marmara earthquake which strongly affected the Zeytinburnu district, the district has been selected as a 'pilot zone' by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) within the Istanbul

Earthquake Master Plan (IEMP) for disaster mitigation. This led to larger urban regeneration projects which have since then accelerated in the Zeytinburnu district.

At the end of 2008, in the province Istanbul 12.7 Mio residents have been legally registered. This amounts to 17.8% of the registered population of Turkey. In reality, the metropolitan area certainly had exceeded at this time already the 13 Mio level; factual residents in this metropolitan area used to exceed considerably the residents being legally registered.

Istanbul has been a primary destination for internal migration in Turkey already in 1935: 64.3% of all 1.1 million residents living outside of their province of origin were living in Istanbul; Zeytinburnu has been one of the first city areas where internal migrants settled in gecekondu. Today, the share of internal migrants moving to Istanbul is lower (approx. 20% in the period 1995-2000) since other regions of destination gained significance such as the Ankara and Izmir region, the southern coast with its booming tourism industry, and the growing urban centres in south east Turkey.

The majority of Istanbul's population belongs to Islam or closely related religious groups (i.e. Alevites better denominations Sunni, Shia, Alevis). Religious minorities include Greek Orthodox and Armenian Christians, Catholic Levantines and Sephardic Jews. According to the 2000 census, there were 2,691 active mosques, 123 active churches and 26 active synagogues in Istanbul; as well as 109 Muslim cemeteries and 57 non-Muslim cemeteries. Some districts have sizeable populations of ethnic groups, such as Kumkapı (Armenians), the Balat (Jewish), the Fener (Greek), and some neighbourhoods in the Nişantaşı and Beyoğlu districts (Levantine). Figures of religious or ethnic affiliation of the Istanbul residents are not available; the census data provide only for place of birth as well as residence at the time of the previous census. In the 2000 census, migrants have been questioned for the first time on the reason for their migration.

3.2. Migrant population and its characteristics

The motives for the migration to Istanbul had been primarily employment opportunities (about one third of the respondents) and marriage with a partner being resident in Istanbul. The age group of 15-29 years is overrepresented among internal migrants to Istanbul, and it seems that the better opportunities for finding a job and founding a family are a relevant pull factor for internal migration. There is, however, also a significant out-migration to other urban centres in Turkey such as Ankara, Izmir and Adana, and – with negative migration balances – to the neighbouring provinces around the Marmara Sea and the tourist provinces Muğla and Antalya.

An important push factor to Istanbul has been the catastrophic earthquake at August 17, 1999 with its centre in İzmit: 13.1% of the approximately 147.000 people leaving the affected region migrated to İstanbul. Another push factor had been the clashes in south-east Turkey between the military and Kurdish insurgents during the early 90ies which triggered considerable population movements to the urban centres in this region, but also to Istanbul. Exact figures, however, are not available, but there are indicators that the city district of Zeytinburnu has a sizable population of Kurdish refugees from rural areas in south east

Anatolia where in the early nineties clashes between the Kurdish separatists and the Turkish military led to a depopulation of rural areas.

The ADNKS data base (ADNKS 2008) provides data about the location of the family foundation (registration of the family by the fathers of the interviewed persons); for people stemming from rural areas, this location is likely also the region of family origin, only for mobile elites (military, public servants and teachers), it may differ. When comparing the data of residence at the last census five years ago with the location of family registration by the father, it becomes visible that only 17% of the 2008 residents of Istanbul have no migration background of first or second generation. Main regions of origin are poor rural areas of the eastern Black sea coast and Central Anatolia (Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum). Migrants from Southeast Anatolia, often speaking Kurdish in the family, are of less relevance in Istanbul. (see case study Istanbul) Although Zeytinburnu shows an high percentage of migrants in its population, there is a large share of second generation migrants who are already born in the district. In this respect differs Zeytinburnu from the large areas in Istanbul's outskirts which grew predominately at a later time, while the main growth in Zeytinburnu started already in 1946.

Figure 6: Ratio of Istanbul-born Inhabitants (1990 Census)

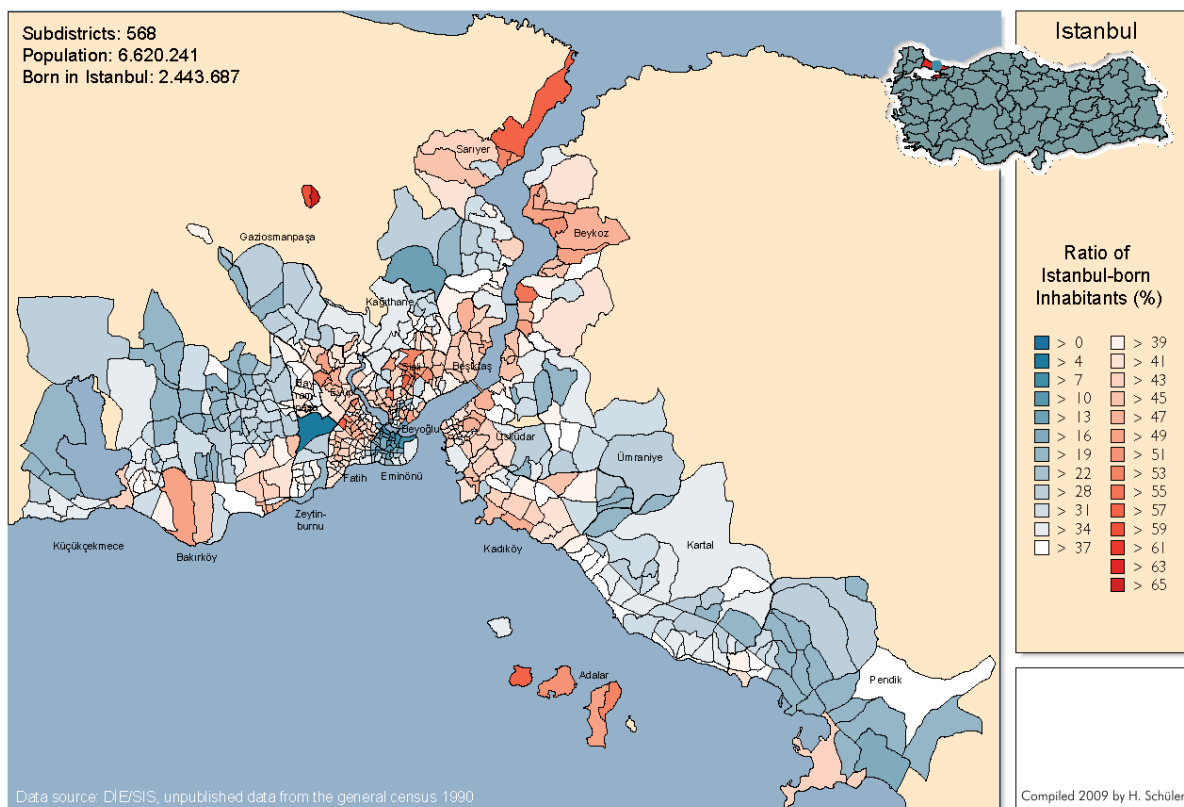
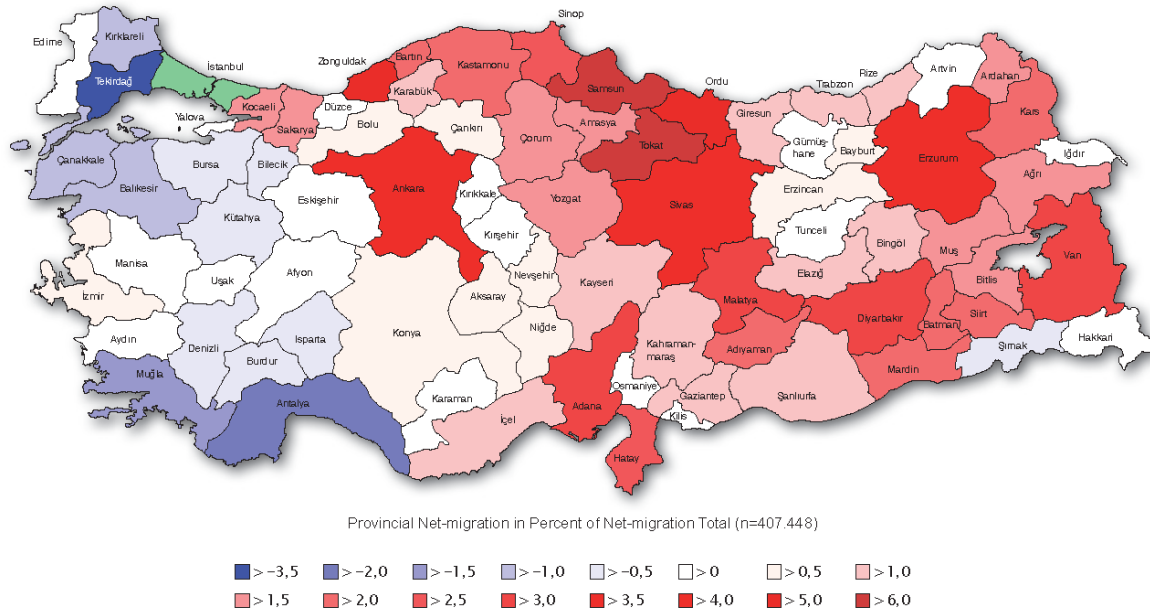


Figure 7: Provincial net-migration with Istanbul 1995-2000 in % of total net migration



Data source: DIE/SIS, 2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Göç İstatistikleri. Yay. No: 2976. Ankara: 2005, 67 ff.

Compiled 2009 by Harald Schuler

For some rural regions, already a large share of their population has migrated to Istanbul, so their net migration figures declined in the 1995-2000 period; for example, the province of Erzincan had about 317,000 inhabitants in 2000 while about 177,000 residents of Istanbul named Erzincan as their place of birth.

Experts interviewed during the field visit stated that chain migration and networks of compatriots from local areas of origin often forming quite segregated groups are a common phenomenon. In the official statistics published, any effects of these patterns are not visible since segregation patterns are much smaller than the 40 city districts with own mayors and administrations forming the municipality; thus, they come largely invisible in the statistics based on districts as a whole which are usually accessible only. However, in data from the 1990 census which have been gathered for a research project by Harald Schmidt at the level of the 568 subdistricts (Mahalle), these patterns of forming local colonies according the area of origin become visible when charted geographically.

These concentrations of residents from a province in some neighbourhoods are indicators for networks of compatriots which, however, can exist also without significant spatial concentrations. In general, one can assume that the degree of relevance of such networks correlates with the characteristics of the region of origin: The less developed and poorer the region of origin is, the more such informal networks become relevant of the internal migrants as an important resource.

Figure 8: 1990 Census, ratio of Kars-born inhabitants in Istanbul subdistricts

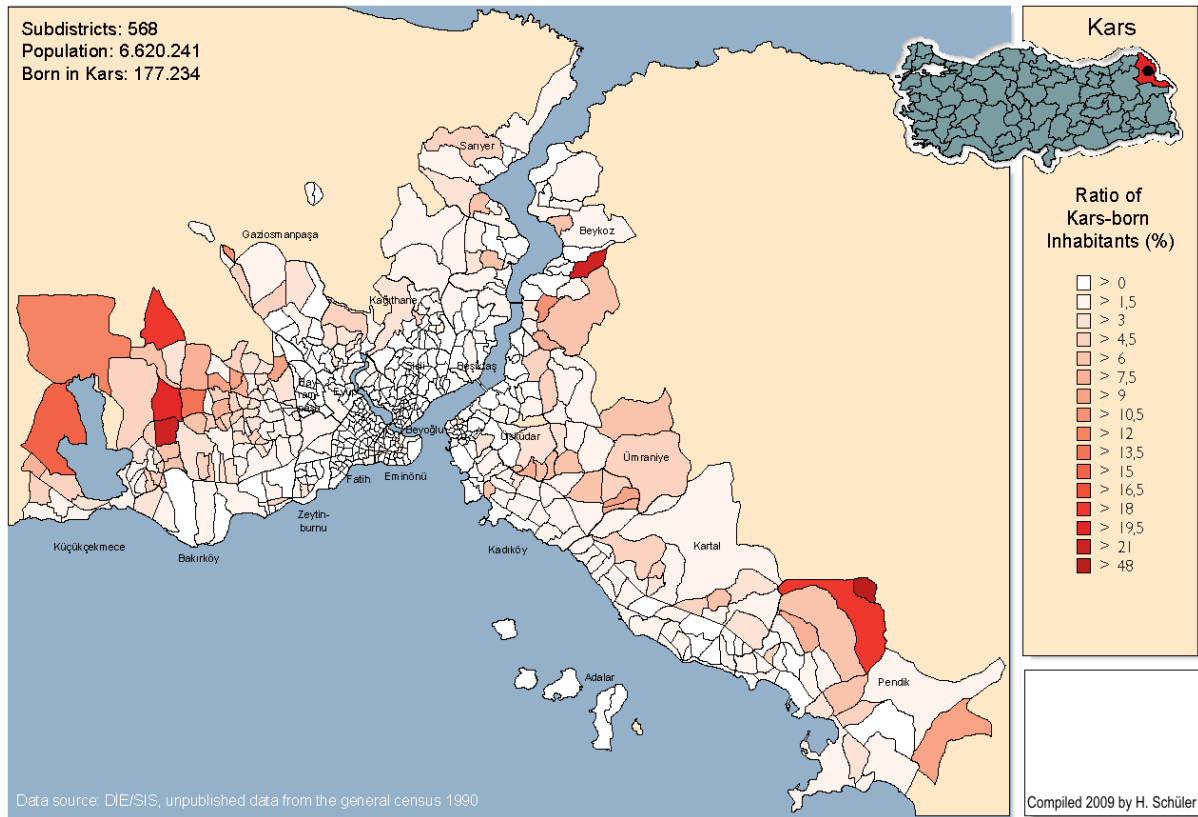
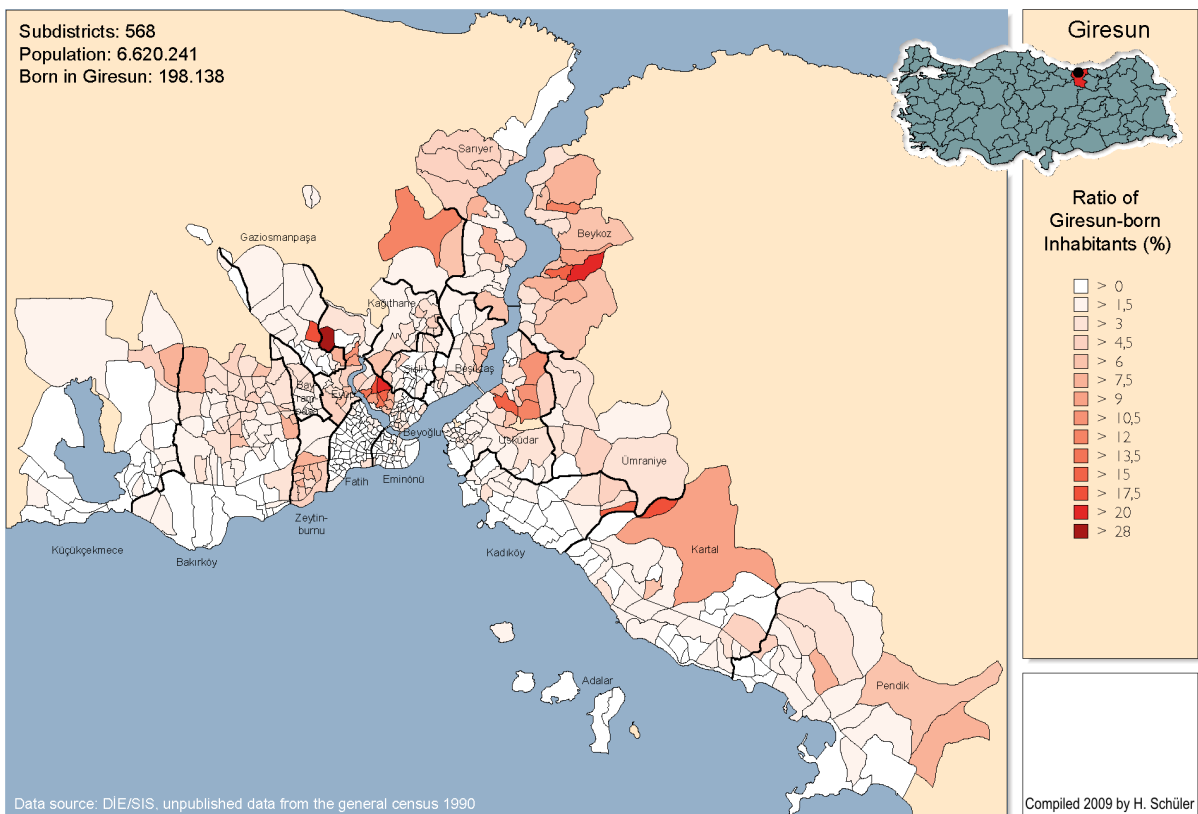


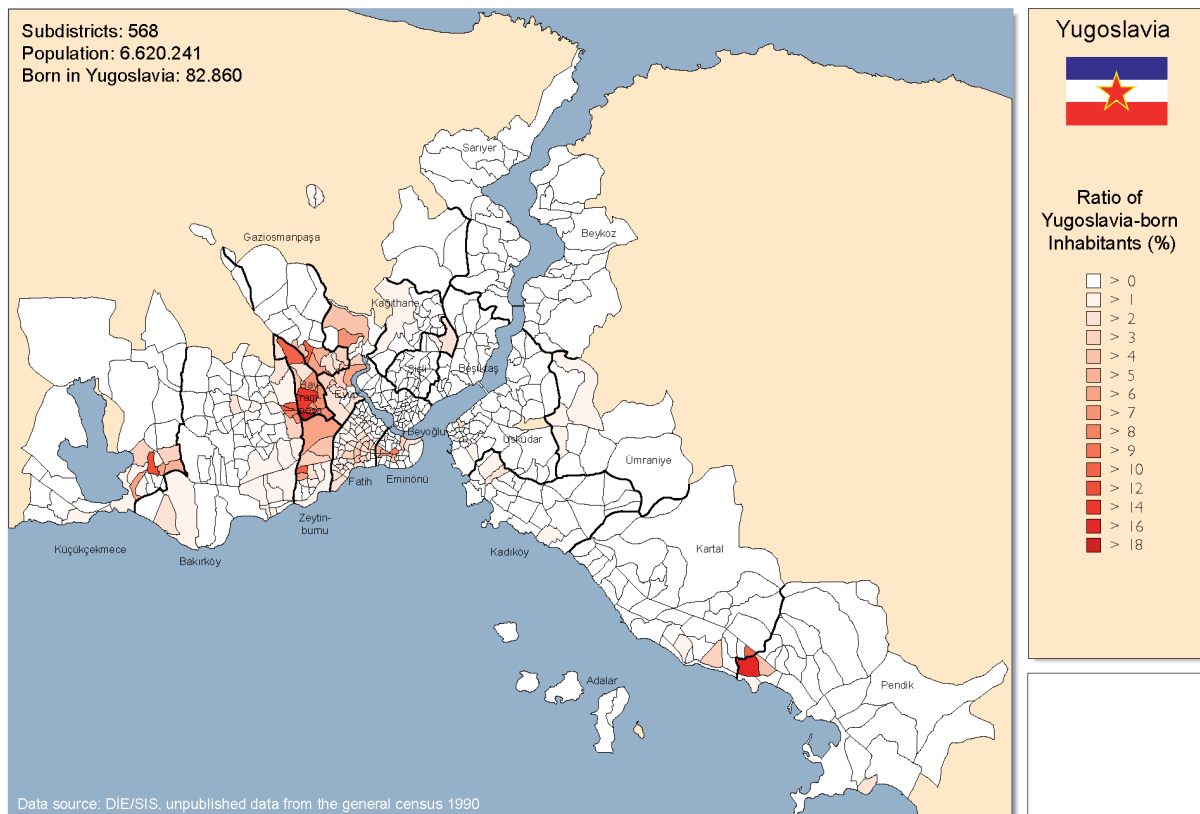
Figure 9: 1990 Census, ratio of Giresun-born inhabitants in Istanbul subdistricts



The two examples above show two different cases of Istanbul’s immigration history: While residents born in Giresun migrated mainly during the period from the 1960 to 1980, and formed concentrations in growing neighbourhoods of this time, the later arriving people from Kars settled in new areas at the outskirts of Istanbul (figure 8). The figures of both cases for the Zeytinburnu district show a difference related to the early onset of immigration to Zeytinburnu: While the earlier Giresun migrants arrived during the expansion period of Zeytinburnu, the later Kars born migrants settled in the outskirts which expanded later, and form no visible concentration in Zeytinburnu.

There are indicators that such spatial patterns remain quite stable on the long run, and that the melting of these communities into the urban society requires an extensive period of time. For example, the migrants of Turkish ethnicity coming from the Balkans in the second half of the 20th century have been settled in Istanbul’s Bayrampaşa district, many of them stemming from early emigration of Balkan Turks from former Yugoslavia after the second world war. In the 1990 census, this spatial concentration in Bayrampaşa is still present after several decades. In the north of Zeytinburnu, there is also a substantial community of Turks from Yugoslavia who have been settled in the district.

Figure 10: 1990 Census, ratio of Yugoslavia-born inhabitants in Istanbul subdistricts

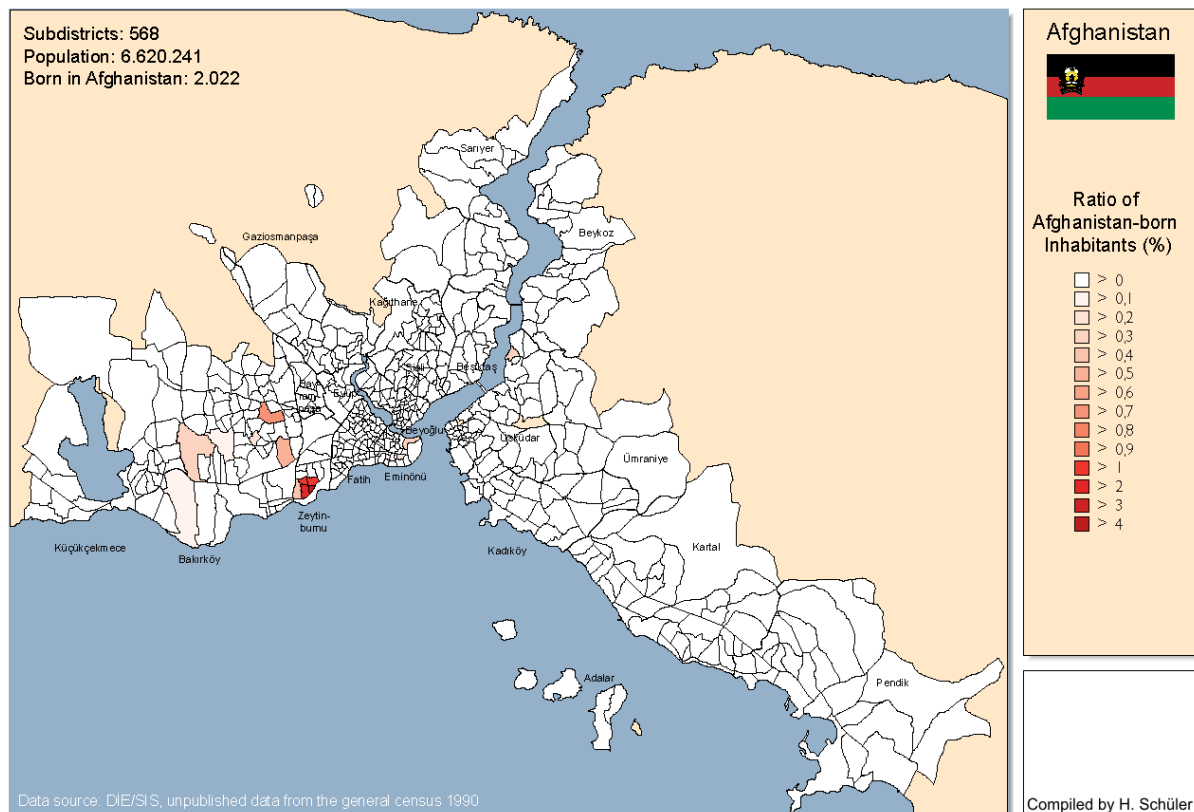


Another community concentrated in few subdistricts are the Afghanis in Istanbul who happen to have their main settlement area in the southern subdistricts of Zeytinburnu.. The last immigration of Afghanis to Turkey started 1982-83 when the then Turkish President Kenan Evren officially invited some 4000 Afgans of Turkish origin in 1982 and then again 1200 in 1983 to move to Turkey as residents of the country. An offspring of the migration of 6200

Afghan Turks into Turkey has been a steady stream of ‘family reunification’ or ‘migration through marriage’. Besides from this ‘official’ migration, Afghans of all ethnic backgrounds, not just Turkic, have entered Turkey legally with documents or have been smuggled into the country in order to seek asylum or a safer, calmer life.

The decision to reside in Zeytinburnu appears to have been spontaneous. Two reasons can be offered. The preponderance of Afghans who arrived in 1982-83 were skilled leather workers and the district of Zeytinburnu, among several others in Istanbul is famous for its many leather workshops and ateliers. Also, research conducted in Turkey to date indicates that another reason could be the large industry park in Zeytinburnu with a large number of truck companies. Both industries provided easy accessible jobs for newcomers and could have been a reason for the Afghans to settle in two of the thirteen quarters: Yeşiltepe or Nuripaşa. Interviewees repeatedly point out that they choose to live in these quarters because other Afghans live there and it reinforces their sense of identity.

Figure 11: 1990 Census, ratio of Afghanistan-born inhabitants in Istanbul subdistricts

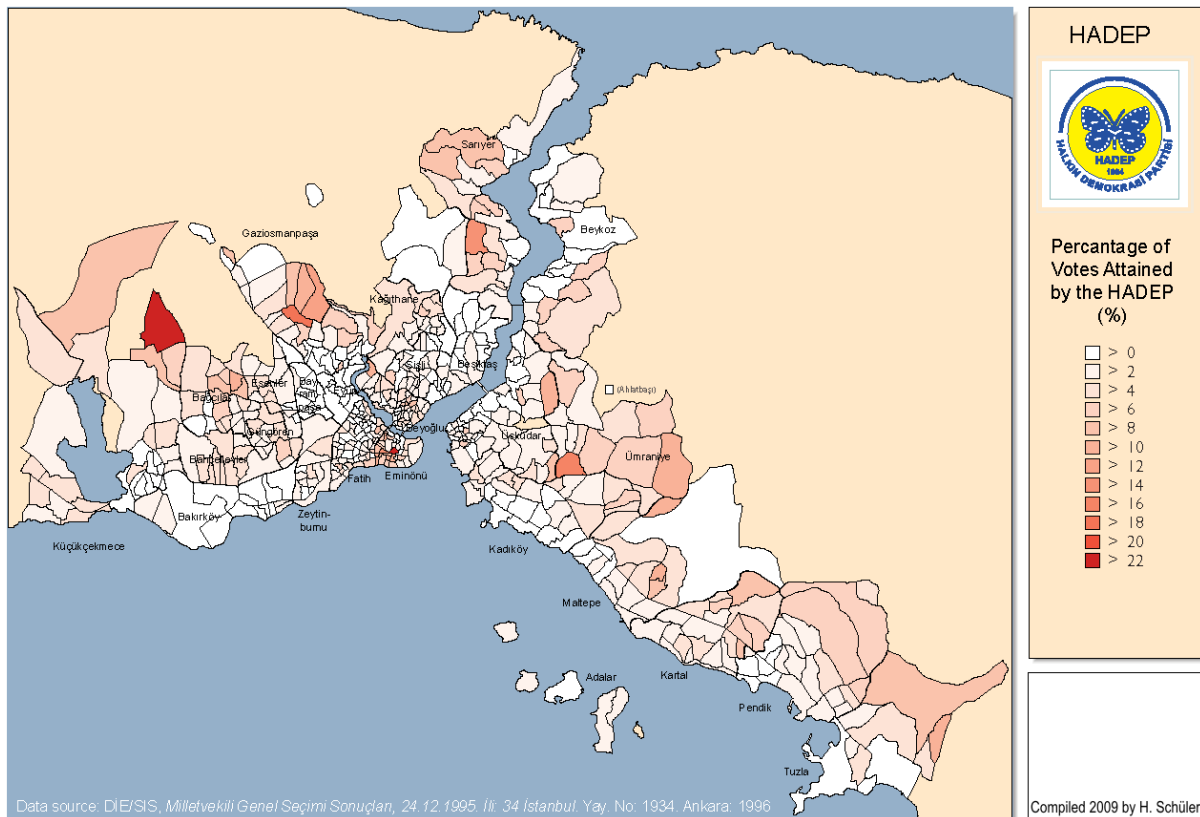


Today a number of the Afghan Turkmen are by all means economically established and have experienced economic upward mobility. Many own leather workshops and tanneries. It is estimated that Afghans own more than 500 confection and leather workshops in Zeytinburnu today, along with up to 40 leather goods, carpet and silversmith/ silver trinket shops in the Istanbul Grand Bazaar and another 25 carpet and silver trinket stores on Terlikçiler Street, an extension of the Grand Bazaar.

Information about spatial distribution of Turkish internal migrants stemming from Kurdish speaking areas in south east Turkey can be gathered only indirectly since language used in

the family or cultural origin is not recorded in official statistics. A possibility for an approximation of the spatial distribution is the number of votes for secular Kurdish parties such as the People's Democracy Party (Halkin Demokrasi Partisi, HADEP) has been, a party which repeatedly faced accusations of Kurdish separatism. One can safely assume that votes for HADEP correlate with a Kurdish background. However, only a part of voters with Kurdish background are likely to vote for a secular and Kurdish ethnicity related party, a large part of this electorate prefers parties representing the political Islam, notably the Welfare (REFAH) party. The spatial voting patterns for the latter are, however, not suitable as an indicator for the spatial distribution of residents with Kurdish background since their electorate is to a large extent beyond this group. Thus, the distribution of HADEP votes given in figure 12 can provide only an approximation; it makes only the secular part of this group visible while the voters for political Islam with Kurdish background are not included. However, as with other groups from specific provinces of origin, spatial concentrations of residents with Kurdish background are visible as well.

*Figure 12: December 24, 1995, General Election of Representatives
Percentage of Votes Attained by the HADEP*



The share of voters for the secular Kurdish nationalist party HADEP in Zeytinburnu is not noticeable. However, the Kurds from rural areas who migrated during the early nineties taking refuge from the fights in the south eastern provinces are likely to vote for the Islamic parties since they are benefiting from their social welfare groundwork. The same might hold true for the Tarlabası districts who have a considerable share of Kurds from the same cohort, but do not show significant outcomes for the secular Kurdish nationalist party HADEP, too.

The total number of residents with a Kurdish background living in Istanbul can be estimated only, as well. Data about migrants from the provinces in south east Anatolia where most Kurdish groups are stemming from (Adıyaman, Ağrı, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Şanlıurfa, Siirt, Şırnak und Van) result in about 10% of Istanbul's population in 2008. Taking into account that not all of the migrants from these provinces consider themselves as being Kurds, and adding projections about migrants with Kurdish background from other provinces, one can safely assume an upper limit of about 8% of Istanbul residents having a Kurdish mother tongue background.

Estimations of the number of Alevits in Istanbul are even more difficult. Representatives from Alevit communities claim that about 20% of the Turkish population belong to their community, a figure which seems to be grossly overestimated. Reportedly, there are some districts with a high concentration of Alevits in Istanbul, sound figures, however, do not exist.

4. Local intercultural policies in general

Until the introduction of metropolitan municipalities for large cities by the Greater Municipalities Act 3030 in June 27, 1984, the administrations also of large cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and İzmir had primarily to implement policies of the central government. The new role of municipalities, a status which in addition to the three metropolitan areas has been given to another 12 larger cities until 2005, created an increasing leeway for local governments to formulate local policies. They became responsible for the provision of basic services or utilities such as water, sewage disposal, and transport. Greater municipality status gives prestige, money, political power, capacity for major projects, extra borrowing rights and rights for privileged administrative/organisational arrangements for the upper tier municipality. The 1984 Act provided also significant additional financial resources (like 5% the total tax revenue in the province) to greater municipalities.

In a bottom-up democratisation process at the local level, civil society representatives at the local level promoted a dynamic which expanded responsibilities of the local municipal government, and introduced stakeholders' participation regulations at the local level. An important role in this process played the Agenda 21 Programme, adopted by the UN Earth Summit (Habitat 2) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The Agenda 21 City Summit took place in Istanbul in 1996 and led to a greater emphasis on a division of powers between the central administration and local administrations. In late 1997, Turkey launched a project called "Promotion and Development of Local Agenda 21" encompassing an infrastructure modernisation policy in the 23 participating Turkish cities, especially in the health care and education sectors.

4.1. General approach towards ethnic and religious issues in the city

However, the traditional predominance of the central government represented directly or via the province governor remains to be a relevant factor, especially in sectors such as local police or education. The French positivism tradition of the Kemalist Turkey, as well as the related nation-building process under considerable external pressure resulted in a negation of

ethnic differences and a rejection of the concept of ethnic minorities beyond those defined in the Treaty of Lausanne. As a consequence of both, the strong influence of the central government on local affairs as well as the assimilative and inclusive approach to diversity of groups being present in the urban society, there have been only very few examples on local policies dealing specifically with inter-group relations. In particular, ethnic and religious issues are dealt with an explicitly secular and ethnicity-blind attitude, considering all Turkish citizens officially as being equal. Specific policies and measures directed towards groups of a certain cultural or religious background would be highly problematic in this setting. The official policy is equal rights and opportunities for all Turkish citizens, regardless of their cultural heritage or religion; however, the concept of being a Turk tends to imply a certain idea of homogeneity related to Turkish language and Islam.

4.2. Issues, demands and interests

At the level of the provincial governorship, international migration and its effects on the local intergroup relations is of increasing relevance. For example, a considerable Somali community of undocumented migrants grew in recent years in Istanbul. The city is described as an attractive destination for irregular migrants due to its job opportunities in the service sector, household services, construction, tourism and sex business. Officials state that apprehended illegal workers are sent to camps for deportation which exist in 7 Turkish cities; however, in practice often deportation is not possible due to lacking ID documents, and the capacity of the camps is overstretched (700 detainees versus a capacity of 300 inmates). A serious problem is seen in the situation of children of irregular migrants and their mothers; until the age of 6 they can live with their mothers in dedicated shelters, after becoming 6, the children are sheltered in orphanages. There are specific measures in these children homes (language training, vocational training and education), and the children can meet their families once a week. Nevertheless, frequent problems of illegal work, delinquency and accidents as well as fraudulent marriages to gather a legal status are mentioned as problems.

The financial burden to the province government for sheltering and resettlement procedures is considerable; local officer are complaining about a plethora of problems in dealing with irregular migrants.

In contrast, the issues related to internal migration in Turkey are less challenging in recent years due to increased urbanisation in many regions of Turkey, and consequently diminishing numbers of internal migrants settling in Istanbul. There are occasionally complaints by the resident population about increasing numbers of internal migrants, but the authorities observe only a low degree of delinquency. In particular, among the long-term resident middleclass of Istanbul there exists a framing of internal migrants as “the others” invading the city.

Internal migrants are usually supported by networks of compatriots from their city or region of origin; they often receive economic support by their community, but cases of exploitation exist as well. The considerable segregation of groups of common origin in Istanbul’s districts are of advantage as providing a support network for new members of the community; the

related spatial segregation is not seen as a problem but instead as a factor promoting an integration of the newcomers into the urban society.

Transit migrants are considered as a serious problem for internal migrants, since they are competing with them on the local labour markets, having an impact on labour conditions and wage level; Istanbul is attractive for transit migrants since it is easy to find a job and to hide. Transit migrants working illegally in Istanbul stem primarily from three origins: Eastern neighbours of Turkey, such as Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan (small business and self-employed), ex-Soviet countries citizens entering with a tourist visa and working temporarily during their visa period (cyclical movements due to visa requirements), migrants of Turkish descent from Bulgaria, Greece, Azerbaijan and Iran (Danış 2007, 15).

With regard to the self-identification of Istanbul's residents, a common opinion states that there are very few real Istanbulites, autochthonous residents rooted in the city – in general, the city is made up by migrants. Another common sense opinion is that most of the residents organise themselves in groups with a joint migration origin, and that social interrelations tend to remain within the group. These notions are confirmed to a certain extent by an unpublished survey implemented by the Metropolitan administration during the Millenium project: about 70% of the interviewed residents considered themselves not as Istanbulites, but root their self-identity in primarily the district, or in the city or region of origin. About 30% did not like the city they are living in, and about 40% never visited historic sites of Istanbul.

The segregation of groups with a precarious socio-economic status resulting in a mobility trap and concentration in pockets within the urban society seems to affect in particular the cohort of Kurdish immigrants who moved to Istanbul due to the 1993 clashes between PKK insurgents and the Turkish military. Their numbers are estimated to be between 300,000 and one million, and they show an hour-glass shape of their socioeconomic distribution: Wealthy families from the Kurdish regions took refuge in Istanbul, but the poorest segments of the rural population as well. The latter - although they have a legal status as Turkish citizens - are often living in similar socioeconomic conditions as illegal migrants in very poor neighbourhoods without opportunities to move out. These migrants arrived in urban settlements without any property. It is not only the lack of economic capital which results in disadvantaged positions; the feeling of complete loss and rootlessness, the inability to rely on any existing social, cultural and economic resource to make a new start in the urban centre is an even more severe handicap. In these sectors of population, family structures are often atomised, and very little collective mobilisation for improvements and their rights is present.

Consequences of the socio-economic situation in poor neighbourhoods are an important issue for the administration as well as for civil society organisations and representatives of these groups. This regards the neglect of children and the street children problem, issues of health, education, housing and neighbourhood safety. Most of the issues raised by specific groups of Istanbul residents are related to these subjects.

An important issue for the Zeytinburnu municipality are the importance of migrants for the district, both with regard to limited resources and weak infrastructure, as well as the opportunities provided by the active migrant population. The mayor of Zeytinburnu, Murat Aydın, a Giresun-born migrant who grew up in Zeytinburnu, has been elected for the first

time in 1999, and since then re-elected twice with one of the best voting results among the Istanbul district mayors. He considers policies to deal constructively with the large share of migrants as of utmost importance for the city's policy, and initiated frequently public statements, actions and projects in this respect.

4.3. Institutionalised forms of relations and dialogue in the city

The metropolitan society of Istanbul is in its vast majority formed by migration. Although most of the migrants are internal migrants with Turkish citizenship, their self-identification is related to the village or region of origin; these maintained relations to the social and cultural context from their origin is highly relevant for social networks and important issues such as housing, finding a job, solidarity with compatriots and cultural activities. In this respect, Istanbul is an extremely diverse metropolis, hosting a large number of groups who live side by side and interact among each other only punctually. There seems to be little interest among the various groups for any closer interaction or joint activities across the group boundaries. Under such circumstances, keeping a metropolis functioning and maintaining institutionalised relations among these groups is quite challenging.

4.3.1. Muhtar system

Muhtars are elected representatives of a local neighbourhood and form a parallel representation structure based on national regulations and acting independently from the municipal administration and the administrations of the districts of the municipality. The Muhtars are directly elected in their neighbourhoods of approx. 500-800 households and act as local contact person for legal and administrative matters, mediators and as representatives and speakers of the local neighbourhood. They report to the provincial government, but are also relevant contact persons for the municipality as well as for the city administrations of the various cities forming the municipality of Istanbul. Since there are strong indicators of spatial segregation among the various groups, one can assume that usually the elected Muhtar of a neighbourhood belongs to the dominant group in this area.

They are represented in the local city councils which have been installed by the new municipality law with the aim to strengthen participatory processes at the local level. They play an important role in the local welfare system: They issue poverty certificates to families in need which enable the needy to receive benefits by the social welfare department of the municipality after a check of their situation in the neighbourhood by municipal officers. Muhtars are also involved in the distribution of support goods in poor neighbourhoods such as heating material, and they are in charge of registration of residents in the neighbourhood. When elected, a new Muhtar receives trainings by the provincial government, and there are also training programmes by the province government as well as by the national ministry of the interior for further training.

The interplay of the local level represented by the Muhtars and the local city administration on the one hand and the national and province government on the other has been characterised by an interviewee with the metaphor of a traditional family: The local level should represent the nurturing mother, and the state should represent the stringent father.

4.3.2. City councils

In the framework of the programme “*Implementing Local Agenda 21s in Turkey*”, the International Union of Local Authorities, Section for the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East Region started an initiative for increasing participation at the local level, improving local democratic processes and reforming local governance. An important institution of this programme are city councils which have been introduced by Article 76 of the new Law on Municipalities (No. 5393) enacted in July 2005 which requires the establishment of city councils in all municipalities. These city councils are city-wide participatory mechanisms and consist of the 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 councillors and neighbourhood heads, and the designated representatives of foundations and associations, professional chambers, private sector organizations, trade unions, academic institutions, as well as the representatives of working groups and platforms for women, youth, elderly and children. In general, the central government and municipal representation constitute about one-third of the city councils, with the remaining two-thirds consists of NGOs. Depending on the size of the cities, membership to such councils range from 100 to 600 organizations. City Councils prepare and endorse their own working principles or statutes, and function accordingly. City councils currently function in around 50 partner cities in Turkey, and most cities forming the municipality of Istanbul have been the avant-garde in this process.

The city councils act as democratic platforms where development priorities and pressing problems of the city are identified and discussed. They are not a substitute for the municipal assembly nor a representative organ of civil society, but are based on partnership and active participation of local stakeholders, and are an implementation of primary participatory mechanisms. They aim at a paradigm shift supporting the civil society in being a locomotive of the city council, applying a decentralization strategy instead of an “get rid of” approach.

In Istanbul, they are organised on the district level and are accompanied by thematic committees on issues such as womens’ and youths’ situation which are created in a bottom up process. The local authorities support the activities and decisions of the City Council by including their decisions in their respective agendas; by recent law amendments, the cities are required to prepare city development plans in a participative process. In this process, city councils are consulted and, although they have no legal mandate, they are influencing the local agendas.

Major obstacles are the reluctance of established administrative structures, for example the education system and the police are formally included into the process, but the implementation depends on a green light from the central organisation which is not easy to achieve. However, as far as information in the framework of this field study could be gathered, the city councils indeed introduced new dynamics and participatory processes in local governance. An important factor for this process is its legitimation by the Law on Municipalities and the context of the general administrative reforms. However, they also provide an opportunity for the municipalities and the local civil society to increase the leeway for policies responding to local demands and issues. By involvement of the various groups

present in city districts, these city councils have also the potential of improving local intergroup relations.

4.3.3. Primary school

The local schools report to the national ministry of education, there are several provisions for primary schools in neighbourhoods with a large share of internal migrants with speaking another language than Turkish in the family. In some cases of high concentration of a minority group, there are schools with specific Turkish language courses for the pupils who still have to acquire Turkish language; in all primary schools having pupils with language problems, there are Turkish language trainings.

Local police officers contact parents' associations at the local schools and cooperate with them in prevention of conflicts, petty crime, drug use and violence. Local police officers organise also recreation programmes for poor children in cooperation with the municipality and the city government, and are active as mediators in the neighbourhood.

4.3.4. Contacts between the city and migrant associations

Associations of groups stemming from a certain village or region are an important opportunity for these communities to organise a joint social life. They act usually in the private sphere only and try to avoid conflicts with other groups or visible political activities; in particular, they prefer not being visible as an ethnic minority organisation. Although the registration of associations is subject to a dedicated office reporting to the province governor which is also counselling the representatives of associations in legal and organisational matters, the municipality tries to keep also good relations to the various associations. Although there is no direct financial support, the local city or the municipality of Istanbul are supporting association by providing rooms for events or municipal busses for tours.

4.3.5. Activities and projects for improving intergroup relations

The administration of Zeytinburnu has been very active in acquiring funding and cooperation at an international level for local project; a series of projects and conferences has been funded, for example the UNPO conference "International Migration Symposium" in December 2005 which took place in Zeytinburnu.

A cultural centre for women and disadvantaged children has been set up in a small park near a densely populated neighbourhood with a high share of families with migration background; the centre offers homework support for school children, computer courses, adult education courses and workshops on arts and music. It implements a frequent exchange of experiences with institutions in several European cities, i.e. via the project „Municipal Dialogue For Integration Of Migrants“ with Kreuzberg in Berlin, Germany and Beringen in Belgium.

The city planning policy of Zeytinburnu aims at a soft renewal of degraded or unsafe building blocks in the district; apart from the physical renewal, an important aim of the city planning policy is introducing social integration in Zeytinburnu. With the "Zeytinburnu Project" for renewal of risky building areas in case of earthquakes, the pilot renewal schemes has some explicit goals in this respect and aims at avoiding the typical problems with housing development programmes in Turkey (Balamir 2005):

- Residents as owner occupiers and tenants will not be forced out from their habitats, unless hazard characteristics dictate otherwise; Gentrification will be avoided;
- No free external resources, subsidies or grants will be assumed available; Rather, as self-financing schemes, it is the property owners' own economic capacities and long-term credit and debt programmes coordinated under Community Partnerships, that comprehensive regeneration will find its resources;
- Through the Community Partnerships, property owners will become share-holders in the Development Corporations, Consortiums, Urban Spine enterprises, and other income generating bodies in Zeytinburnu;
- The redevelopment will lead to higher safety and quality in urban environments; to social organisations that allow collective management of larger urban areas and a new representation system in the city administration.

The programme will offer no building area in return for the services of a developer, but a normal rate of profit, contrary to the conventions in Turkey. This is to avoid gentrification. On the other hand, two financial and procedural burdens often confronted in regeneration projects are avoided here. No 'compulsory purchase' is necessary since this is a voluntary property development partnership, and an extensively-practiced easement in the construction of single blocks of flats will suffice. Secondly, the task of 'current values assessments' is avoided. The operation here will only have to take into account the existing deed shares and recalculate them in terms of new totals. This will be the basis for new rights.

Regeneration in Zeytinburnu is not confined to operations of physical redevelopment, but a social process representing a transformation into authorised and registered conduct. Changes are to occur not only in property ownership but also in business, employment, and in many aspects of life. Moving into a registered economy requires careful monitoring. Smooth change will necessitate economic sweeteners, business and property tax exemptions, concessions for intermediary periods, etc. This is a new socialisation process, and a move to higher level organisational structures. Social projects of various types have to complement the Comprehensive Regeneration process:

- A system of training and accreditation of developers, builders, building components and materials providers and workers of different categories, with priority to local resident labour
- Projects to promote employment variability and job enhancement
- Training of Municipal personnel for the new management tasks involved in regeneration projects
- Micro-financing of households intending to operate workshops and small business
- Social agreement that each local community Partnership unit is represented in the Municipal Council, to ensure also at least 1/3 in each gender.

The project aims at a participatory approach of implementation; since the current residents and owners should remain stakeholders of the local habitat, considerable efforts have to be made to gain the support of the involved residents:

- Participation of individuals in residents information campaigns
- Participation in Partnership formation procedures and claim of rights
- Participation in project development procedures
- Application for individual credits
- Moving and temporary accommodation arrangements
- Participation in supervision, completion and reclaiming procedures of property
- Participation in the new management administration and representation processes.

4.4. Relationship between different ethnic groups in Istanbul

The metropolitan society of Istanbul has an enormous diversity. The daily practice of living side by side of many groups, and the opportunities provided by informal networks of residents with joint origin, segregated neighbourhoods and little social interaction between the communities, conflicts between groups are seldom visible. The dominating discourse of joint Turkish culture and the somehow covered ethnic differences contribute to this picture. However there are serious conflicts between groups on resources; one example is the deterioration of working conditions and wages in the lower sectors by the increased supply of transit migrants working illegally. But there are also inter-group conflicts which relate more to ethnicity and socio-cultural aspects. However, in Zeytinburnu, there seem to be less visible conflicts among the various groups in the district. Reasons for this could be that the majority of the migrant population is meanwhile well established; since Zeytinburnu experienced the peaks of immigration already several decades earlier than many other districts in Istanbul, the settlement and integration processes are more progressed. Another reason could be the availability of reasonable job opportunities in the small scale business and the nearby industry park which offered opportunities for gaining decent living conditions. Last but not least, the innovative approach and the engagement of the district government for infrastructure and social integration projects may bear fruits; Zeytinburnu has been one of the first districts which realised major restructuring and rebuilding after the catastrophic Marmara earthquake of 1999 by being a pilot area of the disaster mitigation programme.

4.5. Public communication

In reaction to the results of the survey implemented by the municipality about the self-identification of Istanbul's residents and the attitudes towards the city as a whole, the municipality initiated in the context of the Millennium project a multilevel campaign in Istanbul called "Your's Istanbul". It aims at creating a notion of being an Istanbulite among the metropolitan population, promoting a self-identification with the city. The idea of the campaign is that immigrants own Istanbul also emotionally instead of Istanbul incorporating immigrants; the campaign targets immigrants as well as long term residents of Istanbul.

The mayor of Zeytinburnu is also very active in supporting the building up of a local identity in the district. For example, at one event, the municipality planted flowers in the district, and distributed flowers to the passers-by with a welcome message.

By these public communication strategies, the municipality tries to improve the intergroup relations in the metropolis and to support the raise of a collective identity in the hitherto highly segregated megacity.

5. Intergroup relations and radicalisation

The issue of radicalisation, both among autochthonous residents as well as among ethnic groups of internal migrants is highly sensitive in the Turkish political setting. In addition, during the times of the field visit in Istanbul, there has been elevated political tension with regard to Kurdish groups at the national level. For this reason, no reliable information could be gathered about the issues of radicalisation and policies of prevention in this area.

6. Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP

Istanbul is a unique megacity at the junction of the European and the Asian continent in a geopolitical position and with an attractive prosperity which made the metropolis a preferred destination both for international as well as for internal migration. The city has a long history of diversity and has been for long time the capital of the pluriethnic Osman empire. Its society is shaped to a unique degree by migrants; although most of its residents are Turkish citizens, there are strong cultural differences among the various groups present in the city.

In dealing with this enormous diversity, the metropolis bears a unique combination of traditional, historically rooted structures – such as the Muhtar system, as well as very recent developments of administrative reforms for participative governance in bottom-up processes initiated by the Local Agenda 21 and legislative changes. In addition, Istanbul is at the crossroads of international transit migration and belongs to the most relevant sending country of immigrants to many other European cities; the experiences with and practices of intergroup relations in Istanbul therefore are highly relevant for other European cities as well.

The city district of Zeytinburnu is especially interesting since the area seems to be arrived at a quite mature stage of social cohesion after the early onset of massive immigration into the area. The district has some structural and cultural features which are probably favourable for such development: A very long history of immigration, from Italians, Greeks to various groups of Turkish origin in Europe and Asia. Situated just outside the city walls of the medieval Istanbul, and hosting traditionally leather production workshop, it seemed to have a tradition of dealing with populations at the margin of mainstream society. Being one of the first large *gecekondus* in modern Turkey, and having managed the transition towards an constructive development, the case of Zeytinburnu has the potential of interesting insights for further research. The upcoming module on ethnic entrepreneurship may find interesting cases and experiences in Zeytinburnu. In this module, however, the case study could only grasp some quite superficial insights which still are to be validated and analysed at a more profound level. Within the given framework of a very late decision to participate in the module, it has been not possible to expand the findings of this case study beyond this presented work.

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Interviewees

The field visits took place from May 3rd to 9th, 2009. The interviewed experts were the following:

Açikel, Taner, Istanbul Bükükşehir Belediyesi

Akin, Ulaş (MSc), Urban and Regional Planner

Akyel, Osman, IGEP Project

Altintas, Mustafa, Secretary Governor

Avcı, Adem, Director Municipal Cemetery

Başaran, Metin, Bem-Birsen-Sen-Memur-Sen Konfederasyonu

Prof. Dr. Baz, Ibrahim, IMP-Istanbul Metropolitan Planlama-Metropolitan planning and urban design center

Cakmak, Volkan, EU Relations Director of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

Cubuk, Murteza, Bem-Birsen-Sen-Memur-Sen Konfederasyonu

Daoudov, Murat, Director - EU & International Relations Centre / Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region

Dohoda, Antoni, History Museum of Polonezköy

Emrealp, Sadun, Yerel Gündem 21-Turkey Local Agenda 21 Program

Eroglu, Dincer, EU Relations Director of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

Eronat, Ali, IGEP Project

Evrin, Ibrahim, Deputy Secretary General

Gelebek, Mehmet, Bem-Birsen- Sen-Memur-Sen Konfederasyonu

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Maeth, Hans, IGEP Project

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Öncü, Ayşe, Sabancı Üniversitesi

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