



The City Diplomacy and Istanbul's Capacity for City Diplomacy

Kent Diplomasisi ve İstanbul'un Kent Diplomasisi Kapasitesi

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Öz

Günümüzde kentlerin ulus-devletlerin alt aktörleri olarak uluslararası sistemde yer aldıkları görülmektedir. Bu göçün 1970'lerde başlayan hem kentleşme hem de sanayileşme süreçlerinin istenmeyen bir sonucu olduğunu söylemek haksız olmayacaktır. Ancak sanayileşme süreci yarım kaldığı için özellikle yerel ve ulusal yönetimler arasında çeşitli yönetim sorunları yaratmıştır. Sürekli göç, İstanbul da dâhil olmak üzere Türkiye'de önemli sayıda şehri etkilemiştir. 2000 yılından itibaren İstanbul, dış göç nedeniyle kent kültürünü ve kent kimliğini giderek kaybetmektedir. Böylece kentleşme süreci hem iktisadi hem sosyal olarak İstanbul için tamamlanamayan bir süreç olmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, bu makale, İstanbul'un kentleşmeden kaynaklanan ekonomik ve siyasi sorunların çözümü açısından kent diplomasisi kapasitesini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken, bu makale yerel ve merkezi yönetim arasındaki gerilimi diplomasinin kullanımı açısından önemli bir neden olarak örnek almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kent Diplomasisi, Küreselleşme, İstanbul, Kentleşme, Kent Yönetimi

ABSTRACT

Today, cities are considered the sub-actors of nation-states in the international system. The disruption of public services stemming from continuous migration emerged as a new problem during the early 2000s. It would not be unjustified to argue that this migration is an undesired result of the processes of both urbanization and industrialization, which began in the 1970s. However, industrialization remained incomplete, creating various governance issues, especially between the local and national governments. This migration flux has influenced many cities in Türkiye, including İstanbul. From 2000 onwards, İstanbul has gradually been losing its urban culture and identity cause of emigration. Therefore, urbanization could not be completed both economically and socially in İstanbul. Within this framework, this article aims to explore the city diplomacy capacity of İstanbul in terms of solving economic and political problems arising from urbanization. This article takes the tension between local and central governments in terms of diplomacy as an example.

Keywords: City Diplomacy, Globalization, İstanbul, Urbanization, Urban Governance

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Introduction

Today, many people are living in urban areas. Approximately 56% of the world's population – 4.4 billion people – live in cities (United Nations, 2018). This trend is expected to continue as the urban population doubles by 2050. At this point, about 7 out of 10 people will live in cities. Thus, it will create some problems for urban governance, the reason for the mass population in the cities. The growing population is a critical factor in tackling several issues for the mayors of the megacities. Consequently, global changes affect local stability due to the speed of population growth in cities.

After the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, migration from the countryside to the city and urbanization brought many problems. As the population in cities has increased, the issues have also grown. These problems are local problems such as sanitation, infectious diseases, accommodation, waste management, transportation, etc. In the 2000s, many concepts such as globalization, localization, centralization, and decentralization were intertwined. Especially in cities, where the speed of life exceeds the rate of nature, many problems affect human life.

Richard V. Knight, an economist and expert on urban affairs, argued that rapid globalization had created a new global society characterized by "a global consciousness and a global ethic" (Knight, 1989); the Bulletin itself adopted this position as an early theoretical justification for the social forces guiding the municipal foreign policy movement. Other academics later began to agree, particularly as the legitimacy of the nation-state was increasingly endangered by globalization, that the development of a global consciousness impacted the municipal foreign policy movement.

City diplomacy emerged in the 1980s with the reactions of U.S. cities against Reagan's policies. For the first time, the mayors of U.S. cities, Reagan's "new federalism" placed greater responsibilities on state and local authorities, including managing growing numbers of Southeast Asian refugees, building footholds in overseas markets, and the problems posed by oil (Leffel, 2018). Prices and oil shortages, often without any federal policy, combined with Reagan's involvement in Central America and other foreign relations concerns, such as the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union, U.S. cities' participation in foreign affairs accelerated significantly. Consequently, there are many protests against the U.S. Government to stand by human rights and legislation norms. Although Reagan's governance put pressure by cutting federal aid to municipalities, the mayors insisted on their protests even if it would decrease these cities' incomes. The cities located in states with democratic regimes can manage municipal foreign policy or city diplomacy with the help of norms and legislation for the best welfare of residents.

In academic literature, the studies on city diplomacy have not utilized quantitative methods. A qualitative analytical approach is most appropriate without measurable data in city diplomacy research. Many studies have used either case studies or comparison methods furthermore discuss the practical dimensions of city diplomacy beyond urban governance. Van Der Plujim and Melissen (2007) acknowledge the growing significance of local governments in public diplomacy, as some towns are establishing unified "municipal foreign policies." Musch and Sizoo (2009) prepared a working paper sponsored by the municipality of Hague in the Netherlands about urban governance in conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction. Acuto (2021) primarily examines governance issues between US central and state governments and global governance issues of local governments. Another researcher, Kosovac (2021), examines city diplomacy as a new foreign affair among the local authorities and argues that cities have a prominent role on the global policy stage with the help of city diplomacy. Most of them discussed the relative facts of city diplomacy on urban

governance in international locations. However, acting in city diplomacy is hard for developing countries or countries on the democratization process in local and national governments. Another issue for these states is that they dominate cities and hobble their political and economic independence according to centralized governmental politics. The forms focus on harnessing the developing or developed cities as economic growth engines.

This study will discuss the capacity of local governments to act in city diplomacy to solve the political and economic problems arising from globalization at the regional level. On the other hand, the city diplomacy capacity of the city of Istanbul, known as a diplomacy center in the past, will be investigated at the international level, and its problems in establishing diplomatic relations will be discussed.

1. What is City Diplomacy?

Diplomacy is a critical factor in problem-solving among states. In ancient times, city diplomacy was a diplomatic activity between the cities. In ancient Greece, city-states like Athens and Macedon started to get into relations by acting in diplomacy. They were regularly sending and receiving embassies of ad-hoc diplomacy. During Renaissance times, Italian city-states Venice and Milan permanently established diplomatic missions abroad after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 led to the development of a state-centered vision of international relations. Modern diplomacy became the mass measurement of states for national interests.

With the formation of contemporary states and international order through the introduction of the Westphalia Agreement, the conditions were the main actors of the diplomacy. Between the 17th and 18th centuries, the negotiations and diplomatic processes were part of closed systems mainly regulated by powerful states (England, France). In addition, diplomatic language was changing through the powerful States' language. Meanwhile, the state with the primary diplomatic language is the dominant actor in managing the international environment or community. The 19th century was the century of the empires, and the 20th century was the century of the nation-state. However, the shape of international actors has changed considerably to sub-actors like local organizations and authorities. The 21st century is the age of cities and local authorities' representatives on a global scale.

Today, globalization has settled on multilayered diplomacy to handle the many issues that extend beyond the global stage. Many international actors have occurred, except states. However, the states' sovereignty and territorial borders are the primary factors of political issues. However, the other international actors are keen to integrate themselves as an actor to tackle the many problems linked to their political sphere or global issues by using diplomacy. Therefore, the states use diplomacy not only as a dialogue tool with other states but also as a negotiation tool with other international actors like sub-state actors (NGOs, transnational cooperation, regions, cities). Many concepts are compared to traditional diplomacy in negotiating with other international actors.

Early studies defined the Netherlands Institute of International Relations. Clingendael defines city diplomacy as "the institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage to represent themselves and their interest to one another" (Pluijm, 2007). Cities have a significant role to play, similar to state diplomacy, in solving the problems of a globalized world. Many researchers define alternative diplomatic relations in different terms like "sub-state diplomacy," "multilayered diplomacy," or "Para diplomacy," which are the most commonly used ones to realize city diplomacy.

The most accepted definition is "city diplomacy is the tool of local governments and their associations in promoting social cohesion, conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction to create a stable environment in which the citizens can live together in peace, democracy, and

prosperity" (Sizoo, 2007). Another definition is from Demirtas that "city diplomacy is the policy applied by cities to represent themselves in global politics, and to realize their interests" (Demirtas, 2016). However, it is hard to give the correct meaning to the definition of city diplomacy in a narrow way for understanding the activities of municipalities in international relations. City diplomacy is still used as a new diplomacy concept in progress between the mayors of capital cities and their central governments in the global sphere.

The effectiveness of city diplomacy relies on the coordination of local and central governments. Even if a global problem occurs as a local problem, it is limited to local governance. It does not affect other regions of the country. The central government should tackle the issue on the job. Many foreign organizations and municipalities explore the city's cultural assets and comparable aims to reap the most profit from the preparations for the success of city diplomacy. Conversely, cities operate as global hubs that perform economic and political functions to offer a sustainable habitat for their citizens. Three parts stemming from globalization have caused tension between central and local governments. One is global migration, and the others are international trade and climate change. Trade is a factor that most megacities involve in a great line of transportation and banking instruments. There is no way to refuse these regulations; they are carrying all the facilities and giving many opportunities to residents in their areas. There is competition among megacities to receive some funding from international organizations to repair cities' locations and develop economic and political instruments. In addition, the mayors can do their responsibilities as a president to their voters.

After the 2000s, the mayors and their representatives have worked harder than ever to face global issues. For instance, climate change has been central to the C40 World Mayor Summit Initiative since its inception in 2005. In terms of democracy and the rule of law, the "Little Visegrad Group," which was founded in 2019 by the mayors of Budapest, Prague, Warsaw, and Bratislava, has bypassed their national governments by promoting pro-EU legislation (Dalibon, 2022). With foreign representation, local administrators taking on the role of ambassador, applying to international initiatives for their regions, and sister city agreements, the conflict between the central and local administrations grows (Acuto, Kosovac, & Hartley, 2021). During the summer of 2022, a flurry of unnoticed worldwide declarations from around the world revealed a long-awaited announcement of cities' diplomatic activity. In the aftermath of the war, eight mayors from the Eurozone cities network (Florence, Helsinki, Lyon, Marseille, Oslo, Riga, and Tirana) sent delegations to Kyiv on August 19, 2022 (Dalibon, 2022). A deal was negotiated built on three pillars: sustainable urban development, accountability, financial transparency, and local democracy. The agreement sets the stage for Ukraine's journey toward the Copenhagen criteria as part of the EU's Rebuild Ukraine Initiative. The EU Commission was expected to announce that initiative in May 2022. This agreement exemplifies how cross-border city interactions can align with national-level foreign policy objectives. These European cities in the Global North have economic and diplomatic supremacy. The Global North is increasing its influence on global governance. Indeed, it stems from local democracy, openness, accountability in local and central government finances, and sustainable urban development. Moreover, many European cities are mandated to act on international policy issues often overlooked by central governments (Kosovac, Hartley, Acuto, & Gunning, 2021). Both in the Global North and South, such examples can be seen in countries where national and local administrations are dominated by inward-looking political parties that promote opposing narratives about the urgency of climate change, migration, and socioeconomic inequality.

2. Urban Governance and International Relations

Historically, cities have been centers of trade, culture, education, and economic opportunity. Despite this, urban population growth has not always been consistent. Indeed, urbanization is a relatively new concept. For instance, in 1800, more than 90% of the global population resided in rural areas.

According to the United States Census Bureau, more than 94 percent of the U.S. population lived in rural areas in 1800; by 1900, this proportion had reduced to 60 percent appropriately (Ritchie and Roser, 2018). The growing factors of cities are the industrial revolution and sustainable development of economic structure. The Industrial Revolution contributed to the development of the city capital at the beginning of the 1900s. In addition, the worker population increased in the 20th century for the welfare of the society. Many people living in the center of London became more urban than rural at the end of the 20th century. A new metropolis, known as a megacity with a population of at least 10 million, has emerged due to urbanization in recent years.

Globalization and urbanization have spread the prominence of urban governance. However, it is vital for the local government to have some instruments or to achieve some goals for their residents for the city's welfare. According to Ndreu (2016), urban governance must occur when people live in a community and have enough intimate interaction to address their problems as a group to attain the desired results.

2.1. The Definition and Characteristics of Urban Governance

In the 2000s, the central governments' authority decreased during the current global problems and will appear in the future. In the past, starting with the Industrial Revolution, cities became the new social settlements. In the sociological aspect, the society is classified as urban and rural people. The municipalities needed to construct many services for the people working in factories with their families. Meanwhile, there were many factories and dormitories in cities. Every city in Europe had different styles to be settled according to the culture of societies. For instance, English people liked to settle around the city center in rural areas. But French people wanted to pay in the center of cities. In the 1700s, less than 2% of people worldwide lived in cities (Tekeli, 2021). The increasing population with industrialization has also led to the development of cities, which are manufacturing areas. However, in the world, many cities are pulling the mass migration movements towards the frontiers; most are on the edge of the migration road, while the others are well-developed cities attracting immigrants for a better life.

Hedley Marshall's book 'Stamp Memorial Lectures' provides a positive definition of the local authority. He defines it as having three main characteristics: it must have a restricted geographical area in operation within a state or a nation, a democratized election process, and the hegemony of fiscal instruments, including city capital and power of taxation (Sharpe, 1970). Humes and Martin (1961) argue that local government should have essential features. These are a particular population, a specific surface area, legal status, and ability to sign contracts with other actors (NGOs, municipalities, states, etc.), which can collect taxes, and determine its financial freedom, have a stable and well-formed organization elected by residents of the city, and effective political participation.

In the 2000s, Wilson and Game (2006) claimed that urban governance is a multi-functional, geographical organization focused on achieving social, economic, or political goals using funds provided from above or those generated by its revenues and that it oversees and regulates all public services provided to the local community. Considering all the definitions provided above, it will seem that the relationship between the central and local governments and the interaction between local governments and the local population serves as the common denominators. However, there is tension between national and urban governance on the division of power in the city area. Welfare, public service-providing, and the liberty of the residents' participation in the election are the characteristics of the city's autonomy. In contrast, local government is also a part of the central government on the restricted areas of the city in national borders.

All these definitions overlap urban governance, which has contemporarily a broad role and responsibilities in international affairs. From a global perspective, most megacities have the budget of small states, and they can control their budget. Approximately 300 cities are called "global cities" worldwide (Sassen, 2012). For instance, New York, Tokyo, Sidney, Paris, and London are notably most mentioned cities in the same way. A city that acts as the primary node in the world economic network is called a global city, also known as a power city, world city, alpha city, or world center. The theory behind the idea, which has its roots in geography and urban studies, is that globalization has led to a hierarchy of strategically important places with varied degrees of global influence over trade, finance, and culture.

The megacities have complex systems; however, they are incomplete systems. Nevertheless, the population growth is due to the increasing capacity of city development and new trends reconfiguring the social order. By the way, many cities should have integral characteristics to regulate public services. These are (Nydreu, 2016);

- 1) Local area: Each local government unit functions in a defined territory. Depending on the territorial configuration of the state, this area could be a city, town, region, or anything else. Surface and its boundaries are established by special legislation enacted by the central government or parliament.
- 2) Local authority: a well-developed organization in a public area is responsible for all the public services. It requires reforming the general issues of globalization, including global problems.
- 3) Local finance and free budget: The local unit must have finances to deliver services and perform functions successfully. Because the services it provides residents should be financially supported, these funds might come from local taxes and state subsidies.
- 4) Local autonomy: The local government can develop and operate in legally recognized activities and functions. It also involves the legal right of local citizens to elect representatives to administer the region by the established laws. It should be highlighted that autonomy does not imply sovereignty over these bodies, which are legally and structurally dependent on state structures.
- 5) Local participation: The local government can develop and operate in legally recognized activities and functions. It also involves the legal right of local citizens to elect representatives to administer the region by the established laws. It should be highlighted that autonomy does not imply sovereignty over these bodies, which are legally and structurally dependent on state structures.
- 6) Local development: The city's growth will meet the community's needs. The benefit of local government is primarily the development of economic opportunities based on *equality for all the residents*.

A city's functions require a particular population, a specific surface area, a foresighted leader, and continuous organization. However, population growth has been increasing rapidly in the last decades in megacities worldwide. The megacities are facing many global problems, mainly including migration flux. Therefore, the first thing to recover the city's situation is to arrange a stable population increase rate. As a result, urban population stabilization will ensure that requirements such as housing, food, and beverage are less in demand and social services are provided to a smaller population. This suggests that the needs of a specific region are proportional to its borders and people. Besides, it is a fact that the functions of the city are similar to the parts of a state, as stated in the 6th article above. Procedures such as the dominant region, autonomy, political participation, autonomous budget, and economic income, as the standard functions of the city and the state, cause mayors and presidents to conflict

against each other in the field of governance (Pejic, 2022). City diplomacy is especially significant regarding capacity building of the actors conducting diplomatic relations, directing foreign relations, maintaining ties and cooperation, and creating mutual benefits.

Globalization focuses on development, welfare, and marketization for the states. However, there are main issues related to global issues that occur in local areas facing the local population and need to be solved by local authorities. However, there are fundamental issues with global concerns that develop in regional areas and are met by the local population and must be addressed by the local government. Some elements, such as the local authority's economic strength, the variety of income items, or the existence of an autonomous administration, directly impact these issues.

2.2. The Importance of Urban Governance in Global Issues

It is clear today that local authority plays a crucial role in maintaining peace, which is separated in many ways from the state. A sociologist, Johan Galtung, pointed out the local leads as peace factors, actors or workers capable of tackling the global issues that limit society's welfare in urban life (Galtung, 2000). Local authorities have some motivations for problem-solving and peace-making roles. In addition, local authorities can tackle global issues with the help of the central government. Local authorities do not possess military power. Only the states have arms, and also, the states have ideologies and national goals based on geographical aspects and historical heritages. Consequently, the municipalities are less pathological than states. Towns and cities have a vision of sociological and economic issues in societies' daily lives. Many small municipalities are the mirrors of society on a large scale. Residents of the cities have the role of establishing the city's culture and identity and even forming the city's architecture. However, globalization forced the cities to be a complicated system failure. The developed cities and undeveloped towns are exposed to global problems. The structure of the city population is changing, and the planned urbanization is surrounded by suburban neighborhoods. This situation affects even the election promises of the mayors, and serving the more multilayered social classes also disrupts the city's public services.

To adapt to the changing world, modern cities have a global vision. These cities are divided into the Global North and South beyond the financial opportunities (Kosovac, Hartley, Acuto, & Gunning, 2021). All the towns in the north and south are under the effect of globalization and decentralization. Wealth and income inequality continue to deepen disparities in well-being, education, and other facets of society in the Global North's affluent cities. At the same time, rising property values hastened gentrification and pushed lower-income households to the outskirts of cities (Wellen & Van Hulst, 2012). Additionally, with the influx of migrants displaced by economic crises and many problems related to municipal services, the mayor can be stressed due to the growing population and face fiscal problems. Thus, several policy issues, including socio-political division and environmental deterioration, can be linked to underlying global economic pressures formed by structural change, modernization and hyper-flexibility of production systems, and capital mobility (Kosovac, Hartley, Acuto, & Gunning, 2021). Local governments have been looking outside their borders for possibilities to work together as they try to relate these and other regional issues to the global scale and look for forums to exchange expertise. This is what has sparked a growth in city diplomacy.

3. Diplomatic Capacity of İstanbul in City Diplomacy

Istanbul is the megacity of Türkiye and has approximately 60 % economic share of the Turkish economy. A successful governance in Istanbul is akin to effective resource management for the Turkish

economy. Various qualities have a global impact on Istanbul's urban governance. However, these qualities can affect the capacity of city diplomacy in the international system.

3.1. City Diplomacy of Istanbul in Ancient and Modern Times

Istanbul is a historical city that has been the scene of various forms of diplomacy for centuries. Soon after Constantine the Great transformed Byzantine, the little Greek colony founded by Byzas, into Constantinopolis, the metropolis of Constantine, Roman power in the West crumbled, leaving Constantinople as the hub of the civilized world. Constantinople became a destination for traders, visitors, pilgrims, ambassadors, and go-betweens as the capital of what Western historians would eventually call the Byzantine Empire (Lutwak, 2009). The Nea Rome, a religious as well as governmental hub and the most fantastic city in the Mediterranean basin, gained significantly from the respect placed upon it by the imperial court. The New Rome was also the new caput mundi (head of the world). Its imperial magnificence enchanted outsiders who gazed at its buildings, such as Hagia Sophia, the Basilica of St. John Lateran, and the Pantheon. It was called the "Great City" among the Europeans cause of its beautiful landscape, significant monuments, disciplined soldiers, well-qualified merchants (called Levantines), and well-ordered society (Gurkan, 2019). In the 1500s, when the Ottoman Empire was raised at the center of diplomacy, Istanbul was the center of diplomacy and espionage. Ambassadors had a significant role in shaping the image of Turkish people and Turkish culture in Europe. According to the writing of European ambassadors, they served and informed much knowledge about the Ottoman Empire's political and economic structures, the structure of Turkish society, etc. So, these reports were used to understand the Turkish community for policymaking by the other states. Diplomacy was then used not only to discuss political and economic issues but also for inter-communal, cultural, and social interaction. Ambassadors worked as historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, and cultural ambassadors in addition to solving the problems of their citizens in the Ottoman Empire, supporting their commercial activities, and solving legislation issues. On the other hand, Tanzimat-era Levantines (settled merchants of Italian, French, English, and Slavic origin from the western Mediterranean and engaged in commercial activities) played an important role in diplomatic relations to contribute to the commercial activities of the city (Cakicioglu, 2007). Besides, Levantines contributed to the urban identity of Istanbul with elements such as music, theater, fashion, and architecture from European civilization and the commercial activities of Istanbul's urban culture. The city's culture and identity are dependent on residents and their cultures.

In modern times, extending the borders of economic opportunities, the states enforced their management capacities in domestic policy. However, the national governance especially could not manage the whole part of megacities to give the same order in all fields of public services. There are many obstacles to this type of governance beyond the inequalities of the regions. Globalization has caused problems like man, many types of governments, and many kinds of diplomacy. Globalization has been identified as the cause of global governance and urban governance and is also caused by decentralization. The definition of global urban governance mentions the significance of the governance of cities in the worldwide system with a trans-state governance understanding.

In the 21st century, a new governance trend is realized by the policy-making institutions called 'decentralization.' It is a new definition that occurred by the global system regarding global problems and their solving. Decentralization can be used to refer to urban governance, especially if decentralized governments are in charge of controlling cities rather than villages or communities (Obem-Odoom, 2012). Decentralization is not only a new form of urban governance but also a new trend of governance to be stable in the regions dependent on the central government. However, decentralization requires democratization and liberal economic management for the society and the state (Pejic, 2022). National and urban governance can manage and harmonize the public services for the growing and multi-

cultured population in megacities. Nevertheless, some global issues affect local and central government on behalf of decentralization. These are like migration flux and climate change effects in regional areas.

Local issues, like migration, are increasingly impacted by national or worldwide policy concerns. This is a global interaction between regional and international problems. In European cities, the mayors rely on political decisions and funds provided by the federal, state, and European Union (EU) levels due to a lack of legal authority and financial resources (Heimann, Stürner, Bendel, & Schammann, 2021). Cities must have access to EU forums that address migration and integration issues so they can learn about the laws, political choices, and financing options. In EU Policy progress, mayors must follow a channel from urban governance to the EU supranational system. Therefore, the mayors cannot locally manage city diplomacy in the EU zone without the national and supranational levels. The capital cities have more problems than the other cities. We know that megacities' issues are more complicated than other small cities. Managing capital cities requires more expertise. At the same time, it is difficult to solve these problems without the central government's support in matters such as projecting and budgeting. Therefore, mayors who will conduct city diplomacy do not have the potential to act independently.

While international migration features a high potential for both migrants and their new city of residence, it also generates a series of challenges whose management falls mainly in the hands of mayors (Curtis, 2014). Nevertheless, migration flow from undeveloped countries can decrease the number of qualified workers. It can intensively cause the wave of the labor market in the wage profile for the residents of the cities. As a result, it could cause damage to municipal services and prevent them from expanding the services all around the city residents equally. In Istanbul, since the 2000s, the city population has increased yearly. In 2007, for the first time in human history, more people began to live in urban than rural areas. In addition, on a global scale 100, 000 people a day move to other cities (Pluijm, 2007). So, it is clear that cities have a more prominent role in the world than ever in the era of globalization.

3.2. Tension between local and central governments in solving global problems

The mayor of Istanbul governs as a small state or a large municipality. For large populations, tackling global issues such as mass migration, sanitation, the water system, climate change, and waste management is difficult for the mayor. Today, 16.1 million people are living in Istanbul, and one out of five people living in Istanbul is a migrant. These people have several problems related to climate change, global effects like mass migration movements, air pollution, and urban heat on the speed of urbanization. Urbanization speed increases day by day in uncontrolled settlements like an urban sprawl. On the other hand, Istanbul faces mass migration from 2011-2023; still, the migrants come and settle anywhere they want. The architectural identity and city culture that historical cities have built on past experiences also form the basis for the city's people to create an urban identity. Therefore, Istanbul is a world heritage city due to its importance, the multi-layered structures of its cultural identity, and the fact that it has historically hosted many cultures.

A broad level of democratization is linked to the growth of local communities. In essence, democratic values like liberty, participation, and effectiveness form the foundation of local governments (Sharpe, 1970). Local governments serve as crucial examples of how the interests of the people are represented politically because they are the level of government closest to the average person. Therefore, from the perspective of total democratic growth and the maintenance of human rights in society, local government development is crucial (Keles, 2012). Providing standard services for residents who cannot

offer them individually is a significant activity of most local government systems, demonstrating the strong relationship between democracy and local government (Sharpe, 1970).

The existence of the middle class, probably skilled workers, at the scale of urbanization in the world supports efficient and quality production at the global level and increases the capital of cities. Capital widening in cities increases the diversity and richness of urban identity in social areas. However, today in Istanbul, there is an obstacle to the city's identity that uncontrolled migration flux from neighboring countries has lost the development as a smart city of the world in the last decades. In addition, population growth can affect many city development issues. Spending a large part of Istanbul's city revenues to meet the needs of the growing population is a significant problem for the development and culture of the city (Pluijm, 2007). In addition, foreign migration from neighboring countries can worsen the city's security, development, economy, and urban identity. Also, controlling the migration growth is a way to protect the city's identity and culture. A city like Istanbul, whose urban identity and culture have a historical richness parallel to world history, needs to control immigration to preserve its urban identity (Tekeli, 2021). As a result, to engage in global city diplomacy in the glocal forum, a controlled economy, orderly population, limited city territory, and a briefly well-developed city, similar to superpowers in classical diplomacy, are required. However, Istanbul has a deep problem controlling foreign migration from the neighborhoods, and it has gone to unrestricted ways to tackle serving the public services equally to its residents.

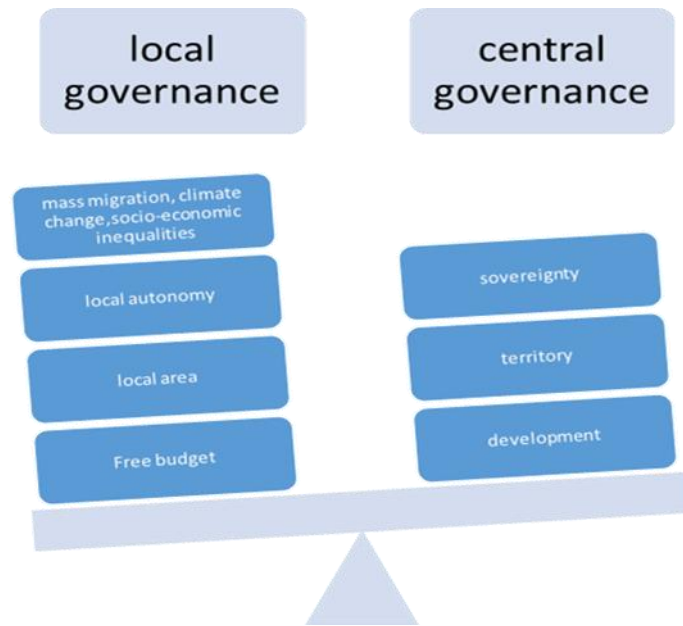


Table 1: The global issues affecting the tension between local and central governance

According to this viewpoint, migration, socio-economic inequalities, and climate change, which are the most significant issues that cause tension between local and central governments, are the factors that can devour a large portion of the local government's revenues. On the other hand, the power of the local government to define the city's territorial limits, regulate its budget, and enforce a population

restriction provides respite in resolving these issues. However, Istanbul's constant extension of the provincial border, revisions to the zoning plan, increasing immigration, and growing city population make it difficult to receive an equal and fair share of public services. The fact that two elements are being affected by migration and climate change is shown in this table. The first is in the region or city, a local area designated city, which is the subnational governance of the region. The other type of governance is parallel governance, defined as a state more significant than a region or city or as the entire state controlled by the state is central or national.

Global issues primarily affect local areas like cities, regions, etc., rather than the whole state. Subnational and local foreign policies encompass all units under the central government's worldwide contacts. Municipal foreign policy, on the other hand, contains local governments' interactions with global actors, particularly at the municipal level (Demirtas, 2023). Cities are vital in the worldwide economy and can network in this field. However, the cities' role in the global system has increased, and global issues pushed urban governance to break the national level policy by strengthening global peer-to-peer political, economic, and social networks (Acuto & Rayner, 2016). The cities in the world which have similar properties mainly connect. They are population size, development level, and geographic proximity. Some cities named "world cities" have these properties and networking to review with the other cities to reshape their capacities to tackle the following global issues. These cities have an international strategy, a dedicated international office, and well-qualified representative officers. Only a few cities can effectively manage networking, relationships, and responsibilities to conduct city diplomacy (Acuto et al., 2018).

In 2015, U.S. President Donald Trump declared that 'The Paris Climate Agreement is another agreement to the detriment of America, Trump said. 'The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production ... I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris.' (Voice of America, 2017). However, the representatives of the U.S. States and senators pointed out that this problem is for everyone's situation, which is settled in U.S. territories. For instance, some mayors of U.S. cities promised to reduce carbon emissions in all fields of public services. In addition, some state and city officials in the U.S. state that they declared to promote clean energy sources, even without support from Washington. U.S. city mayors showed their capabilities of being unruled from the central government policy to supply the residents of the cities.

Another example of the tension of local and central governance is from Ukraine. After the election of Ukraine's new President, the first open clash between significant and local government representatives occurred around the end of the summer of 2019. The reason for the conflict was an appeal made in July 2019 to Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman by the Head of the President's Office of Ukraine, Andriy Bohdan, to suspend funding for projects and programs implemented by the State Fund for Regional Development, as well as subventions for the implementation of social, and economic development activities in certain areas. The Ministry of Finance continued to fund relevant projects and activities. However, with the change of government in early September, the transfer of money was halted by hundreds of notable social projects (CENSS, 2020). Social projects are a significant issue for the local governments to handle their authority through winning the next election. Therefore, harmony between local and central governments is essential for the success of public services and urban governance, even if they are from different parties or political views. This situation also affects the international city diplomacy capacity of the cities.

Acting effective city diplomacy, mayors and the city's international relations officer or representatives must take some following steps. It includes developing clear global strategies and better deploying central government resources. Cities need to prioritize which issues they will engage with and to what extent and measure some impacts on the methods for identifying which urban networks in the coming years will benefit their cities the most and influence international agendas (Acuto, Decramer, Kerr, Klaus, Tabory & Toly, 2018). According to these steps, there must be a stable population, clear budget autonomy, well-qualified representatives of the municipality, and a good relationship with the central government to not be limited to extending global networking.

For a mayor in a megacity like Istanbul, being a city leader is a significant issue in tackling the city's problems. In addition, to understand the dominant dynamics of international policymaking, mayors must also have a sound vision of some emerging themes that will likely shape the world's political debate over the next few decades. For instance, in 2006, Istanbul Mayor Kadir Topbas gathered 1,000 cities across more than fifty-six countries in the Istanbul Water Consensus. Local leaders have expressed their awareness of water and sanitation in this Declaration, calling national governments to create more effective sustainability partnerships (Acuto, 2013). A comprehensive assessment and inventory of water policies is part of the Istanbul Water Consensus, which advocates urban solutions with central governments. This is given potential policy exchange.

Türkiye is also a republic, and the government centralizes all the municipalities by controlling their budgets and not giving a certain autonomy to any other mayor. The central government does not tend to leave its will to govern to the local government. Furthermore, there are some dynamics of local governments in Türkiye. However, even if there is an authority at the local level, it does not have the will to determine the budget and plan the provincial borders and residences. Therefore, the areas where local authority intervenes in governance are limited. In this regard, limiting the population and dominance in the city budget are the areas that determine the provincial government's policies and provide the supply of public services in line with the needs. In this respect, decentralization allows urban governance to solve the problems arising from globalization at the local level. Eventually, mayors are the actors of urban governance, which can produce policies that are compatible with the center but separate from the center and can make the voices of the local people heard in the international system. The implementation of a regional foreign policy by Istanbul should be considered within the context of Turkish foreign policy. Turkish state administrations have a central administration-based structure, with locals repeating the center's message (Demirtas, 2016). If the central and local governments are from different parties, there may be a conflict of discourse, disruptions in public services, budget restrictions from the center, and restrictions on the movement of the city administration, such as intervention in urban planning. There are many tensions between local and central governance in developed countries, such as the relationship between the US States and the White House.

Istanbul is the most-popular city among the European cities and the 15th largest city in the world. For Istanbul, there is a rough way to act in city diplomacy on the global stage. However, the city has a significant problem tackling irregular migration from the Middle East and African countries. 2023, from January to July, the Turkish presidency of migration management announced that 348,097 migrants arrived in Türkiye as irregular migrants. From 2010 to 2022, approximately 628,562 people applied for international protection (The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management, 2022). The migration issue is a significant impediment to urban development plans and the provision of public services. A metropolis like Istanbul, with a population of about 16 million, cannot achieve its strategic worldwide goals due to ongoing immigration. In addition, Istanbul faces many problems like migration flux, climate change problems, sanitation, increasing population, insufficient public services, extending the city size from Tuzla to Silivri, socio-economic inequalities

among residents, etc. As an example of Istanbul, in the world, many international organizations are funding the cities to solve their mass problems by giving some grants or credits. Also, in most American cities, there is inadequate revenue to finance issues primarily affecting the residents. Financial officers can use fiscal policy, public-private partnerships (PPPs), and performance-based revenue models to catalyze economically impactful capital investments that create long-term value for the city, citizens, and businesses (Hamilton & Zhu, 2017). In contrast, Istanbul does not have an exact local authority because of the Turkish legislative system. However, Istanbul's size and problems are growing day by day. The local authority cannot solve these problems in a way that is consistent with global issues in Istanbul. On the other hand, city leadership increased with megacities' mass capabilities during globalization. Globalization has accelerated economic growth and civilization through consumption. Globalization also promoted population growth by increasing consumption. At the beginning of establishing a city in modern times, numerous groups and those responsible for establishing the city's cultural identity were concerned with financial issues. City means capital and culture. Both are significant issues to improve the city's identity. In addition, the middle class is improving cultural identity. However, in Istanbul, a mass immigration flux has corrupted the city's cultural identity. In addition, it has caused an imbalance in the city's economic resources, widening the gap between the rich and the poor. This has caused intercultural clashes, leading to diminishing cultural identity. The city must preserve its cultural identity while welcoming and integrating immigrants into its culture. Cultural identity means that to tackle global problems, residents feel responsible for improving the city.

Istanbul has 41 Sister Cities, 20 Cooperation Protocols, and 28 Memorandum of Understanding /Goodwill Protocols. A proposal to become a sister city is typically made through diplomatic channels. It is transmitted to municipalities via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or mutual contacts are formed. To become a sister city with any city worldwide, the Municipal Council must vote, and the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change must approve. It is the second most potent sort of partnership that the two cities have established. The project might be as short-term as a collaboration or as long-term as a sister-city relationship. When establishing a relationship with a second city in countries having a sister city, Türkiye prefers the cooperation protocol. Memorandum of understanding/goodwill protocols represent the city manager's wishes. It is the first step toward improving relationships. The primary goal is to put intention into action. Between 1980 and 2000, sister city proposals were submitted. The European Union has had a considerable influence (Battal & Topcu, 2019). It all started with cultural collaboration activities. Following the collapse of the USSR, a rise in migration to surrounding cities, the need for new urban settlements, and an increase in the supply of public services raised the need for EU assistance for these towns. 2017, the Turkish Municipalities Cooperation assembled in Antalya for a local diplomacy workshop. Some problems in acting city diplomacy, representatives of many municipalities agreed on deficiencies of municipalities to get in a relationship with global cities, financial organizations, and initiatives. These are deficiencies in well-qualified officers, the deficit in city leadership, adapting the institutions to the worldwide level, inadequate coordination among the municipal institutions, and financial problems. In addition, another problem for networking with the other cities is that the relationship is up to the central government's foreign policy outputs. The Dutch authorities again blocked the attempt to come from Germany, and the minister was deported. Turkish citizens were detained in the events that took place during this time. In addition, in his press conference, Rotterdam Mayor Ahmed Ebutalib declared Minister Kaya an "undesirable foreigner" and took a state of emergency in the city. It caused political tension between the Netherlands and Türkiye; the relations between the two countries were affected, and the ambassadors were mutually withdrawn. Diplomatic relations, which were started to be kept at the level of charge affairs, were restored to their former level with ambassadorial appointments in September 2018 due to the negotiations. Unfortunately, the sister city agreement between Istanbul

and Rotterdam was canceled due to the tension between the two countries, Türkiye and the Netherlands. The key to diplomacy is to promote their interests in peacekeeping and cooperation or persuade the other side to cooperate. City diplomacy aims mainly to keep peace and solve the local problems similarly.

Consequently, Istanbul's urban governance is up to the central government's foreign policy outputs in city diplomacy. However, global issues affect Istanbul, forcing residents to leave or settle in the city's outer land. In addition, economic and social problems drive immigration employment in labor markets. It causes social tension among Istanbul residents.

Conclusion

Although city diplomacy is a growing subject in international relations, it is a valuable type of diplomacy regarding peaceful initiatives, inter-city coordination, and practical projects that local governments need regarding gains. Unsurprisingly, the cities that use city diplomacy effectively are mostly the cities of EU member states and large metropolises in the USA. Four factors enabling these cities to use city diplomacy effectively are local area, local autonomy, free budget, and political participation. These factors hinder local authorities from using their resources effectively. A free budget allows them to cooperate with other cities and coordinate upcoming projects; local autonomy enables them to develop semi-independent international relations with the central government, and there is concern about the mayor's re-election. It is an effort to maintain all the residents to serve the public services equally and efficiently and to solve the city's problems through efficient projects.

In Istanbul, local governments should be able to include national and inner-city actors in the international relations management process. However, there is currently insufficient joint research that can serve as a model for this circumstance. In their foreign inter-city relations, local governments within Istanbul's borders, for example, are not sufficiently aware of one another, and they conduct similar studies regularly; local people and non-governmental organizations expressed as city stakeholders, universities, chambers of commerce, and other organizations should not be left out of the process while establishing and executing all of these relationships. To address the issue, our local government entities must provide effective data exchange and process management unity.

At the global level, it is clear that city diplomacy is more feasible in governments that democratize and respect local government autonomy. Istanbul's ever-increasing population, the instability of provincial borders, and the lack of fiscal freedom make it impossible to symbolize its independence at the international level, which it has not earned internally. Furthermore, the requirement of an external communication application that meets the country's foreign policy standards, even in the sister city implementation, limits the city's foreign relations capacity regarding governance.

As a result, the local administration, which is unable to take measures to halt population growth because of extending Istanbul's size, is unable to give equal access to public services to inhabitants. On the other hand, it cannot act freely on the municipal budget and is forced to conduct internal and foreign policy parallel with the central government. Thus, it will bring a different form to the megacities. Some of them will pass the evolution of the global city process towards the changing issues(migration, climate change, socio-economic inequalities); others will not pass the process, and wealthier residents will stay in a protected castle, and the poor residents will face imbalances and insecurity issues. This type of city will also abolish the departure of the middle class, which is the driving force behind the creation of the urban structure, and will transform cities into huge villages.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

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