SHAPING URBAN FUTURES

CASE STUDY REPORT

COUNCIL ON URBAN INITIATIVES

UN HABITAT
FOR A BETTER URBAN FUTURE

UCL IIPP Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

LSE Cities

Council on Urban Initiatives

Founding Partners

UN-Habitat
UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose (IIPP)
LSE Cities, London School of Economics and Political Science

Council Members

Ricky Burdett (co-chair), Professor of Urban Studies and Director, LSE Cities, London
Mariana Mazzucato (co-chair), Professor in the Economics of Innovation and Public Value and Founding Director, UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, London
Yvonne Aki-Sawyerr, Mayor, Freetown
LaToya Cantrell, Mayor, New Orleans
Chan Heng Chee, Professor, Lee Kuan Yew Centre for Innovative Cities, Singapore
Ada Colau, Mayor, Barcelona
Liz Diller, Founding Partner, Diller Scofidio + Renfro, New York
Leilani Farha, Global Director, The Shift, Ottawa
Dan Hill, Director, Melbourne School of Design, Melbourne
Alcinda Honwana, Inter-Regional Advisor, UN DESA, New York
Lesley Lokko, Founding Director, Africa Futures Institute, Accra
Claudia López, Mayor, Bogotá
Rahul Mehrotra, Founding Principal, RMA Architects, Boston
Soledad Nuñez, Founder, Alma Cívica, Paraguay
Fatma Şahin, Mayor, Gaziantep
Saskia Sassen, Robert S. Lynd Professor, Columbia University, New York
Richard Sennett, Visiting Professor of Urban Studies, MIT, Boston
Claudia Sheinbaum, Mayor, Mexico City

Secretariat

Project Co-ordination
Rebecca Flynn, Project Lead, LSE Cities
Gyorgyi Galik, Project Lead, UCL IIPP
Filiep Decorte, Project Lead, UN-Habitat

UN-Habitat
Filiep Decorte, Chief Programme Development Branch, UN-Habitat
Cerin Kizhakkethottam, Programme Management Officer, UN-Habitat

UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose
Gyorgyi Galik, Head of Strategic Partnerships, UCL IIPP
Ryan Bellinson, Senior Research Fellow, UCL IIPP
Esteban Alvarez Diaz, Research Assistant, UCL IIPP
Nikolett Puskas, Researcher, UCL IIPP

LSE Cities
Rebecca Flynn, Policy Officer, LSE Cities
Tayo Isa-Daniel, Project Officer, LSE Cities

Publication Credits

Bogotá Case Study
Ryan Bellinson, Senior Research Fellow, UCL IIPP
Tayo Isa-Daniel, Project Officer, LSE Cities
Gyorgyi Galik, Head of Strategic Partnerships, UCL IIPP
Alexandra Gomes, Research Fellow, LSE Cities

Gaziantep Case Study
Rebecca Flynn, Policy Officer, LSE Cities
Gyorgyi Galik, Head of Strategic Partnerships, UCL IIPP
Friedrich Püttmann, PhD Candidate, European Institute, LSE
Alexandra Gomes, Research Fellow, LSE Cities
Niki Puskas, Researcher, UCL IIPP

Production and design
Tayo Isa-Daniel, Project Officer, LSE Cities
Esteban Alvarez Diaz, Research Assistant, UCL IIPP
Atelier Works, Graphic Design

This report is intended as a basis for discussion. While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the material, the authors and/or the Council on Urban Initiatives will not be liable for any loss or damage incurred through the use of this report.

Published by the Council on Urban Initiatives, 2022.

Cover: Bogotá, © Ryan Bellinson 2022

Contents

Foreword

Shaping Urban Futures: cities at the forefront of addressing global crises for a just future

The world seems to reel from crisis to crisis. Over the past several years, we have witnessed a series of interconnected and accelerating global crises, from climate breakdown, the COVID-19 pandemic, and geopolitical conflicts leading to mass displacement. These crises, while global in origin, have very different local impacts and, significantly, particularly destabilising effects in urban areas.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, cities were the initial epicentres of disease[1] and urban leaders had to take swift action to limit contagion, often without substantive national government support. And where there was support, this was not delivered through in the normal funding mechanisms so that now, in some parts of the world, cities are concerned about the potential of being forced to pay back the financial support they received, resulting in the re-emergence of austerity.

Inequality has meant that these crises have disproportionately impacted the poor. For example, the spread of infection had a more significant impact in deprived urban areas with poor-quality housing, overcrowding, and poverty, revealing inequities in the spatial fabric of cities. Similarly, there is plenty of evidence to demonstrate that climate change is having the most significant impact on the most vulnerable urban residents, particularly those living in informal settlements.

Europe is currently engaged in a geopolitical crisis due to the war in Ukraine, the result of which has been the fastest growing forced displacement of people in Europe since World War II. The majority of the seven million refugees who have fled the country are seeking protection in capitals or large cities.[2] Almost four million of these refugees have fled to Poland and the population of Warsaw has increased by 17% in one month alone.[3] Cities absorbing this mass of people are facing significant challenges in providing accommodation and basic services to their increased populations, along with the added difficulty of integrating them into the labour market.

As city leaders contend with successive and interconnected crises, the ground on which they pursue agendas to advance social justice, sustainability, urban health, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is constantly shifting. There is a real danger that in this landscape of crisis and uncertainty, much needed progress towards these collective goals will continually be set back. New narratives, forms of governance, institutional capacities and design principles are urgently needed to enable cities to proactively respond to these challenges in ways that not only continue, but accelerate, the advancement of a just, healthy and green city.

The *Council on Urban Initiatives* brings together a diverse group of city leaders, academics and practitioners to platform practical examples of local innovation and, in this instance, of cities using a crisis as an opportunity for structural change. The Council will be publishing a series of case study reports on urban transformation, intended to provide practical guidance to urban leaders on how they can build the capabilities and tools for change. For society to adequately confront the crises we face, urban practitioners and changemakers must learn from the trials of others in order to accelerate innovation for progressive outcomes. We need to turn the reactive approach into a proactive one.

The case studies in this report introduce two examples of cities that have developed ambitious responses to contemporary global crises, addressing their complex local needs and helping shape more equitable urban futures.

The first case study focuses on the Care System in Bogotá, Colombia, a system designed in response to the gendered division of care work that had become more pronounced during the COVID-19 pandemic. The objective of the system is to place unpaid care work at the centre of decision-making to alleviate the burdens affecting care workers and encourage a more equitable distribution of care by gender. Since 2020, the city administration has been redesigning the city's land-use plan to integrate care as a central component of urban planning.

The second case study concerns refugee integration in Gaziantep, a Turkish city on the Turkish-Syrian border which has adopted a leading approach to integrating displaced Syrian refugees into the city. Despite not having formal responsibilities for the refugee response, and without any additional funding from central government, municipal leaders in Gaziantep were early proponents of the long-term integration of refugees and leveraged partnerships with international organisations and NGOs to facilitate their social and economic integration. Motivated by humanitarian ideals and a pragmatic desire for social cohesion, the city's experimentation with approaches to integration at the local level serves as an important case study to inform refugee policy, both at the national and international levels. This study is more important than ever given the huge refugee problem created by the war in Ukraine.

This report illustrates the immense challenges and opportunities cities face in pursuing proactive and transformative approaches to crises. Gaziantep and Bogotá both face difficulties in terms of securing the long-term, sustainable finance needed to institutionalise their initiatives going forwards. But they also have great opportunities to sandbox new tools that allow cities and citizens to be more proactive. For urban leaders and decision-makers to respond effectively to the immense global challenges they currently face, they must be given the power to take risks and experiment and, ultimately, to proactively shape more equitable futures.

We hope these first case studies encourage us to engage actively in 'learning by doing', looking at experiments on the ground which have radically transformed difficulties into opportunities for lasting change.

Mariana Mazzucato

Co-Chair, Council on Urban Initiatives

Professor in the Economics of Innovation and Public Value and Founding Director, Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, University College London

Ricky Burdett

Co-Chair, Council on Urban Initiatives

Professor of Urban Studies and Director, LSE Cities, London School of Economics and Political Science

Council on Urban Initiatives

The Council is an independent body established as a collaboration between UN-Habitat, UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, and LSE Cities. Constituted initially by an international group of eighteen pioneering mayors, practitioners, designers, activists and academics, the Council advocates for the power of cities to promote systemic change to achieve the goal of the green, just, and healthy city. Central to this is the need to foreground the importance of public value, urban planning and design as critical drivers of progressive development. With this mission at the core, the Council's work is organised around three concrete objectives:

- To overcome barriers to innovation, progressive policymaking, and transformative action at the city level.
- To demonstrate that integrated urban action, focusing on green, healthy, and just cities, is central to addressing inequalities and tacking health and climate emergencies at the national level.
- To influence agendas at the highest levels of the UN and international community. The initial membership will be expanded to ensure wider diversity and regional and professional representation.

Ricky Burdett (co-chair) is a Professor of Urban Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and Director of LSE Cities. Burdett was formerly the Director of the Venice International Architecture Biennale and Chief Adviser on Architecture and Urbanism for the 2012 London Olympics. He is the author and co-editor of several publications, including 'Shaping Cities in an Urban Age' (2018) and 'The Endless City'(2007).

Mariana Mazzucato (co-chair) is a Professor in the Economics of Innovation and Public Value at University College London, where she directs the UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose. Mazzucato's work challenges orthodox thinking about the role of the state and the private sector in driving innovation; how economic value is created, measured and shared; and how market-shaping policy can become 'mission-oriented' to solve global challenges.

Yvonne Aki-Sawyerr is the Mayor of Freetown in Sierra Leone. Her public sector engagement began during the 2014-2015 Ebola epidemic and continued post-Ebola, where she worked towards the socio-economic recovery of Sierra Leone. Aki-Sawyerr is dedicated to transforming Sierra Leone with a three-year 'Transform Freetown' plan, that details 19 concrete objectives across 11 sectors ranging from environmental degradation to job creation in the tourism sector.

Chan Heng Chee is a Singaporean academic and diplomat currently serving as a Member of the Presidential Council for Minority Rights, Ambassador-at-Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Chairman of the National Arts Council. Heng Chee was formerly Singapore's Ambassador to the United States and Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, with concurrent accreditation as High Commissioner to Canada.

Leilani Farha is the Global Director of The Shift, a platform to promote the right to housing. Farha is the former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Housing. Farha has assisted the development of global human rights standards on the right to housing through the first UN Guidelines for the implementation of the right to housing and reports on homelessness, and the financialisation of housing.

Ada Colau Ballano is the Mayor of Barcelona, and the United Cities and Local Governments special envoy for relations between cities and the United Nations. Colau is a human rights activist with an emphasis on housing rights. In 2009 she co-founded the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages) in response to the rise in evictions caused by unpaid mortgage loans during the 2008 financial crisis.

Dan Hill is the Director of Melbourne School of Design and Visiting Professor at the UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose. Dan has led strategic urban planning projects worldwide, occupying leadership roles in Arup, and Future Cities Catapult. He is the author of numerous publications including 'Dark Matter & Trojan horses: A strategic design playbook' (2012). He was formerly Director of Strategic Design at Vinnova, the Swedish government's innovation agency.

LaToya Cantrell is the Mayor of New Orleans. Cantrell rose to local prominence through her work to recover the Broadmoor neighbourhood following Hurricane Katrina in 2005. In her first term as mayor, Cantrell was involved in negotiations to secure $50 million for the Sewerage & Water Board, and as a member of the Criminal Justice Committee, she focused on the effectiveness of citywide anti-gun-violence campaigns, and the understaffing at the New Orleans Police Department.

Liz Diller is an Architecture professor at Princeton University, and co-founder of the award-winning practice Diller Scofidio + Renfro. Diller is interested in democracy and the public realm, realising spatially and socially progressive projects such as the High-Line in New York City. Diller was named one of TIME Magazine's 100 Most Influential People (2018). She is a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Alcinda Honwana is a leading scholar on youth, protests and social change in Africa. Honwana is currently an Adviser on social development policy at the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) United Nations in New York. She was Centennial Professor and the Strategic Director of the Centre for Africa at London School of Economics and Political Science. Her books include 'The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change and Politics in Africa' (2012) and 'Youth and Revolution in Tunisia' (2013).

Lesley Lokko is the founder and director of the African Futures Institute (AFI) in Accra, Ghana, an independent postgraduate school of architecture and public events platform. She is the curator of the Venice Biennale Exhibition 2023, "The Laboratory of the Future". Lesley was the founder and director of the Graduate School of Architecture, University of Johannesburg (2014—2019) and the Dean of Architecture at the Bernard & Anne Spitzer School of Architecture (2019—2020).

Rahul Mehrotra is a Professor of Urban Design and Planning at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design. He is the founder principal of RMA Architects which designs and executes government, private, and unsolicited projects in Mumbai. In 2018 RMA Architects was awarded the Venice Biennale juror's 'Special Mention' for three projects that address issues of intimacy and empathy, gently diffusing social boundaries and hierarchies. Mehrotra's recent book 'Working in Mumbai' (2020) reflects on his practice's work with cities.

Richard Sennett is an Honorary Professor at the UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose, and a Senior Fellow at the Center on Capitalism and Society at Columbia University. Previously, he founded the New York Institute for the Humanities and served as President of the American Council on Work. Sennett's work focuses on social life in cities, changes in labour, and social theory. Sennett has received multiple awards including the Hegel Prize, and the Centennial Medal from Harvard University.

Claudia López Hernández is the Mayor of Bogotá. She has focused on issues relating to social inclusion, sustainability and anti-corruption. From 2014–2019 she served as Senator for the Republic of Colombia, she lead the fight against corruption and was recognised for her dedication to collective action. Prior to her political career, López worked as a journalist, researcher and political analyst. She has been a consultant to the United Nations and was named one of BBCs 100 Women 2020.

Fatma Şahin is the Mayor of Gaziantep and President of the Union of Municipalities of Turkey. Şahin has taken a leading role in international city networks, serving as President of the Middle East and Western Asia division of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG-MEWA), and President of the Asian Mayors Forum (AMF). Şahin was formerly the national minister of Family and Social Policy.

Claudia Sheinbaum Pardo is a scientist and the Mayor of Mexico City. In June 2019, Sheinbaum announced a new six-year environmental plan for the city which included reducing air pollution by 30%, planting 15 million trees, providing water service to every home. Sheinbaum has a PhD in energy engineering and is the author of over 100 articles that discuss the environment and sustainable development. She is a joint Nobel Peace Prize winner on Climate Change and was named one of BBC›s 100 Women

Saskia Sassen is a Professor of Sociology at Columbia University. Sassen studies cities, immigration, and states in the world economy, with inequality, gendering and digitisation being three key variables running through her work. She has received multiple awards, including multiple doctor honoris causa and the 2013 Principe de Asturias Prize in the Social Sciences. She is the author of eight books and the editor or co-editor of three books.

Maria Soledad Nuñez Mendez was formerly Minister of Housing and Habitat, and is currently a Presidential Candidate in Paraguay. Nuñez belongs to the Advisory Board of the World Bank's initiative 'Paraguay Ahora' devoted to promoting social dialogue among young people. She recently founded a Public Leadership Academy named 'Alma Cívica' and is currently leading a training programme for 300 public servants in Paraguay.

Care System, Bogotá, Colombia

A view of Bogotá's Ciudad de Bolívar district from the TransMiCable cable car. *© Ryan Bellinson 2022*

Bogotá

Total Population: 10,574,000 (2021)
Average density (inside admin area): 7,148 pers/km² (2015)

Regional map shows ambient population density drawn from LandScan 2018 data, which assigns each square kilometre of the world's land surface a figure equivalent to its average population over a 24-hour period.

Local map of Bogotá shows the city's urban footprint in 2018.

Data sources: LandScan 2018™ High Resolution Global Population Data Set; GHS built-up grid derived from Landsat, Joint Research Centre (2018), multitemporal; and Bogotá Municipality

Introduction

Bogotá's Care System aims to reshape the public services and infrastructure of Colombia's capital city to enable the equitable distribution of unpaid domestic care work across genders, and to give women more time and autonomy over their lives. The goal is ultimately to transform society and the cultural and behavioral norms - for both men and women – that have resulted in entrenched societal inequalities in the city. Approximately 30% of Bogotá's female population, or 1.2 million women, spend an average of ten hours per day doing unpaid care work[4]. This responsibility leaves the majority of the city's women experiencing "time poverty", depriving approximately 70% of them from the opportunity to pursue education and rendering around 90% of them in 'poor' or 'low-income' categories. A significant aspect of the pressure on women's time stems from Colombia's longstanding 'machismo culture' or male chauvinism, a prevailing societal norm of strong masculinity where the needs and interests of men are elevated above those of women. Through its various strands, Bogotá's Care System seeks to ameliorate these normalised and longstanding society-wide gendered inequalities and injustices, and replace them with a set of values, institutions, and physical infrastructure that usher in a more equitable 'Caring City'.

Care work broadly consists of a multitude of necessary tasks undertaken to sustain the wellbeing and development of others who have various forms of dependencies. This work is often done in the shadows, out of sight of wider society, and unrecognised as having any societal 'value'. Care work seeks to foster the "different relations between human, non-human and more-than-human actors"[5] and this has been a core foundation of feminist studies, critically interrogating systems of social reproduction rooted in a set of ethical and moral principles.

Latin America has long had an active feminist movement which, amongst other priorities and demands, highlighted the social, cultural and economic inequities between women and men in the field of unpaid domestic care work. A recent product of this movement's strategic militancy is Act 1413 (2010) passed by the Congress of Colombia on 11 November 2010, which legally requires the Colombian national statistics agency DANE to collect data monitoring the economic value of the country's care economy and determine its overall economic contribution to the GDP of Colombia.[6]

When former national senator Claudia López ran to become the first female mayor of Bogotá in 2019, local feminists advocated for her to commit to addressing inequalities in the unpaid domestic care economy if elected. After winning the election and being sworn into office on 1 January 2020, Mayor López began working with the city's administration to design a plan to implement 'the three R's' of redistribution, reduction and recognition that had emerged from the campaign promise to address inequalities that impact in particular on unpaid domestic care workers.

The three R's had previously been developed by the city's women's affairs department in 2013 and was considered to be a foundational part of how a 'caring democracy and city'[7] could take forward an urban and social vision for providing equitable unpaid domestic care work. While the three R's concept was not immediately developed into policy in 2013, they were used as the cornerstone of the city's 'Sistema Distrital de Cuidado' (SIDICU)[8], known in English as Bogotá's Care System. As such, the Care System aims to recognise care work and caregivers, redistribute care work and reduce the time women devote to such work.

To undertake the initiative's ambition for societal transformation in one of Latin America's largest and most densely populated cities, Mayor López tasked the Secretariat for Women at the Mayor's Office with designing the Care System, as well as mobilising action and coordinating the system's long-term trajectory. Under the leadership of Secretary for Women Diana Rodríguez, the Secretariat for Women engaged a range of secretariats within the city as well as external actors from other levels of government, the private sector, and philanthropic institutions. The Care System is still at an emergent stage, having been launched just at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, but its ambition is to have an impact on life throughout the city for years to come.

Organisation

The Care System is an overarching approach to reorganising new and existing physical infrastructures and services in clusters throughout the city, managed by newly integrated institutions. Both 'caregivers' and care-receivers' are targeted through a set of newly established initiatives and institutions created within the Care System. The system is based on the premise that the care economy serves an essential public good in the city, and that the process of enabling unpaid domestic care work to be distributed equitably will require both material and cultural transformation.

There are several dozen public services being delivered under the Care System's umbrella. The Secretariat for Women conducted extensive research with support from external actors to determine the needs of caregivers and receivers, using that knowledge to identify which services would be most effective to distribute through the Care System. Following this evaluation, the Care System is providing a wide range of public services ranging from daycare, flexible high school education programmes and social and psychological services, to physical education and wellness courses and entrepreneurship training. These were all existing services provided by a range of entities such the Secretariat for Social Integration, Culture, Recreation and Sport, Secretariat for Health, SENA (National Training Service), Secretariat for Education, and Secretariat for Habitat. These public services were previously provided by each individual entity through their separate delivery system, while the Care System seeks to bring all these services together under one roof and in a physical space accessible within a 30-minute walk. There are several additional new services specifically developed through the Care System such as The Art of Care ("El Arte de Cuidarte), which provides a few hours of care for infants and toddlers without the need to be enrolled in daycare; and on-site laundry facilities for caregivers whilst they access other services. Due to this clustering of services, caregivers and care receivers can access services simultaneously. The integrated delivery model is much more efficient for users, particularly when caregivers are accessing multiple services and have limitations
on their time or mobility. It also eliminates the barriers many caregivers face when trying to access services because there is no support in place for those they are responsible for.

In addition, the Care System is inclusively designed to cater for the mobility needs of different types of caregivers and receivers. It has three specific service delivery mechanisms to meet these different needs:

Care Block (Manzana de Cuidado)

As of June 2022, Bogotá has created ten operational Care Blocks with an ambition to have a total of 45 distributed throughout the city by 2035. Care Blocks consist of an anchor building, or closely located network of buildings, where public services within the Care System are provided to caregivers and receivers. These 45 Care Blocks have been included in the city's 2022-2035 Masterplan (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial – POT) and are the primary vehicle through which the system interacts with residents, as well as helping the POT reach its goal of making Bogotá a '30-minute city' - where caregivers and receivers can access services within a 30-minute walk of their home. Another aspect of the Care Blocks is that they provide 'home care services', an initiative whereby Care System representatives provide care services to dependent care receivers to allow caregivers time to attend services themselves.

Care Buses

A large percentage of Bogotá's land outside and within the municipal boundary planned in the POT is zoned as rural and lacks efficient connectivity with public transportation services. For these peripheral areas where residents can't easily access the Care Blocks, the Care System is providing mobile services through Care Buses. These currently consist of two large buses that provide caregivers and receivers with many of the same public services as the Care Blocks, particularly educationally-related services. These Care Buses provide legal and public services to communities that have limited interaction with formal service providers in Bogotá and are relatively socially and economically isolated from the rest of the city.

Door-to-door Care

Of Bogotá's full-time female caregivers, approximately 15% are not able to access public services outside of the home because the individuals they care for are immobile, have acute disabilities, or lack independence because of their age. For this group, the Care System has developed a 'Relay Programme' or Door-to-door Care, where public services are brought directly into the homes of caregivers and receivers. This is a capital and capacity-intensive dimension of the Care System, but it is important because it allows the system to reach communities with particular demands who might otherwise stay hidden, under-served, or excluded from regular services.

Manzana de Cuidado, Centro de Bogotá

Bogotá's Care System, situated in the city centre has been able to provide childcare facilities and nurseries to ensure that caregivers can spend time in education and training programmes.This guarantees that carers have time for themselves.

Cultural spaces
Public and private universities
Open space
Open space with green space

Classroom, Manzana del Centro © *Bogotá Municipality*

Doctors office, Manzana del Centro © *Bogotá Municipality*

Nursery play area, Manzana del Centro © *Bogotá Municipality*

Manzana del Centro building ©*Streetview*

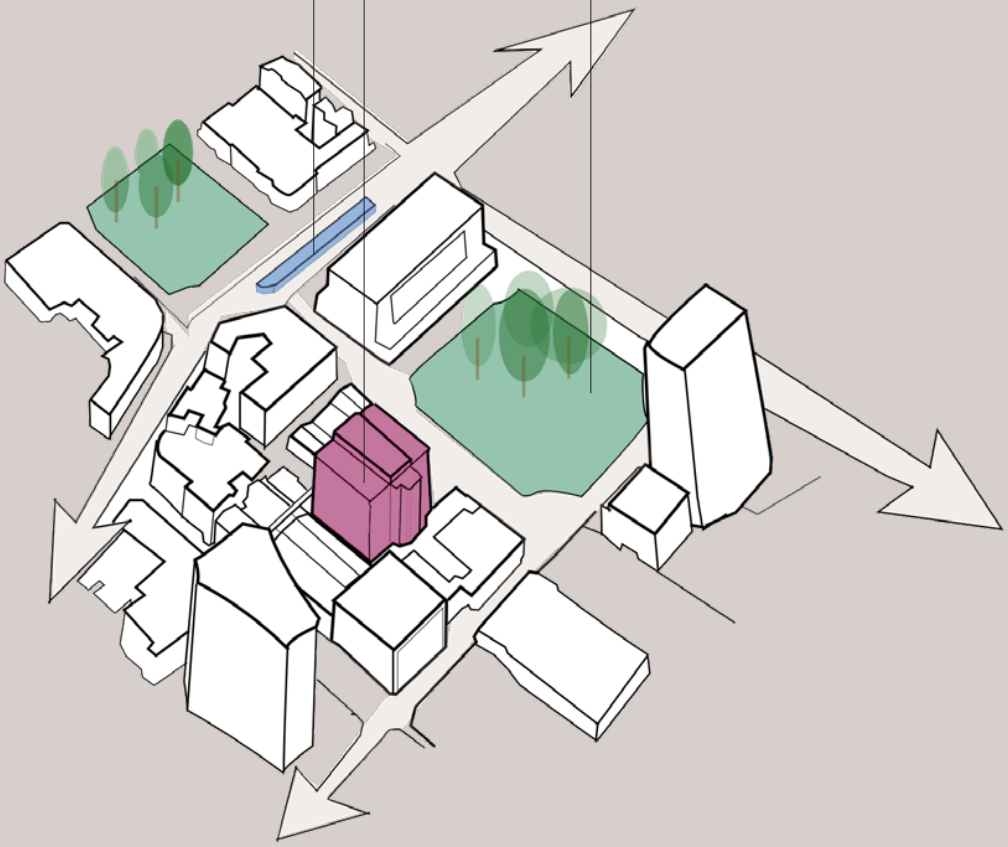
Data source: Bogotá Municipality, MapaCad dataset 2020

The city centre Care Block also provides access to medical services for caregivers and care receivers. Physical and psychological aid is also provided.

Care Blocks are in close proximity to transport systems. The city centre Care Block is a 3 minute walk away from the TrasMilenio bus system

Manzana del Centro
City centre Care Block

All Care Blocks are in proximity to open and public space



Computer room, Manzana del Centro © *Bogotá Municipality*

Manzana de Cuidado, Santa Fe

Bogotá's Care System, Manzana del Cuidado, Santa Fe is situated in the locality of Santa Fe that houses approximaely 107,000 residents. This Care Block is located close to the city centre Care Block (Manzana de cuidado) but provides a wider range of facilities to caregivers. Manzana de Santa Fe houses a swimming pool, gym, day care services and a public kitchen. This Care Block is also located on the outskirts of the city centre, where access to affordable land is more attainable. Care services are provided in multiple different buildings, linked together with green spaces and allotments as seen in the 3D diagram.

- Cultural spaces
- Public and private universities
- Open space
- Open space with green space

Data source: Bogotá Municipality, MapaCad dataset 2020

Women doing breathing exercises in the gym, Manzana del Santa Fe © *Ryan Bellinson*

Washroom available to caregivers
© *Ryan Bellinson*

Green areas and allotment, Manzana del Santa Fe
© *Tayo Isa Daniel*

Kitchen area, Manzana del Santa Fe
© *Ryan Bellinson*

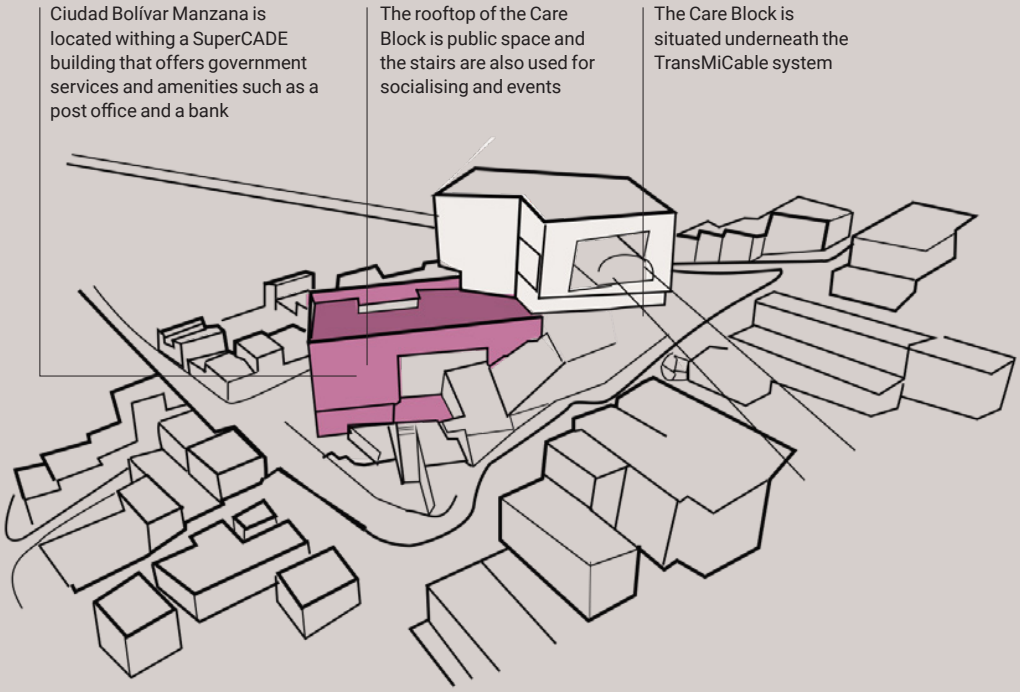
Manzana de Cuidado, Ciudad Bolívar

Manzana Ciudad Bolívar, serves the sprawling locality of Ciudad Bolívar, home to approximately 641,000 residents. This Care Block is located within a government service building, colloquially known as the SuperCADE, which contains various services for social welfare and employment, in addition to a post office and bank. There is a close link between Care Block services and SuperCADE services. For example, caregivers can receive assistance in applying for government grants and access education services within the one building. This Care Block is also unique in its direct proximity to the TransMicable system, an affordable cable car system that brings residents from the high points of Ciudad Bolívar to the city.

- TransMicable
- Hospital
- Nursery
- Public and private universities
- Public kitchen

The Ciudad Bolívar Care Block is housed within the SuperCADE building
© llanofotografia

Data source: Bogotá Municipality, MapaCad dataset 2020



The SuperCADE building sits bellow the TransMiCable system that services informal areas within Ciudad Bolívar © *llanofotografia*

The roof of the SuperCADE acts as a public space for caregivers and the surrounding community © *llanofotografia*

Play areas within the Ciudad Bolívar Care Block © *Bogotá*

Initiatives

Bogotá's Care System has begun to emerge internationally as an example of urban transformation, even within the programme's short lifespan. However, what the city has done to enable these initial activities is less well understood. There are at least four components that have enabled Bogotá to innovate and advance the Care System:

Flexible finance

The Care System has primarily been funded through Bogotá's four-year general budget, approved by the City Council. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the city received financial support from international donor organisations such as the Open Society Foundations as well as NGOs such as UN Women. Critically, these funds were flexible on the whole, meaning they could be deployed rapidly where needed and spent quickly without requiring approval through conventional city budgetary processes. This funding allowed for designing and testing innovative initiatives that assumed a manageable level of risk. For example, COVID-19 relief funding from the Open Society Foundations was used to develop the first two mobile care units or Care Buses, whilst aid from Bloomberg Philanthropies[9] was used to establish the Door-to-door Care programme of the system. Flexible funding could thus be spent quickly on high-risk initiatives and this is a key aspect of the Care System's innovation cycle.

Experimentation practice

Under the leadership of the Secretariat for Women, decision makers working on the Care System were explicitly encouraged to adopt experimentation practice to deliver services differently. Most fundamental to this practice was a 'design-and-test' approach to learning. Within this approach, decision-makers were encouraged to identify and collaboratively design ideas that could further the aims of the Care System; share responsibility for implementing and resourcing the interventions; and then begin testing those ideas as soon as possible to generate data and opportunities for learning. This approach directly contradicts some of the previous practices adopted by decision makers in Bogotá, which prioritised a long process of meticulously and exhaustively designed policies and programmess that would only be implemented after months or years, once they were deemed adequate. This approach has allowed the Care System to begin experimenting quickly, never "letting perfect be the enemy of the good". It has also enabled the development of multiple Care Blocks within a short time frame. A long-term component of this design-and-test approach is the development of local government capabilities so that it becomes a learning government.

Capabilities for cross-sectoral integration

Experimentation in local government is fraught with challenges and decision-makers leading the development of the Care System have encountered many obstacles. These have been bridged by developing specific professional and organisational capabilities, closely connected to the idea of 'shared stewardship' for the system. This is being fostered across local government by the Secretariat for Women. For example, sharing recognition between all stakeholders involved in the system. for its large and small accomplishments helps makes the secretariats involved feel rewarded and develop a sense of shared stewardship of the programme. This relatively small action is indicative of the soft skills that can lead to transformation and build an organisational culture of collaboration. At the institutional scale, the system has also encouraged the city government to develop new capabilities to break down the administrative silos that historically limited collaboration across secretariats and between public sector organisations. For example, there are new institutional spaces being created to enable coordination, collaboration, and experimentation such as through a newly established 'Intersectional Commission' led by the city's mayor, where 13 different secretariats across local government make strategic and technical decisions together as an integrated leadership group, with a sub-group of deputies forming a 'Technical Support Unit' to design innovations that deliver on the high-level group's decisions.

Synthesizing spatial distribution within the Care System

The Care System has a key spatial dimension included within its overall approach to innovation. Embedding the Care System within the city's 12-year long Master Plan or the 'POT' has encouraged the Secretariat for Planning to innovate its own practices, incorporating new concepts such as the 30-minute city into its approach to special design. The POT has also led to new forms of strengthened collaboration between secretariats during decision-making processes, which has enabled the Care System to use the built environment to help alter societal and cultural norms. Incorporating the Care System within the POT allows the city to rethink its spatial distribution and the form and density of its built environment, so that care becomes a central development principle.

Caregivers learn how to ride a bicycle and enjoy exercise atop the Cuidad de Bolívar Care Block. Many caregivers in Bogotá can't afford to use the city's public transportation system so, by learning to ride bicycles, this services also provides caregivers with increased autonomy over their mobility decisions. *© Ryan Bellinson*

A caregiver recieving services in the Cuidad de Bolívar Care Block. The individual providing services was previously a beneficiary of the city's Care System and, after receiving support and training, is now employed to support unpaid caregivers. *© Ryan Bellinson*

Inequality

Bogotá is one of Latin America's fastest growing cities, with a population that is predicted to reach over 12,000,000 million by 2030. Geographically, the city's population density is unevenly distributed, producing different effects for urban residents. For instance, lower income districts such as Ciudad Bolivar (with a population of approximately 700,000) have emerged and expanded in recent decades as 'invasion areas', due to extensive informal development on the urban periphery which has subsequently become integrated into the city's planning system. While Bogotá's population density is highest along the city's boundaries where housing is less expensive, employment opportunities and access to public transportation are less accessible further away from the city's centre.

The demographic composition of those living in informal settlements in Bogotá's outer districts are predominantly internally displaced, political and economic refugees and low-income populations. The communities that live here often experience multiple forms of vulnerability, such as Venezuelan migrants who came to Bogotá for economic opportunities and internally displaced Colombians who have fled conflict and violence. Large families with complex care needs are common in these districts. Despite the city's ageing population, the peripheral districts are increasingly being replaced by a younger population that have migrated to Bogotá for opportunities but that can't afford to live where the jobs are located. As a result, socioeconomic segregation is a key characteristic of the city's social and spatial structure.

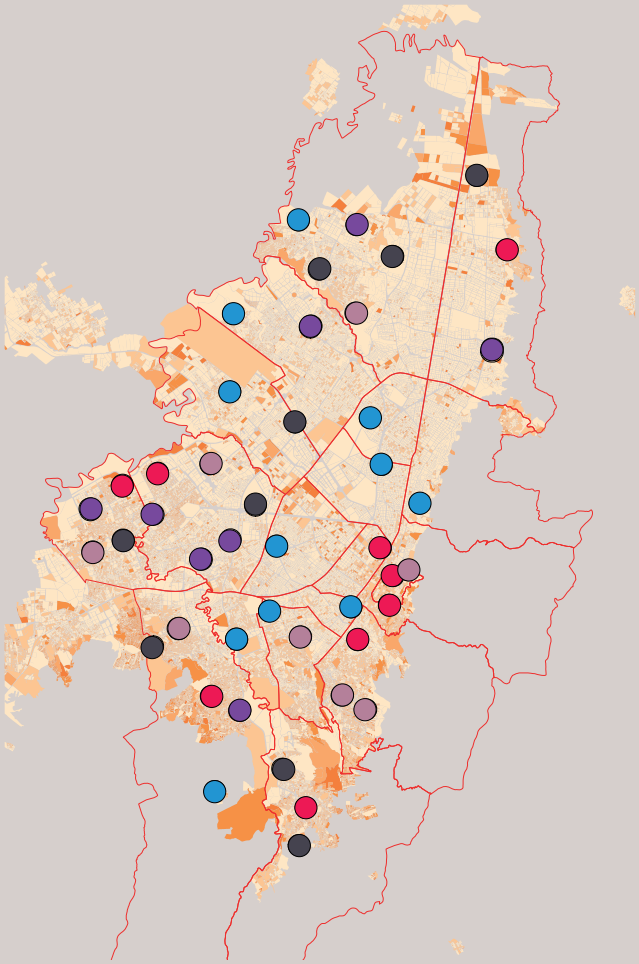
Large families with complex care needs are common in these districts. Despite the city's ageing population, the peripheral districts are increasingly being replaced by a younger population that have migrated to Bogotá for opportunities but that can't afford to live where the jobs are located. As a result, socioeconomic segregation is a key characteristic of the city's social and spatial structure.

The geographical class divides between rich and poor are very different in Bogotá compared to other large cities. While the urban poor are typically dispersed to the edge of cities and the middle and upper classes are concentrated in central neighbourhoods with better proximity to services, affluent residents have been moving to the city's north flanks where land is cheaper, and it is less expensive to build condominiums or gated communities that are segregated and physically divided by car centric infrastructure. This spatial divide creates both financial and time burdens on individuals who must travel to and from their places of work. Furthermore, it adds to the pressures on people who do unpaid care work, especially those that live in southern, western and peripheral districts of the city who must travel to the north for work - a commute that can take two to three hours in each direction.

To address an uneven spatial development pattern that deepens economic and social inequalities, and to embed the Care System within the planning system, Bogotá has recently redesigned its POT. One of the most significant elements of this process has been an expansion of the city's current 20 districts into 33 smaller UPLs (Local Planning Units), a process intended to help transform Bogotá into a '30-minute city' where every resident is within a 30-minute walk, cycle or public transportation trip of all of their daily needs – employment, housing, education, social care, transportation and care services.[10] The Care Blocks have been an integral part of this design process in terms of the overall planning approach, helping to improve access to public services in peripheral and economically disadvantaged areas.

Through this sophisticated and complex planning structure, Bogotá is attempting to rebalance the spatial distribution of amenities and public services in the city, with a particular consideration for care. The division of the city's larger districts into smaller, more responsive UPLs will also help create 'public services clusters' that can distribute the Care System's services more efficiently to the marginalised and vulnerable communities that will benefit most. The spatial dimension of the Care System aims to improve access to public services for those most negatively impacted by the inequalities created through the city's uneven distribution of services and economic opportunities, and help those individuals overcome some of the barriers that would otherwise limit their ability to access the benefits of the initiative.

Care System and deprivation in Bogotá



The Care System is strategically planned in various stages to deal with the city's growing demands for care work. Care Blocks that currently exist are located in some of the most deprived areas of the city, which house the majority of low income care workers.

- Existing Care Blocks
- Care Blocks launching in 2022-2023
- Care Blocks launching in 2024-2027
- Care Blocks launching in 2028-2031
- Care Blocks launching in 2032-2038
- Sub-city boundaries

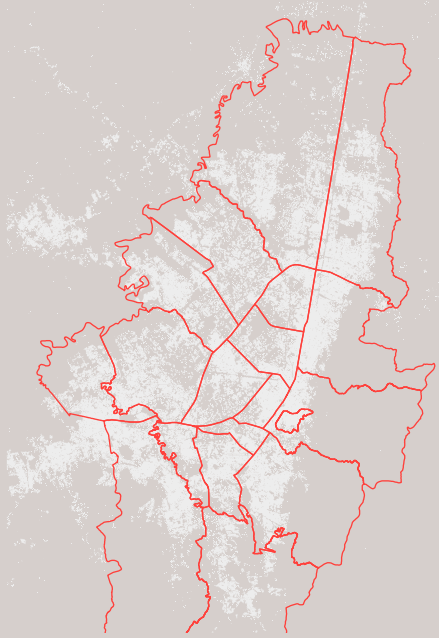
Multidimensional Poverty Index

- 0 – 9
- 10 – 27
- 28 – 48
- 49 – 76
- 77 – 100

0 5 km

Bogotá's 20 Localities

Bogotá is transitioning from its 20 established localities, some of which house large populations (eg. Suba houses 1.2 million residents) to smaller Local Planning Units to ensure that city development and governance structures are localised and equitable.

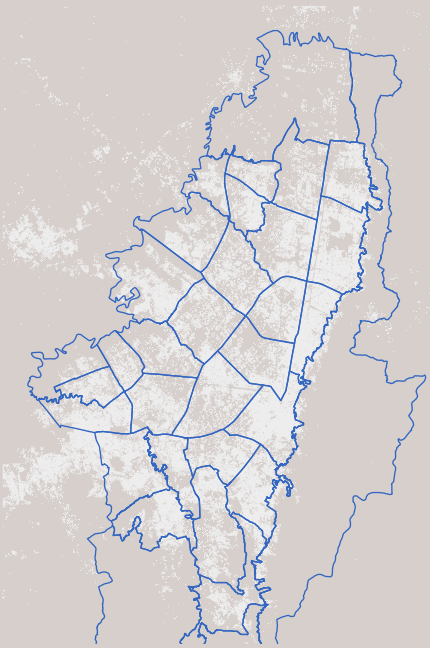


- Sub-city boundaries
- Urban footprint (2018)

0 10 Km

Bogotá's 33 Local Planning Units

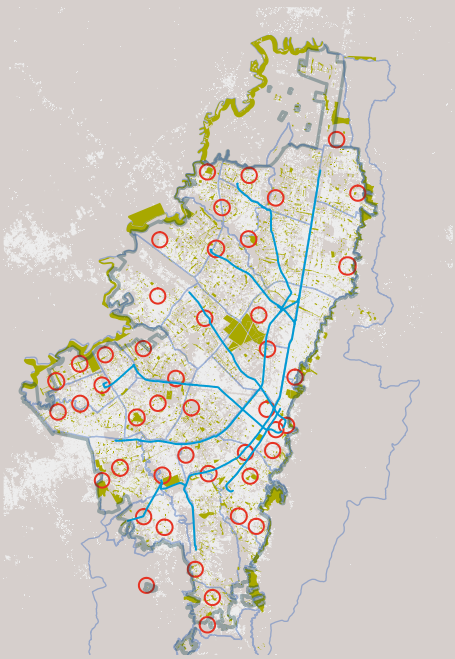
Local Planning Units are introduced to manage the cities territories and ameliorate inequity in citizen participation, access to public and social services in the city and services. Local Planning Units will come into force from January 1, 2028.



- Local Planning Units

Green spaces and transport links

Care blocks together with UPL's are planned around the 30-minute city model. This ensures that caregivers are in close proximity to green spaces and viable transport links.



- Urban perimeter
- BRT system
- Care blocks (Manzana de Cuidado)
- Green spaces

Data source: Bogotá Municipality

Impacts

While the Care System only started taking shape on 1 January 2020, it has already had a profound impact on the lives of those it has reached. While an accurate framework to evaluate and monitor how many beneficiaries have officially received services through the Care System has yet to be designed, the Secretariat for Women has documented that "over 130,000 services to caregivers" have been provided through the Care System as of 1 June 2022.

The beneficiaries have received support ranging from practical skills training to legal advice to physical and mental health services. Many of the beneficiaries reported the positive impact these services have had on their lives, from both an emotional and economic perspective. However, beneficiaries have also reported much more transcendent impacts of engaging with the Care System. Women appreciated the time they've gained for themselves, having access to educational programmes where they've developed new skills and established friendships with other caregivers. For instance, a female beneficiary who received services from the Ciudad Bolivar Care Block stated that, "What this programme has really given me is a way to leave anonymity – I don't feel invisible anymore, I feel empowered."

The impact the Care System has had on the initial beneficiaries of the scheme is undoubtedly striking. While they are being positively and directly impacted through the services provided under the scheme, they also report how these services have influenced their relationships with other people and their own self-perception. This has led to the beneficiaries developing a strong co-ownership attitude towards the Care System. "I want to replant in others everything I have received through this programme so that others can benefit from the knowledge I've gained", shared one beneficiary of the Greening Women programme led by the Secretariat for Environment and Bogotá Botanical Garden.

Although the Care System has had a significant impact on a growing number of Bogotá residents, it has yet to demonstrate that it is on course to usher in a wider social transformation as envisioned. The initiative has had limited visibility thus far and there is much work still to be done promoting it to residents. Furthermore, it must still demonstrate a clear pathway towards becoming a long-term, enduring fixture. While the experiences of caregivers already in receipt of services is a clear indication of the great potential of the Care System, a robust methodology is still needed to monitor the initiative's influence and evaluate its impacts. Lastly, it is uncertain how Bogotá's Care System fits into Colombia's broader national government policy and financial landscape, which adds a further layer of ambiguity. These questions must be addressed if the Care System is to realise its potential of transforming Bogotá into a 'Caring City'.

A caregiver and a care receiver entering Ciudad de Bolívar Care Block. The care receiver will be provided childcare services by care system staff, making it possible for the caregiver to attend a training course without her dependent child, image taken in May 2022. *© Ryan Bellinson*

A poster for the Espacios de Respiro ('breath' or 'breathing') programme for caregivers inside the Manzana del Ciudad del Centro Bogotá Care Block. *© Ryan Bellinson*

Future Obstacles

There are several obstacles the Care System must overcome moving forwards. Below, we highlight four primary challenges that exemplify some of the Care System's current weaknesses:

Financing the System

There is no viable long-term funding mechanism currently in place to finance the Care System, beyond the four years of funding through the city's general budget that has already been approved. Thus far, the initiative has primarily been financed through the city's budget, but when the next mayoral administration takes office in 2024, the Care System may not be their priority and, accordingly, may not be allocated further funding. A funding approach which is sensitive to political outcomes has limitations and should not been viewed as a viable long-term solution. Many of the secretariats involved in administering the initiative have also reported working under capacity pressures, since their involvement with the Care System has largely come without any additional resources. For the system to become financially sustainable in the long run – and eventually expand its capacities – it requires a resilient, depoliticised and purpose-oriented delivery finance mechanism. Without this mechanism in place, there is no certainty the initiative will have long-term viability.

Spatialising services

When dividing localities into UPLs and implementing ideas such as the 30-minute city, careful consideration should be given to the creation of central compact zones to avoid the ghettoization and further segregation of neighbourhoods. Whilst the Care System is a good starting point for areas that do not have access to services, caution should be exercised in areas that already have existing amenities. Social mixing should be encouraged in these areas, particularly in the northern localities of Bogotá where available land is most scarce. Furthermore, it will be critical to build a participative, democratic mechanism to integrate the perspectives of caregivers and residents who spend most of their working day in parts of the city separate from where they live. Appropriating existing public buildings into the Care System will be a difficult process as all facilities should have disabled access and be child friendly. Due to a lack of available urban land, constructing new Care Blocks may also prove difficult, rendering it particularly important to allocate an adequate amount of urban land and infrastructure for the system's future.

Legal or regulatory formalisation

In Bogotá, the mayor can only be elected for one consecutive four-year term in office and must then leave office for at least one election cycle before running for re-election. When Mayor López leaves office there are limited policy structures in place with legally binding objectives that enshrine the Care System beyond her tenure. In other words, the next mayor of Bogotá will be able to simply determine whether they wish to extend the initiative once they assume office. Mayor López is expected to bring a bill to City Council for a vote on the Care System in the coming period to legally protect the initiative within the city's regulatory framework. There are existing formal policies - 'La Direccion del Sistema de Cuidado' (Directorate of the Care System) and Public Policy for Women and Gender Equity - that impact the initiative, but they are not legally binding and are subject to political influence. The city's 12-year Master Plan is another policy that has helped to formalise the Care System and shield it from political cycles. However, there is a question as to whether Mayor López's bill will be passed by the City Council due to the Care System's politicised image; it is an initiative the mayor has heavily promoted as a significant achievement under her tenure, part of what some see as her wider ambition to run for national office.

Engaging the public and building trust

Colombia and Bogotá have suffered from decades of political instability, violence, and corruption. These deep societal shocks have left many with a severe lack of trust in public institutions, as well as a deep scepticism of political agendas. Overcoming the public's lack of trust will require the city to embark on substantive public engagement activities to rebuild trust and demonstrate competency in delivering on this public agenda. Furthermore, as the Care System seeks to foster a deep societal transformation that upends the dominant machismo culture, the city will also have to engage the public through collaborative approaches that build trust and help cultivate new societal norms. Fostering this deep cultural change at a societal level will require Bogotá's residents to build trust in their local government, a challenging process that requires decision makers to navigate high levels of complexity. It also raises questions about what tools the local government currently has to enable this shift, and what potential there is to cultivate shared responsibilities with external actors who have different tools and resources that could provide complimentary support.

Lessons

There are several lessons that can be drawn from the initial experience of Bogotá's Care System. Whilst it is unlikely that it could be directly replicated in other cities, the way in which this transformative initiative has developed over the last few years does offer other local governments useful insights:

Experiment quickly: 'fail fast, learn fast'

Urban innovation is a messy process that rarely, if ever, follows a prescriptive formula. Decision-makers in Bogotá have demonstrated the power of taking a practical approach towards experimentation, where prototypes are designed and tested quickly to generate data, learn from mistakes, iterate, improve, and try again. This method of urban innovation has yielded positive initial results and has allowed the initiative to scale quickly.

Prioritise developing capabilities for innovation

While the innovation process is often uncertain, there are certain soft skills and collaborative capabilities that are important. Other cities should learn from the capabilities that Bogotá has used to support its innovative journey and explore how they might replicate these – both at the individual and organisational levels.

Systems change interventions that transcend sectoral policies

The Care System is an initiative which seeks to produce 'systems change' by bringing together all the secretariats across local government. Other cities could learn from Bogotá's example by exploring how they might seek to integrate economic, spatial, technological and cultural policy domains when embarking on their own processes of system changes to address challenges ranging from the climate crisis to equitable mobility. The multi-sectoral approach of shared or co-responsibility in financing and delivering fast-paced change at scale is one that other cities could effectively apply.

Institutionalising processes of change beyond short-term political cycles

Political will, shared responsibility, and a mindset prepared to experiment and take risks are critical elements for establishing the types of institutional, regulatory, and financial conditions that produce bold initiatives such as the Care System. Responding to short-term political cycles makes it difficult for these elements to develop fully at an organisational level, which presents a challenge in terms of sustaining transformative initiatives over time. The institutionalisation of such characteristics is required, from programme design through to implementation and evaluation, in order to make the day-to-day process of long-term change resilient.

Incorporating a gendered perspective within care policies

Typically, gender is not something that receives substantial attention in urban social policies or programmes, even in the context of care policies. The Care System illustrates the importance of considering gender in the design and implementation of social policy, because it influences the distribution of care responsibilities. Other cities should recognise the seminal social and societal role that gender plays and include it explicitly within social policies and programmes that aim to deliver more equitable impacts.

Local Voices

"What this programme has given me is a way to leave anonymity. I don't feel invisible anymore. I feel empowered."

Ciudad Bolívar beneficiary

"This programme has been a light to us caregivers. It is a space just for us and has made me look forward to the future."

Ciudad Bolívar beneficiary

"I want to replant everything I have received so that others can benefit from the knowledge I've gained."

Greening Women beneficiary

"Today here at Bogotá's Botanical Gardens, tomorrow everywhere around the world."

Greening Women beneficiary

"I've struggled with bipolar disorder my whole life and have felt isolated…This programme has helped me oxygenate my mind."

Greening Women beneficiary

Local artist and communities work together to improve their neighbourhood using street artwork. This is representative of the local character of Ciudad Bolívar. © *Ryan Bellinson*

Comment

Caring for vulnerable urban populations

The Bogotá Care System is a radical idea in the context of a Latin American city and has been rightly lauded for its attempts to push for a more gender equitable distribution of public services. Specifically, it targets unpaid domestic caregivers, usually women, to enable them to regain time and autonomy to improve their lives, if only for a few hours in a day or a week.

However, the major drawback of this care system is its financial sustainability, since it is currently dependent on the city government's discretionary budgeting process, as well as support from international organizations such as UNDP and Bloomberg Philanthropies to keep the Care Blocks going. In the context of city budgets, this represents a significant cost. The system's reliance on discretionary budgeting by the mayor of the city also exposes it to the problem of political continuity. The care system was originally the initiative of Mayor Claudia López. However, mayors in Bogotá can only be elected to one four-year term at a time and cannot run for immediate re-election. They can, however, run again non-consecutively after skipping one round. This system of election has an impact on effective, sustainable and long-term strategic planning, particularly if the succeeding mayor does not share the same agenda and priorities of the prior administration. To this end, Bogotá was fortunate when it elected Antanas Mockus as mayor in 1994. He was succeeded by Enrique Peñalosa in 1998, a political ally. Mockus returned after Peñalosa left office in 2001. This meant a continuous nine years of shared thinking and priorities. Peñalosa was not re-elected mayor until 16 years later.

To illustrate the importance of continuity in this type of urban social welfare programme, it would be useful to look at another example elsewhere. Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia located in West Java, has a population of 11 million (2022). It is a sprawling city where public green space is rapidly shrinking. In 1973, green space accounted for 77.8 % of Jakarta's total area, but by 2013 this had shrunk to just 9.8%. Children are losing space for play, residents are losing space for recreation, wildlife is losing space to thrive, and nature is losing space to provide the city with ecosystem services.

In 2015, Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama launched an initiative under the Jakarta Capital City Government (JCCG) to revitalize community parks with multi-use interactive activities and functions. It was called RPTRA (Child-Friendly Integrated Public Spaces). The programme provides services for children and their caregivers. Each RPTRA centres on a multipurpose space that includes a playground for children, a water storage facility, a family information and consultation centre, a social activity centre, an evacuation centre, an economic activity centre and a small-scale shop managed by women empowerment groups. These facilities are chosen through a social mapping exercise with the local community, who determine what RPTRA activities they want. The provincial, municipal and district governments help to facilitate, mediate, initiate and assist the programme. The sub-district government helps with financial management and operations.

The establishment of RPTRAs was included in the budget of the DKI Jakarta, the regional city government. What is interesting is that from the start of the introduction of RPTRAs, the regional city government engaged the private sector in funding the programme through their corporate social responsibility (CSR) obligations. There are many huge conglomerates in Indonesia and a great number of private enterprises, creating a vibrant private sector. CSR is a legal obligation under the Limited Company Act (2007) and the Indonesian Government Regulation of Social and Environment Responsibilities (2012).

Under these regulations, all private sector companies must fulfil their CSR obligations by having plans to meet their social and environmental responsibilities towards the community and environment in which they operate.

Between 2015-2018, 290 RPTRAs were built. The DKI Jakarta built 223 RPTRAs and the private sector (through CSR) built 67. However, Indonesian research and analysis of the RPTRA programme has concluded that reliance on CSR funding could be risky and that the governor and his team should ensure CSR compliance to reduce this risk. There is also the issue that in poorer areas, where few or no businesses are established but where there is a clear need for a community park, it would be hard to extract CSR support.

With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent quarantines and lockdowns, many of the RPTRAs went into disuse: they were badly maintained and the facilities and equipment needed repair. Financial resources were diverted to the pandemic and public health measures. It is likely that the CSR support also dried up to some extent, although data on this is still awaited. Media reports suggest that with the opening up post-COVID, some revitalisation will take place.

Governor Basuki's term ended in 2017 when he lost the election amid a blasphemy scandal. Anies R. Baswedan from another party became the succeeding governor but he has continued the RPTRA programme. Jakarta is an example of a city experimenting with more sustainable ways of financing its community inclusion projects, such as through mandatory CSR financial support, although as outlined above, these are not without risk.

For Bogotá to bolster its Care System, it would be beneficial if it could raise interest in the initiative at the national level. If the programme was embraced at a higher level of government, more sustainable funding could be assured. The city authorities of Bogotá could also look to private funding through CSR-like instruments to supplement the resources needed. Regardless of the specific funding source, Bogotá must address the long-term financial sustainability of the Care System if the initiative is to realise its radical potential.

Chan Heng Chee is a Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew Centre for Innovative Cities, Singapore University of Technology and Design and Ambassador-at-Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore. She is also a member of the Council on Urban Initiatives.

Jose Rafael Martinez is a Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew Centre for Innovative Cities, Singapore University of Technology and Design.

Refugee Integration, Gaziantep, Turkey

A panoramic view of Gaziantep. © *Resul Muslu*

Gaziantep

Total Population – 2,130,432 (2021)[11]

Regional map shows ambient population density drawn from LandScan 2018 data, which assigns for each square kilometre of the world's land surface a figure equivalent to its average population over a 24-hour period.

Local map of Gaziantep shows the city's urban footprint in 2018.

Data sources: LandScan 2018™ High Resolution Global Population Data Set; GHS built-up grid derived from Landsat, Joint Research Centre (2018), multitemporal and DIVA-GIS

Introduction

Gaziantep is the capital of Gaziantep Province, in Turkey's south-eastern Anatolia region. It is located about 100km from the Mediterranean and only 97 km north of Aleppo, Syria. Known informally as Aintab or Antep, it is Turkey's sixth largest city with a strong link to ancient civilizations and trading routes. The city has a strong industrial economy, with prominent manufacturing, textile and gastronomic industries, and has long been regarded as the regional trade gateway to the Middle East.[12]

In the decades prior to the Syrian war, Gaziantep was one of the fastest growing urban areas in the world, expanding from a population of 120,000 in the 1970s to 1,388,004 in 2010.[13] This growth was largely driven by internal migrants from other regions in Turkey seeking employment and trade opportunities. But since the outbreak of war in 2011, this growth has accelerated. Gaziantep has received over 450,000 Syrians, expanding the population by over 25%[14] and has become renowned for its efforts to integrate refugees with the existing population.

From 2011 to 2016, the Turkish government maintained an open-border policy for refugees fleeing the Syrian war. Over 3.6 million registered Syrians have crossed the border and settled in Turkey, making Turkey the world's largest refugee hosting nation.[15] The country also hosts a significant number of refugees and asylum seekers from other countries, including 167,325 from Iraq, 129,323 from Afghanistan, and 24,300 from Iran.[16]

During the initial stages of the Syrian migration, the government's focus was on providing immediate humanitarian relief to the displaced population with the expectation that they would soon return home. Syrians were housed in temporary accommodation in vast camps along the border, established with the support of international organisations and municipalities. By 2015, the number of refugees in the country had reached 1.5 million and the central government began to close camps, citing high costs and integration problems,[17] which led to Syrians moving into Turkish towns and cities. As a result, fewer than 2% of Syrian refugees in Turkey live in camps.[18]

At the height of the crisis, many refugees moved into cities along the south-eastern border with Syria including Gaziantep, putting immense strain on municipal infrastructure and social services and increasing public expenditure. Significantly, local governments in Turkey have not received any additional funding from the central government to cover the costs of accommodating and supporting increased populations and their needs. The central government grant, which generally makes up around three quarters of municipal budgets, is based on the number of citizens registered in the local administration, excluding foreigners (such as Syrians) living in Turkey under temporary protection.

In fact, in Turkey there is no national framework for subnational responses to refugees and no explicit requirement for municipalities to provide services to refugees. As Lowndes and Polat (2020) note, this lack of framework has led to significant variation in local responses, impacting refugees' living standards and their level of integration.[19] While some municipalities provide little additional support to refugees, others including Gaziantep have been much more proactive in developing services and programmes to meet refugees' needs and facilitate their integration into the city.[20]

Gaziantep became a natural destination for Syrian refugees because it is close to Aleppo and has strong historic, cultural and social ties with the city: before the modern states of Turkey and Syria, the two cities were part of the same region of the Ottoman Empire.

In addition, Gaziantep offered a significant economic opportunity to migrants. At the centre of the strongest economy in south-eastern Turkey, the city and its region have a significant labour market pull as a prominent centre of industry.[21] During the initial stages of mass migration, narratives of hospitality, affinity to fellow Muslims and humanitarianism influenced the response.[22]

As the flows of refugees increased, the municipality had to manage extreme demographic pressure which severely impacted infrastructure and provision of basic services. Prior to the migration, investment in public infrastructure such as water, transport and energy were based on projected demand and stable population growth. Within the space of a few years, with the arrival of large numbers of new migrants, demand for essential infrastructure exceeded projections for the next decade. The city experienced water shortages, breakdowns in the sewage network and severe pressure on the housing market. With no additional funding from the central government and little scope to expand their own source revenue base, the municipality relied heavily on attracting grants and loans from international agencies such as the World Bank to scale up housing and infrastructure to meet demand.

Initiatives

The establishment of a central coordination unit

Gaziantep has been proactively engaged in providing services to refugees since the early stages of the migration flow in 2011. Local authorities were among the first to receive refugees and to set up camps along the border. To help Syrian children living in camps continue their education, they established two Arabic schools which taught the Syrian curriculum.[23]

In order to provide a more systematic response to the influx, the municipality established a central unit in 2016 to coordinate support to refugees across the municipality and to work with NGOs operating in the area.[24] Gaziantep's Municipal Migration Department was the first of its kind in Turkey. Its main functions are to oversee the provision of services to refugees, disseminate information on refugee rights, and make case referrals to different social services provided by public, private and third sector organisations in the city.

To collect data on the needs of the Syrian population, the municipality also established a social research centre, SARMER, which conducted a district-based survey of all households in the city. From this, they developed a social risk map to more effectively direct social services and resources based on need.[25,26] As a service provider, the municipality recognised that it needed to support its own employees and case officers with new skills and training programmes so that they could better address the different challenges of co-existence of existing and new populations.

Equal provision of municipal services

The city's commitment to social cohesion is reflected by its efforts to provide municipal services to a broad cross-section of the population, regardless of ethnicity. In some cases, this required the delivery of services in two languages – Turkish and Arabic – or, where necessary, the use of translation.

The municipality has a wide range of social support programmes open to both Turks and Syrians. There are 25 vocational training centres in the city, offering free courses in areas such as culinary skills, baking, traditional crafts, music and hairdressing. These centres have the capacity to deliver courses to 25,000 residents each year. To promote language skills, the municipality also offers courses in English, Arabic, German and Turkish. And with the aim of encouraging social cohesion and social integration, they operate community centres to provide social and psychological services to residents. One such centre, the Ensar community centre, is located in Narlıtepe, a relatively deprived neighbourhood with a high proportion of Syrians in the south-west of the city. Operated in partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the centre provides awareness-raising sessions to Syrian refugees on their legal status within Turkey, the services available to them, and Turkish regulations and customs.[27] There is also a women-only community centre, offering courses on empowerment and professional skills, a domestic violence centre, and a women's entrepreneurial centre to support women-led start-ups.

Prioritising economic integration

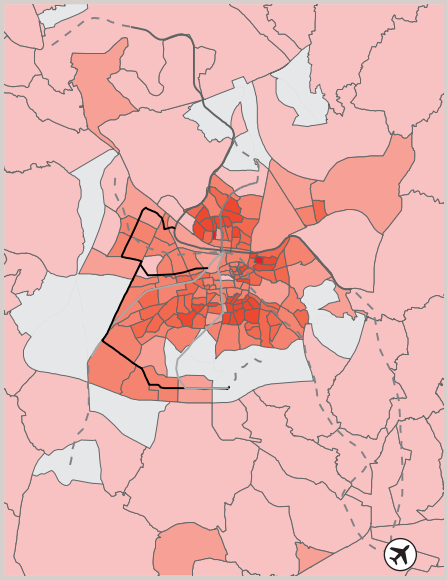
Gaziantep has framed its integration efforts as being to the benefit of the local host communities, particularly with regards to their economic impact. The sudden arrival of a relatively cheap Syrian workforce strengthened the construction and industrial sectors in Gaziantep, and Syrian entrepreneurs helped to expand the city's trade links to Arabic-speaking countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

As a result, the municipal Chamber of Commerce has played an important role in supporting refugee integration in the city, particularly of middle-class Syrians who could expand employment and trade opportunities. The organisation established a 'Syria desk' to help Syrian businesses overcome bureaucratic challenges and to strengthen coordination between Turkish and Syrian business networks.[28] Over 1,000 registered businesses with Syrian owners have been established in Gaziantep, and there is an active association of Syrian entrepreneurs - ASIAD - which helps to provide support to businesses in the city. Syrian enterprises have strengthened trade in certain sectors, particularly shoemaking and textiles.

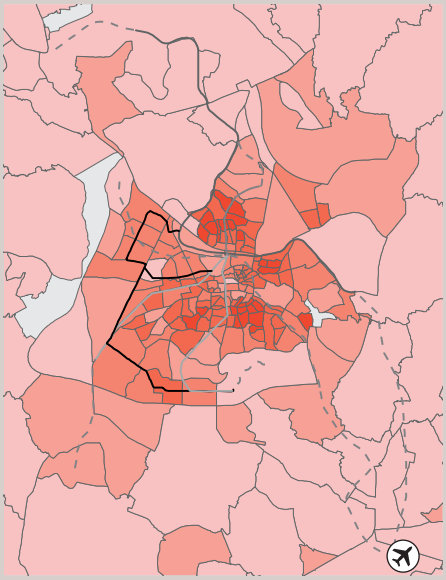
Influenced in part by the economic opportunities resulting from the integration of Syrians to the labour market in Gaziantep, Fatma Şahin, elected Mayor in 2014 and then again in 2019, was a prominent proponent of the economic integration of Syrians nationally. Before 2016, Syrians under temporary protection could not work in the formal economy and the school system was segregated, with Syrian children taught in temporary Arabic-speaking schools. Mayor Şahin, a member of the ruling AKP party and a former national cabinet member, met with national ministries to advocate for work permits and integrated schooling. In 2016, a series of policies on refugees was introduced by the national government which included a work permit scheme, allowing Syrians to work in the formal economy with some restrictions, and the integration of Syrian children into Turkish schools.


YERİ SALATALI
3,50
NEKTARİ
15
TL
vigo

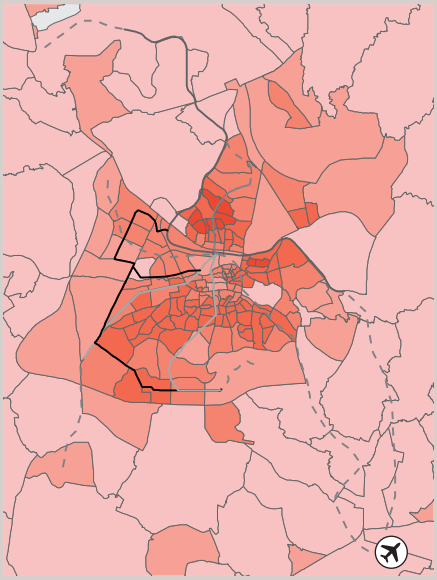
Population density 2010



Population density 2015



Population density 2020



The three maps above illustrate neighbourhood population densities for three periods, 2010, 2015 and 2020, showing how the central districts of Gaziantep, Şahinbey and Şehitkamil have grown in recent years. Population densities have grown outwards during this period, particularly in the southwest of the city, and to a lesser extent, the northeast. It is notable that some inner city areas have become less dense.

Rail system (tram/metro)
- Existing
- Finished but not open
- Partially in construction
- Projected

Airport

Population density (pers/km²)
High
Low
No data

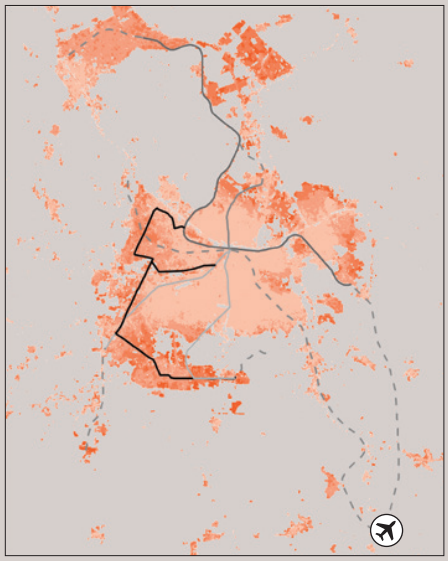
0 5 Km

- Case study urban area
- Central area
- District boundaries

This location map shows the district boundaries within Gaziantep Province and the central city area mapped above.

Urban footprint change 1985–2015

The map below shows the footprint change from 1985 to 2015, illustrating the growth of the city in terms of construction. There is clearly an emergence of industrial areas in the north of the city and residential areas in the south.

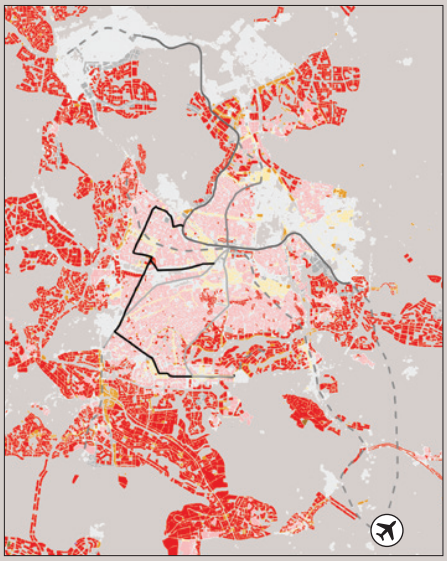


Urban footprint change
- until 1990
- 1991–2000
- 2001–2010
- 2011–2015

Rail system (tram/metro) status
- Existing
- Finished but not open
- Partially in construction
- Projected

Land use

The map below shows the city's residential and commercial zones. Existing residential areas are marked in light red, and proposed residential areas in dark red. The yellow areas mark commercial zones, with light yellow showing the existing commercial areas, and dark yellow showing the proposed commercial areas.

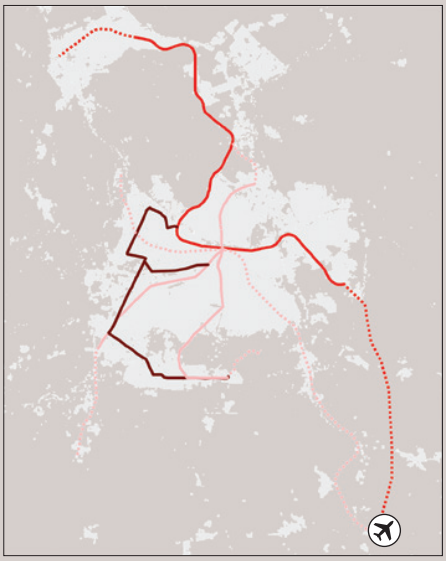


Land use – residential and commercial
- Residential area, existing
- Residential area, proposed
- Commercial areas, existing
- Commercial areas, proposed

Urban footprint (2015)

Railway system

The map below illustrates development in the city's rail network. The black line is the existing tram network, the light pink is the planned metro project, designed to link outer areas (including industrial areas and the airport) to the centre. This project is partially in construction. The red line is the suburban train system, also partially in construction.



Rail system status (tram/metro)
- Metro, partially in construction
- Metro, projected
- Suburban Train, finished but not open
- Suburban Train, projected
- Tram, existing

Data source: Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and World Settlement Footprint evolution data (WSF 2015), DLR-DE. With reference to Marconcini, M., Metz-Marconcini, A., Esch, T., Gorelick, N. (2021). Understanding Current Trends in Global Urbanisation – The World Settlement Footprint suite. GI_Forum, 1, 33-38. https://doi.org/10.1553/giscience2021_01_s33.

These policies were framed as a means of enabling Syrians to become more active members of the Turkish economy and to ease emerging anti-refugee sentiments based around perceptions of Syrians as being aid-dependent and a 'burden' on taxpayers.[29]

Long-term approach to urban planning

At the national level, there has been a persistent reluctance to regard Syrians as permanent residents due to a fear of public opposition. Eleven years after the migration began, and with no end to the war in Syria in sight, they are still referred to as 'guests' in the country to engender hospitality among Turks but also to emphasise the temporariness of their stay.

Municipalities such as Gaziantep, on the other hand, have taken a more realistic approach in this regard, assuming Syrians' long-term presence from early on and adapting their infrastructure and housing plans accordingly. Acknowledging there may be the possibility that they will eventually leave the city in large numbers, the municipality takes the position that Gaziantep, with its large industrial zones and strong regional economy, would be able to attract internal migrants from other areas in Turkey to fill vacancies.

To secure public support for initiatives to accommodate refugees that involve permanent alterations to infrastructure and the built environment, the municipality has attempted to ensure that developments also improve the conditions of Turks living in the city.

Plans were developed to build 50,000 new housing units, of which 65% have already been completed in partnership with TOKI, the national housing authority. Many of these are concentrated in the middle-class neighbourhoods of Akkent and Karataş in the south-western borders of the city. These neighbourhoods, complete with apartment complexes, commercial units and parks, have been developed over the past 15 years to ease pressure on the housing market and address concerns among the Turkish community that refugees were pushing up housing prices.[30]

In fact, many Turks have been able to take advantage of the flux in the housing market and improve their housing conditions, moving out of the older inner-city areas where there are high rates of dilapidation and into new developments such as these. On the flip side, Syrians are now heavily concentrated in the older neighbourhoods where there are severe problems of poverty and overcrowding. According to one household survey, the average number of Syrians living in each house in Gaziantep is 6.6, almost double the national average of 3.4.[31]

To ease pressure on transport networks, the municipality added 180 more public buses as well as adding carriages to the city's trams. They are in the process of developing an ambitious metro project involving four new metro lines. Working with the national Ministry of Transport, the city has also developed traffic education courses to increase awareness of Turkish road rules and customs.

Other major infrastructure developments include a 135km water pipeline built with financial support from the central government and the Japanese development agency, JICA, and a new $3 million waste management facility which is being developed in partnership with UNDP.

Attracting international support

With no additional funding from the national government to cover these additional infrastructure and social support programmes, the municipality turned its attention to international agencies and donors to bridge funding gaps. This became easier in 2015 as the arrival of large numbers of refugees to Europe led to increased attention on the response to refugees in Turkey, expanding the presence of international organisations, donors and development agencies in the region.

Gaziantep has been particularly successful in attracting international donations. As a result of efforts to upskill the municipality over successive mayoral administrations, the city was in a strong position in terms of having a highly skilled and professional workforce relative to other municipalities in the region. The city has a well-established Foreign Affairs Department responsible for writing grant proposals and engaging with international agencies. Gaziantep is consequently seen by donors as comparatively low risk in the region in terms of international investments and large grants.

Mayor Şahin has also taken a direct role in forging relationships with international agencies[32], for example by visiting the European Central Bank to appeal for more funding support for municipalities hosting large numbers of refugees in Turkey. She has taken an active role in international and national city networks, serving as President of the Middle East and Western Asia division of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG-MEWA), President of the Asian Mayors Forum (AMF), and President of the Union of Municipalities of Turkey (TBB). In 2019, Gaziantep hosted an International Forum on Local Solutions to Migration and Displacement, which was designed to raise awareness of the central role played by local government in managing migration.[33] As a result of the city's international visibility on refugees and migration, Gaziantep has been able to directly access international

funding which would typically be channelled through national governments.[34]

In addition to financing, municipal partnerships with international NGOs in Turkey have also been critical to the development of local capacity for refugee response, which is especially significant given municipalities' lack of formal responsibilities in this area.[35] In Gaziantep, municipal officials forged partnerships with NGOs to bridge capacity gaps and drew on their technical and humanitarian expertise. These partnerships have been mutually beneficial in that they have also allowed international groups to benefit from the municipality's local knowledge and sensitivity to local populations. Due to the municipality's pro-refugee stance and its proximity to Syria, Gaziantep has become a regional hub for international NGOs working with refugees both in Turkey and across the border.

Apartments under construction in Aydınlar in the northwest of the city. Residents of these new developments are largely middle class. © *Mustafa Karali*

Gazikent neighbourhood, another newly built area in the northwest of the city, around 9km from the city centre. © *Mustafa Karali*

Tensions and Conflicts

At the social and cultural level, the refugee population has faced a number of challenges. Many Syrians arriving in the city were traumatised by war, did not know the language and were unfamiliar with local customs. Around one third of the refugee population in Gaziantep is estimated to have travelled from rural areas in Syria, where illiteracy is high.[36] Inevitably, there were points of friction between Turkish and Syrian populations during the early years of the migration. For example, one major source of contention centred on travel patterns and customs. Even in urban areas in Syria, road regulations had been much more relaxed than in Turkey and many refugees were not familiar with Turkish traffic laws, signals and customs. The addition of 16,000 Syrian vehicles with Arabic number plates onto the city's road network resulted in unprecedented upheaval and congestion.

Over the years, social friction has grown into a more intense level of antagonism between Turks and Syrians, transcending local conditions. A key driver of increased levels of tension between ethnic and national groups is the unequal treatment of both communities by the national government and international donors, together with uncertainty around the future of Syrians in the country.

For Syrians, unequal treatment stems largely from the fact that in Turkey they are not afforded full refugee protection under international law. Turkey is party to the Geneva Convention but applies a geographical limitation so that only those seeking refuge from events occurring in Europe qualify for protection. In 2013, the government adopted a regime of temporary protection for Syrians and other asylum seekers not eligible for refugee status under the Geneva Convention.[37] While this entitles them to protection against forcible return to an unsafe environment, they are subject to some limitations on their rights and freedoms within the country which do not apply to Geneva Convention refugees.[38]

For example, those living under temporary protection in Turkey are denied the prospect of long-term legal integration into the country.[39] Restrictions are also applied to both Geneva Convention refugees and individuals under temporary protection, such as a requirement to reside in the provinces in which they are registered and to obtain a transit permit to travel - a bureaucratic process that can take considerable time and effort. [40],[41] In addition, the work permit scheme stipulates that foreign (including Syrian) employees can only make up 10-15% of a company's workforce (the exact percentage depends on the industry and there are some exceptions).

On the other hand, Syrians enjoy benefits that Turks do not. In 2016, the EU and Turkey reached an agreement whereby the EU committed €6 billion to improve the living conditions of refugees in the country in return for Turkey taking measures to stop irregular migration into Europe. With this funding, Syrians have been provided with free healthcare, education at all levels and access to a cash assistance programme - benefits which are not extended to Turkish populations, many of whom live in similarly impoverished conditions. There are also claims that this cash assistance programme acts as another disincentive for Syrians to join the formal labour market, although it is worth noting that these payments are only 155 Turkish lira or £8 per family member per month.[42]

As economic conditions have worsened in the country since 2018, many Turks' have resented what they perceive as preferential treatment of Syrians in relation to these benefits.[43],[44] This is further complicated by disinformation on the source of the funding for these programmes, fuelling the false belief that they are solely funded by the Turkish taxpayer. Such tensions are exacerbated by politicians positioning the future of Syrians in Turkey at the forefront of the national political debate and making frequent threats to send refugees back. There are also reports of officials coercing Syrians to sign voluntary return forms and deporting them.[45]

Social Cohesion

Art classes in Kids Rainbow, a local NGO established to provide language sessions and recreational education to children in the city. © *Mustafa Karali*

Turkish attitudes to Syrians are influenced by how they see their presence impacting on their own economic conditions. Many Turkish homeowners in Gaziantep benefitted from the higher rental prices that came with the increased population, and others profited from the construction boom in the city or the expansion in trade links to Arabic speaking countries. For large business owners, Syrians were a welcome source of manual, low-cost labour that helped the city's industry expand. However, there are many others who have lost out.

Particularly amongst Turkish manual workers, there is a widely held belief that the refugee influx has led to increased competition in the labour market and a depreciation in wages in the informal sector. This section of the resident Turkish community is also likely to have suffered from the rise in rental prices in the city.

The municipality's response to these tensions has been to work to provide equal basic services to both Turks and Syrians, to foster Syrians' employment and Turkish language skills, and to facilitate social integration through community centres and training courses.

However, while employment and community initiatives can enhance integration and social cohesion on a micro level, it is very difficult to scale this up in the context of the tumultuous national political environment, where disinformation and debates on sending refugees back rage. Ultimately, there is little the municipality can do to address the two central elements of social division: the uncertain future of Syrians in Turkey, and the unequal treatment of the two communities in relation to rights, basic freedoms and social support entitlements. These factors are fundamental to stability and social cohesion in Gaziantep but are determined by policies at the national level and, in relation to EU funding for social support, the international level.

Future Obstacles

Growing social tensions

Gaziantep is likely to face significant challenges in the coming years. With the country battling a continued economic crisis, rising poverty and spiralling inflation, public discourse has radically turned against Syrian refugees.[46] According to one survey, the majority of Turkish citizens now regard Syrian refugees as a threat and want them to leave, and with the future of Syrians in Turkey a central component of the 2023 election campaigns, anti-refugee sentiments are likely to continue.[47],[48]

Looking ahead, a decision will need to be made by the national government on whether Syrians are there to stay or not. Although the municipality can continue to plan on the assumption that Syrians will be in the city for the long term, without clarity on this at the national level social cohesion and integration efforts will continue to be strained. It is also down to the national government to address the limitations on basic freedoms that Syrians currently experience under the temporary protection regime, particularly the restrictions on freedom of movement to other provinces and freedom to work without permit restrictions.

At the city level, a number of initiatives could still be implemented to alleviate the situation, including greater focus on reducing animosity towards refugees amongst the Turkish community through, for example, coherent communication campaigns to address misinformation.

Accessing sustainable financial mechanisms

Gaziantep will likely also face considerable challenges in establishing sustainable financing mechanisms for the increased population. As of now there is a heavy reliance on international funding, but there is little guarantee that this will continue into the future, particularly as international attention shifts to the war in Ukraine and refugees in neighbouring countries.

There are also systemic problems associated with reliance on international funding. For one, resources are mostly provided for short-term initiatives and interventions rather than support for the development of long-term strategies and plans, which can lead to fractured policies. In addition, much of the international funding received by Gaziantep has been in the form of combined grants and loans. These tend to be offered with favourable conditions including low interest rates and long repayment terms. However, spiralling inflation and the sharp devaluation in the Turkish lira against the US dollar will likely lead to difficulties in servicing these loans.

Lessons

The refugee response in Gaziantep presents a striking case of a city government acting significantly beyond traditional mandates to respond to an immense global challenge. While municipal efforts to facilitate refugee integration have had mixed effects, there is still much that can be learnt despite the inevitable tensions resulting from policies set at the national level regarding legal status, freedoms and social entitlements.

The freedom to experiment

Most importantly, the case of Gaziantep shows that cities matter.[49] At the heart of Gaziantep's strategy lies the decision to act decisively and assume Syrians' long-term presence relatively early on. Its fundamental approach was to develop strategies based on the city's 'natural' growth (rather than a migration crisis) and provide for the needs of all residents equally. This has been achieved through active partnerships with a range of NGOs and international funders.

It could be argued that Gaziantep was able to adopt a more pragmatic, longer-term approach to refugees because migration policy sits with the national government, which has somewhat shielded the city from public scrutiny on the matter.

While Gaziantep did not receive active support from the national government, it was given a relatively free hand to pursue its own approach to integration, with its own narrative and solutions. Here, the absence of a national legal framework for municipal responses to refugee integration allowed for considerable flexibility in local responses.[50]

This case study illustrates the opportunities and limitations that municipalities face in dealing with complex issues such as refugees. Cities do not have authority to assign basic rights and freedoms, which can hamper attempts to cultivate integration and social cohesion. However, in this sense their strength seems to lie in their weakness. Not having the authority on this question implies that municipalities can take more of an experimental approach to refugee integration.[51] By trying out new policies at the local level, they can serve as laboratories of innovation and inform national refugee policy while it is still in the making. In the case of Turkey, some municipalities' integration policies are increasingly at odds with the national public discourse on refugee return. And yet, it is thanks to experimentation at the municipal level that the integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey has proven to be viable.

The importance of strengthening channels of influence

Although municipalities do not have a formal role in shaping legal rights and freedoms, the case of Gaziantep does make clear that cities can have a formative influence. Municipalities in Turkey, particularly those on the borders and in large urban centres, have been closer to the ground than higher levels of government in terms of their awareness of social tensions and local needs. Crucially, cities are also more likely than other settlements to have the resources to absorb new populations at a rapid pace.

Foreseeing opportunities to better integrate refugees into the city to the benefit of both Syrians and Turks, Mayor Şahin influenced two of the fundamental elements of the Turkish response to refugees: work permits and integrated schooling. This demonstrates the critical role of city leaders in identifying emergent social problems and influencing policy responses, even in circumstances where they have limited autonomy.

Linking the local and the global

The migration of displaced populations into neighbouring cities is one of the clearest examples of the disproportionate local impacts of global challenges. With no extra funding from central government, Gaziantep was able to bridge funding gaps and finance the necessary infrastructure by appealing to the international community for support. With its highly skilled workforce relative to other municipalities and, crucially, a Municipal Foreign Affairs Department, the city invested in the capacity and human resources to engage with international agencies and donors.

However, working with international organisations requires a significant amount of administrative work, for example in tailoring procurement guidelines for each project to requirements set out by the funder. Many other municipalities in Turkey facing similar challenges do not have the capacity to attract the same level of funding.

The case of Gaziantep illustrates the fundamental importance of international support to local communities dealing with the disproportionate impacts of global challenges. With cities on the frontline of some of the most pressing contemporary crises, there is an urgent need for them to position themselves and engage effectively with international agencies to secure necessary financing and support. This will not only allow cities better access to much needed resources, but it would also enable those dealing with the most acute impacts of global crises to impart lessons and best practices to guide more effective responses elsewhere.

Comment

Cultural and Social Integration

Is Gaziantep a model for other cities? It is and it isn't.

The humanity, sophistication, and intelligence of its political and administrative leaders certainly should be a model for others, but officialdom of this high quality is rare. There are also social reasons which make Gaziantep special.

Many of the refugees coming from Syria into Turkey share what the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu calls the same "habitus." This means they share a language, family structure, ways of communicating, and other cultural attributes which orient their daily conduct. When someone is forced to flee due to circumstances in a particular nation, Bourdieu argued, the shared habitus with people in another nation makes it possible for them to be received and integrated.

Most refugees, however, do not share a habitus with the peoples in the places to which they flee. When rural people are forced to move across borders, and if their destination is a city, they then become doubly displaced. This is the prospect now facing "climate refugees," whose numbers in the next three decades are expected to swell to the tens of millions globally. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee is someone with a "well-founded fear of persecution" were he or she to return home; according to this formula, the agricultural families forced to flee desertified or poisoned land are not refugees, since they face merely the prospect of starvation. Work by UN Habitat has shown that they will make long-distance moves, as from the Sahel into the Eastern Mediterranean, in search of survival – thus losing their habitus and becoming doubly displaced.

The 19th century Russian writer and political refugee Alexander Herzen believed that cultural displacement such as rural-to-urban has a deeper and more lasting effect on people's lives than a loss of national identity. This is why Herzen rejected the idea of "integration" as a realistic model for the first-generation refugee. She or he needs to learn, in the conduct of life, to adapt rather than integrate, and adapt slowly; shedding a culture cannot be like shedding a snakeskin.

For these reasons, the example of Gaziantep in absorbing refugees has been administratively outstanding, but sociologically special. Within the city, the experience of settling refugees does have something to say to other cities facing a similar influx. In the past, refugee settlements like those in Stockholm during the 1900s kept the newcomers largely together, for the sake of preserving their community – i.e., their habitus. This had the effect of segregating refugees, disabling them in particular from learning a new language through daily practice. In Gaziantep there is more residential mixing, less isolation. However, the process has hardly been painless.

The refugee community has itself split along class lines, with the middle-class outsiders sharing new housing with the local middle class, while the poor refugees have fought for space in the existing older city. A special case has been families who were middle class in Syria, fallen into the working classes in the Turkish city; they want housing they cannot now afford. But still, the dispersement of the refugee community has enabled adaptation of outside to insider. It may seem odd, or cruel, to think of dispersing a community as a good thing. But for people to get along, it helps if they live together.

We are at a turning point, I think, in how we understand displacement. Cities have always been a magnet for the displaced, and in the past outsiders have struggled to find a place for themselves in cities. They have usually done this by going to live with or near family who have already come, or by dwelling with people like themselves in local communities. Today, cities will be accommodating -- as with climate refugees -- large numbers of displaced persons who cannot find refuge in this localised way. Cities will have to plan for their location; and to plan well, the segregated community of migrants will need to be de-segregated. This does mean re-formulating their habitus, but planning truly mixed communities entails that change. Gaziantep shows one way this can be done.

Richard Sennett is Professor of Sociology Emeritus at the London School of Economics and a member of the Council on Urban Initiatives

References

1 Rodriguez, D., F. Bogotá: Transforming women's unpaid care work in times of the pandemic. Accessed online: https://newcities.org/wellbeing-bogota-diana-rodriguez-franco/

2 Perchinig, B., and Perumadan, J. (2022) Are rural areas across Europe viable destinations for Ukrainian refugee women? https://reliefweb.int/report/poland/are-rural-areas-across-europe-viable-destinations-ukrainian-refugee-women

3 Aycart-Piquer, L., Bailey-Morley, A., (2022) Ukraine exposes Europe's fractured narratives on refugees – but once again cities step up. Accessed online: https://odi.org/en/insights/ukraine-exposes-europes-fractured-narratives-on-refugees-but-once-again-cities-step-up/

4 Rodriguez, D., F. Bogotá: Transforming women's unpaid care work in times of the pandemic. Accessed online: https://newcities.org/wellbeing-bogota-diana-rodriguez-franco/

5 Trogal, K., & Graziano, V. (2019) Handling Replacement: Tending to a local library and repair centre.

6 OECD. (2020). Overview of gender equality in Colombia. In Gender Equality in Colombia Access to Justice and Politics at the Local Level. OECD Publishing, Paris.

7 Tronto, J. C. (2013) Caring democracy. In Caring Democracy. New York University Press.

8 Sistema de Cuidado (2022) https://sistemadecuidado.gov.co/#popup

9 Sanchez, N. (2021) Bogotá presents the door-to-door care service for Bloomberg Philanthropies Ideas. https://bogota.gov.co/en/international/bogota-presented-door-door-care-service-ideas-camp

10 Bogotá Newsroom (2021) This is how the new localities will be divided in Bogotá. Accessed online: https://www.elespectador.com/bogota/asi-se-dividiran-las-nuevas-localidades-donde-esta-su-barrio/

11 Figure for 2017. Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality (2022) Food Cities 2022: Emergency food plans for refugees, migrants and communities in crisis. Accessed online: https://foodfoundation.org.uk/sites/default/files/2021-11/Fuat%20Ozharat_0.pdf

12 Figure for 2019. Turkish Statistical Institute, Geographic Statistics Portal. Accessed online: https://cip.tuik.gov.tr/?il=27#

13 Figure for 2021. Turkish Statistical Institute, Geographic Statistics Portal. Accessed online: https://cip.tuik.gov.tr/?il=27#

14 Figure for 2017. Turkish Statistical Institute, Geographic Statistics Portal. Accessed online: https://cip.tuik.gov.tr/?il=27#

15 UNHCR (2021) Fact Sheet September 2021. Accessed online: https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/unhcr-turkey-fact-sheet-september-2021-entr

16 UNHCR (2020) Turkey Fact Sheet, February 2022. Accessed online: https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/unhcr-turkey-fact-sheet-february-2022-entr

17 Metin Gurcan (2019) Why is Turkey closing down Syrian refugee camps. Al monitor. Accessed online: https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2019/06/turkey-syria-why-government-closes-down-refugee-camps.html

18 Gültekin, M, N., et al., (2020). Gaziantep monitor 2020: Syrians. Accessed online: http://sosyoloji.gantep.edu.tr/upload/files/SUR%C4%B0YEL%C4%B0LER%20(1).pdf

19 Lowndes, V., and Plolat, R. K., (2020) How do local actors interpret, enact and contest policy? An analysis of local government responses to meeting the needs of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Local Government Studies, https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2020.1825386

20 Betts, A., and Memişoğlu, F., Ali, A. (2020) What difference do Mayors Make? The role of municipal authorities in Turkey and Lebanon's response to Syrian refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(1).

21 Gaziantep Sanayi Odasi. The Industry of Gaziantep. Accessed online: https://gso.org.tr/en/general-page/the-industry-of-gaziantep/industrial-structure-53.html

22 Lowndes, V., and Polat, R., (2020) How do local actors interpret, enact and contest policy? an analysis of local government responses to meeting the needs of Syrian refugees in Turkey, Local Government Studies. https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2020.1825386

23 Betts, A., and Memişoğlu, F., Ali, A. (2020) What difference do Mayors Make? The role of municipal authorities in Turkey and Lebanon's response to Syrian refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(1).

24 Betts, A., Ali, A., and Memisogu, F. (2017) Local politics and the Syrian refugee crisis. Accessed online: https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/local-politics-and-the-syrian-refugee-crisis-exploring-responses-in-turkey-lebanon-and-jordan

25 UNCHR, Global Compact on Refugees Digital Platform (2019) Municipality improves inclusion of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Accessed online: https://globalcompactrefugees.org/article/municipality-improves-inclusion-syrian-refugees-turkey

26 Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality (2022) Food Cities 2022: Emergency food plans for refugees, migrants and communities in crisis. Accessed online: https://foodfoundation.org.uk/sites/default/files/2021-11/Fuat%20Ozharat_0.pdf

27 UNCHR, Global Compact on Refugees Digital Platform (2019) Municipality improves inclusion of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Accessed online: https://globalcompactrefugees.org/article/municipality-improves-inclusion-syrian-refugees-turkey

28 Betts, A., Ali, A., and Memisogu, F. (2017) Local politics and the Syrian refugee crisis. Accessed online: https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/local-politics-and-the-syrian-refugee-crisis-exploring-responses-in-turkey-lebanon-and-jordan

29 Cagaptay, S. (2019) Growing Anti-Syrian Sentiment in Turkey. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Accessed online: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/growing-anti-syrian-sentiment-turkey

30 ERM and ELC Group Consulting and Engineering (2016) Environmental and Social Impact Assessment for Gaziantep Integrated Health Campus: Volume 1. Accessed online: https://www.miga.org/sites/default/files/archive/Documents/Vol%20I_Gaziantep_Final_September%202016.pdf

31 Gultekin, M., N. et al (2018) Syrians in Gaziantep. The University of Gaziantep Press. Accessed online: http://sosyoloji.gantep.edu.tr/upload/files/Gaziantep'teki%20Suriyeliler(1).pdf

32 Betts, A., and Memişoğlu, F., Ali, A. (2020) What difference do Mayors Make? The role of municipal authorities in Turkey and Lebanon's response to Syrian refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(1).

33 UNDP (2019) The Gaziantep Declaration calls for transition from emergency to resilience approach in migration and displacement responses. Accessed online: https://www.undp.org/turkey/press-releases/gaziantep-declaration-calls-transition-emergency-resilience-approach

34 Betts, A., and Memişoğlu, F., Ali, A. (2020) What difference do Mayors Make? The role of municipal authorities in Turkey and Lebanon's response to Syrian refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(1).

35 Polat, R., K., and Lowndes, V., 2021. How does multi-level governance create capacity to address refugee needs, and with what limitations? An analysis of municipal responses to Syrian refugees in Istanbul. Journal of Refugee Studies, 35(1).

36 Gültekin, M, N., et al., (2020). Gaziantep monitor 2020: Syrians. Accessed online: http://sosyoloji.gantep.edu.tr/upload/files/SUR%C4%B0YEL%C4%B0LER%20(1).pdf

37 Turkey: Law No. 6458 of 2013 on Foreigners and International Protection [Republic of Türkiye], 4 April 2013, Accessed online: https://www.refworld.org/docid/5167fbb20.html

38 https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2019-08-14/turkey-istanbul-governorate-to-enforce-movement-restrictions-on-syrians-under-temporary-protection/

39 Asylum Information Database (2022) Turkey: Country report: content of international protection. Accessed online: https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/turkey/content-international-protection/

40 Ergin, A., D. (2021) On the difference that Turkey's geographical limitation to the 1951 Convention makes in the protection of non-European refugees. Accessed online: https://rli.blogs.sas.ac.uk/2021/06/22/on-the-difference-that-turkeys-geographical-limitation-to-the-1951-convention-makes-in-the-protection-of-non-european-refugees/

41 Library of Congress (2019) Turkey: Istanbul Governorate to Enforce Movement Restrictions on Syrians Under Temporary Protection. Accessed online: https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2019-08-14/turkey-istanbul-governorate-to-enforce-movement-restrictions-on-syrians-under-temporary-protection/

42 IFRC, Turkey: Providing cash assistance to over 1.5 million refugees through EU funding. Accessed online: https://oldmedia.ifrc.org/ifrc/essn/

43 International Crisis Group (2018) Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions. Available online: https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/248-turkeys-syrian-refugees-defusing-metropolitan-tensions

44 Cagaptay, S. (2019) Growing Anti-Syrian Sentiment in Turkey. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Accessed online: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/growing-anti-syrian-sentiment-turkey

45 Human Rights Watch (2019) Turkey forcible returning Syrians to danger. Accessed online: https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/26/turkey-forcibly-returning-syrians-danger

46 Pitel, L. (2022) Defeating Erdoğan: Turkey's opposition searches for a champion. Financial Times. Accessed online: https://www.ft.com/content/710bff84-db73-4785-8386-0bf34e3b8da8

47 Erdoğan, M., M., (2020) Syrians Barometer 2020. Accessed online: https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/syrians-barometer-2020-framework-achieving-social-cohesion-syrians-turkey-entr

48 Cagaptay, S. (2019) Growing Anti-Syrian Sentiment in Turkey. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Accessed online: https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/growing-anti-syrian-sentiment-turkey

49 Betts, A., and Memişoğlu, F., Ali, A. (2020) What difference do Mayors Make? The role of municipal authorities in Turkey and Lebanon's response to Syrian refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(1).

50 Lowndes, V., and Plolat, R. K., (2020) How do local actors interpret, enact and contest policy? An analysis of local government responses to meeting the needs of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Local Government Studies, https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2020.1825386

51 Lowndes, V., and Plolat, R. K., (2020) How do local actors interpret, enact and contest policy? An analysis of local government responses to meeting the needs of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Local Government Studies, https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2020.1825386

Special Thanks

The Council on Urban Initiatives would like to thank the following organisations and individuals for assistance in developing the case studies:

Bogotá – Bogotá Mayor's Office for International Relations; Bogotá Botanical Garden; Bogotá Secretariat of Culture; Bogotá Secretariat of Environment; Bogotá Secretariat of Planning; Bogotá Secretariat of Social Integration; Bogotá Secretariat of Women; Dalberg; Care System, Technical Support Unit; Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA); UNDP Colombia; Universidad de los Andes, Interdisciplinary Center for Development Studies (CIDER); UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL); UN Women for the Americas and the Caribbean

Gaziantep – Assiad; Care International in Turkey, Gaziantep Office; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, Turkey; Ensar Community Centre; Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality; Gazmek Vocational Training Center; Göç İdaresi; International Organization for Migration, Gaziantep Sub Office; Kagidem; Kids Rainbow; Murat Kaya, Department of Sociology, Gaziantep University; Professor Mehmet Nuri Gultekin, Department of Sociology, Gaziantep University; Rabia Polat, Isik University; Union of Municipalities, Turkey; Red Crescent, Gaziantep Office; Welthungerhilfe, Gaziantep Office

The Council on Urban Initiatives acknowledge the generous support of James and Morag Anderson.

Supported by:

Impact on Urban Health

Knowledge Partner

Enquiries:
Rebecca Flynn
Project Co-ordinator
Council on Urban Initiatives
LSE Cities London School of Economics and Political Science
London WC2A 2AE
lse.ac.uk/cities
r.flynn1@lse.ac.uk

UN HABITAT
FOR A BETTER URBAN FUTURE

The UN-Habitat's vision of "a better quality of life for all in an urbanizing world" is bold and ambitious. UN-Habitat works with partners to build inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities and communities. UN-Habitat collaborates with governments, intergovernmental, UN agencies, civil society organizations, foundations, academic institutions and the private sector to achieve enduring results in addressing the challenges of urbanization.

UCL IIPP Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

The UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose (IIPP) aims to develop a new framework for creating, nurturing and evaluating public value in order to achieve economic growth that is more innovation-led, inclusive and sustainable. We intend this framework to inform the debate about the direction of economic growth and the use of mission-oriented policies to confront social and technological problems. Our work will feed into innovation and industrial policy, financial reform, institutional change, and sustainable development. IIPP is housed in The Bartlett, a leading global Faculty of the Built Environment at University College London (UCL), with its radical thinking about space, design and sustainability.

LSE Cities

LSE Cities is an international centre that investigates the complexities of the contemporary city. It carries out research, graduate and executive education, outreach and advisory activities in London and abroad. Extending LSE's century-old commitment to the understanding of urban society, LSE Cities investigates how complex urban systems are responding to the pressures of growth, change and globalisation with new infrastructures of design and governance that both complement and threaten social equity and environmental sustainability.