JYU DISSERTATIONS 632

Saeed Bin Mohammed

Governance of Urban Culture in the Era of Globalization

An Analysis of International Policy Discourses and Cosmopolitan Case-Examples

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

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The dissertation focuses on urban cultures and globalization in modern cosmopolitan cities. In this regard, it explores the influence of international institutions on urban cultural policy governance. The study's objective is therefore to examine how cities and institutions of global governance strive to govern and organize culture within cosmopolitan urban settings. In this context, the research is conducted in two different settings: international organizations, such as UNESCO and UN-Habitat, as well as local urban settings and policies, such as those in Sydney and Helsinki.

In this research, the regulation of urban cultures is put into the context of Foucauldian governmentality and cosmopolitanism. This is done so that the importance of global policies and directives and their effect on urban socio-cultural policymaking can be determined. Specifically, governmentality examines the various forms of cultural governance. Cosmopolitanism was also used to understand and evaluate the complex cultural nature of urban policy and government. In the context of this study, cosmopolitanism is linked to one-worldism and the universality of identity, which is the idea that people of all races, ethnicities, and origins can live together in cities.

This dissertation comprises four peer-reviewed articles. The study demonstrates that ideology plays a significant role in how the United Nations operates, as well as in how diversity and cultural policy are perceived and implemented in cities. A key finding of this study was the contradictory perceptions of urban cultural policy in Sydney and Helsinki compared to those stated by the United Nations, and the way cosmopolitanism appears as both ideology and rationality for city governance. The results show that urban culture is very important for finding new ways to think about the past in the present and for recognizing the diversity and differences of urban communities. Throughout the dissertation, it has been made clear that one of the most important parts of UN-Habitat's New Urban Agenda principle of "leaving no one behind" is the governance of differences and diversity. In conclusion, the thesis argues that cultural policies in cities like Sydney and Helsinki promote tolerance among residents by recognizing and respecting cultures that differ from their own.

Keywords: culture, cities, cosmopolitanism, differences, diversity, globalization, governmentality, Helsinki, Sydney, UNESCO, UN-Habitat, urban cultures, urbanization

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Mohammed, Saeed Bin
Kaupunkikulttuurin hallinta globalisaation aikakaudella: kansainvälisten politiikkadiskurssien ja kosmopoliittisten tapausesimerkkien analyysi
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Tässä väitöskirjassa keskitytään siihen, miten kaupungit ja globaalit hallinnolliset instituutiot pyrkivät hallinnoimaan ja organisoimaan kulttuuria kosmopoliittisissa kaupunkiympäristöissä. Tähän kontekstiin liittyvää tutkimusta tehdään kahdessa eri ympäristössä: kansainvälisissä organisaatioissa, kuten Unescossa ja UN-Habitatissa, sekä paikallisissa kaupunkiympäristöissä ja -linjauksissa, esimerkiksi Sydneyssä ja Helsingissä.

Tässä tutkimuksessa kaupunkikulttuurien sääntelyä tarkastellaan foucault'laisen hallinnallisuuden ja kosmopolitanismin viitekehyksistä. Tällä tavoin voidaan hahmottaa globaalien linjausten ja säädösten merkitystä ja vaikutusta kaupunkien päätöksentekoon kulttuuria koskevissa asioissa. Hallinnallisuuden avulla tarkastellaan kulttuurin hallinnoinnin eri muotoja. Kosmopolitanismia käytettiin kaupunkipolitiikan ja -hallinnon monimutkaisen kulttuurisen luonteen ymmärtämiseen ja arviointiin. Tämän tutkimuksen yhteydessä kosmopolitanismi kytkeytyy ajatukseen siitä, että kaikkia rotuja, etnisyyksiä ja alkuperiä edustavat ihmiset voivat elää kaupungeissa yhdessä.

Tämä väitöskirja koostuu neljästä vertaisarvioidusta artikkelista. Tutkimus osoittaa, että ideologialla on merkittävä rooli Yhdistyneiden kansakuntien toiminnassa sekä monimuotoisuuteen ja kulttuuriin liittyvien linjausten hahmottamisessa ja toteuttamisessa kaupungeissa. Tutkimuksen keskeinen havainto oli, että Sydneyssä ja Helsingissä kaupunkikulttuuriin liittyvien linjausten käsitykset olivat ristiriitaisia Yhdistyneiden kansakuntien esittämien käsitysten kanssa ja että kosmopolitanismi näyttäytyy sekä ideologiana että rationaalisuutena kaupungin hallinnossa. Tulokset osoittavat, että kaupunkikulttuuri on erittäin tärkeää, jotta voidaan löytää uusia tapoja tarkastella menneisyyttä nykyhetkessä ja tiedostaa kaupunkiyhteisöjen monimuotoisuus ja erot. Koko väitöstutkimuksessa on käynyt selväksi, että yksi tärkeimmistä asioista UN-Habitatin Uuden kaupunkikehitysohjelman "ketään ei jätetä jälkeen" -periaatteessa tärkeää on erojen ja monimuotoisuuden hallinta.

Asiasanat: kulttuuri, kaupungit, kosmopolitanismi, erot, monimuotoisuus, globalisaatio, hallinnallisuus, Helsinki, Sydney, UNESCO, UN-Habitat, kaupunkikulttuurit, kaupungistuminen

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In memory of my late dearest daughter, Mma Adiza – this work is for you and your siblings.

Jyväskylä 24 February 2023
Saeed Bin Mohammed

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines urban culture governance and globalization in contemporary big cities with an emphasis on urban cultural politics. In this regard, it presents an interdisciplinary analysis of these issues from the fields of cultural policy, urban studies, and political science. When I began thinking about the topic, I decided to explore governance from the standpoints of cosmopolitanism and governmentality. To do this comprehensively, I decided to study these phenomena from a macro level (international organizations) to the practical level of implementation (cities). Previous studies have demonstrated that cities are increasingly emerging as strategic places in which to investigate the values and benefits of culture for urbanization and development (Andrews, 2016; Ministry of Environment Finland, 2021; UN-Habitat, 2020). To that end, the United Nations (UN) and its agencies serve as a special place to study current challenges within the international context of governments, decision-making, and technocrats, as Hoggart (1978, p. 163) suggested in the 1970s. These factors make UN agencies a suitable choice for such a study. In UN-Habitat's report (2020, p. 174), cities serve as a first platform for supporting and promoting the role of culture in sustainability and urban politics. As a result, the adoption of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and Habitat III [1] represents an opportunity to examine existing interpretations of how culture affects urbanization and alternative strategies (UN-Habitat 2020, p. 213). According to Ye (2017), urbanization plays an instrumental role in contemporary political and policy discourses in the twenty-first century (see also UN-Habitat, 2016). Accordingly, Amin (2008, p. 6; 2012) describes this role as the beginning of urban planning as an effort to govern the city and spaces, where the goal is to build

[1] Habitat III is also known as "The New Urban Agenda," as it provides a vision of how cities will grow over the next twenty years, a period during which crucial decisions will be made regarding climate change (UN-Habitat, 2016). In Habitat III, 175 aspirational statements are expressed to support the twin goals of inclusive and sustainable urbanism (UN-Habitat, 2016). As a result of these goals, a utopian urban imaginary is articulated that is rooted in enlightenment-inspired technocratic rationality and instrumental reasoning, embraced not only by international development agencies but also by scholarly and consulting organizations that validate its directives (UN-Habitat, 2016).

sociocultural cohesion and harmony through relationships with people viewed as others or strangers.

Governance and globalization[2] have been two of the most important and debated subjects in the field of urban studies in recent years (Mgonja & Malipula, 2012 p. 53). In the view of Degen (2008, p. 1), the connection between globalization and governance in cities offers policymakers and city governments the opportunity to reconsider how to restructure and develop the spaces that produce different urban cultures as well as form new experiential urban habitats that do not exclude any group of people (see also UN-Habitat, 2016). It is therefore obvious that everyday urban life processes generate political, socioeconomic, and cultural changes that must be addressed through new ways of governance. This processual nature also requires new research and theoretical frameworks to address their impact on residents and visitors. Saskia Sassen (2000, p. 143) argues that cities are emerging as strategic laboratories for understanding significant new trends that have reshaped the sociocultural order following a decline in interest in urban design during the latter half of the twentieth century. The reason for this trend, according to Sassen, is globalization. Thus, globalization has an impact on the following vital factors relevant to the study: the role of the nation-state, ideologies, and rationalities, as well as urban cultures. Globalization weakens nation-states and cultures, yet simultaneously offer new possibilities for groups to assert their claims at the level of the city (Vesajoki, 2002). According to Weiss (1997), globalization has reduced the role of nation-states as policymakers and administrators, as well as the state's role as an economic engineer is diminishing (Mgonja & Malipula, 2012). Hoggart (1978, p. 161) attributes the reversal of the above to regionalization. He posits that regional organizations like the European Union (EU), Council of Europe, and African Union (AU) make global organizations such as the UN institutions less powerful against the nation-state and city.

According to Eagleton (2000, p. 74), globalizing culture aligns with universal spaces that are often united through cosmopolitan ideals. Cosmopolitan culture appears in a context that transcends national and city borders, much like the activities of money and multinational corporations in cities. In addition, this trend is characterized by a variation in the similarities and differences between identity culture and postmodern culture, where postmodern lifestyles and ways of life are used as urban representations and identities for settlers (Eagleton 2000, p. 74). According to Lewis Mumford (1938/1970), the city remains a unique space where people accept and re-accept the cultural dramas of globalization and urbanism.

[2] Economists view this global trend "as a technological revolution in global production, which has changed production systems and global financial flows, creating the global village" (Mgonja & Malipula, 2012 p. 53). In Eagleton's view (2000, p. 80), globalization is the *dernier cri*, but it is also the latest stage of a method that has outlived its usefulness. Shaw (1998) also sees globalization as the homogenization of cultures through the westernization of patterns and expressions. Singh (2015, p. 29) describes globalization as the interconnections and flow of people, places, things, and ideas in a similar way to heterogenization.

Hoggart (1978, p. 171) points to three main interpretations of cultural development [3] as identified by world countries within UNESCO. First, the concept of culture is viewed from the point of view that people in advanced capitalist societies attain culture through their universal virtues. Culture is therefore closely associated with the development of art forms and the recognition of the ruling class. The second interpretation is based on the ideology that defines the role of the artist in a context that requires them to reflect, symbolize, celebrate, and support the status quo. Thirdly, cultural policy is interpreted in accordance with the search for national identity and unity in UNESCO member countries. For instance, it is common for the Minister of Culture for a new nation to state that unless we are all united by culture, we can never hope to build a nation. In the community of nations, another minister would say that culture is our identity card. It is fair to agree with Eagleton (2000, p. 74) that this dimension makes culture complex, even in the context of globalization aligned with high culture, and cosmopolitanism. This complexity affects cultural policy and provides a new interpretation of urban culture and its governance within sustainable cities[4] (see also: UN-Habitat, 2016a).

The New Urban Agenda (Habitat III) asserts that cities are the most visible manifestations of globalization and its conditions. In particular, cities are places where the diversity and differences that come from globalization processes show up as localized structures of urban cultures (Amin, 2008). To recover a place and space in a city, it is necessary to examine the diversity and differences of the residents of the city and their neighborhoods. A critical point to keep in mind is that the concept of space—specifically public space—is unofficially discussed in

[3] The cultural development of cities has resulted in cities becoming key players in the global economy (Sassen, 2000). They are using the places where they are located to promote sociocultural, economic, and transnational investment (Sassen, 2000) as well as to create the urban space of living between the ideology of differences and diversity. To Cowen (2003, p. 8), global conditions and policies tend to increase differences, but they liberate differences from geography as cultural differences produce capital in the free markets, which is essential for neoliberalism and urban governmentality. For Habermas (1988), states are unable to adequately protect their citizens against the external effects of globalization and the decisions made by other actors, thus, resulting in an increase in migrant populations and the fear of inclusion. In this trend, cultural governance and urban cultures are increasingly complex, and these cultures are valued through their sociocultural experiences (Amin, 2008, p. 9).

[4] Despite the popularity of the term "sustainable city" among researchers and urban planners, the term has no universal definition (Chan et. al. 2016, p.16). Most researchers and policymakers adhere to Brundlandt's (1987) definition of sustainable development in this context. According to this viewpoint, a sustainable city must provide for the needs of the current population "without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). According to Brundtland (1987), a sustainable city must take into account all three spheres of social, environmental, and economic factors. Consequently, this concept encompasses a sustainable lifestyle across four domains, namely ecology, economics, politics, and culture (see Asikainen et al., 2017).

the data. In the context of this dissertation, space[5]/place[6] is seen as a place where people meet, do business, and engage in social/cultural activities, build relationships and interact, make contacts and move around, have meetings and socialize, and experience differences and diversity (Massey, 1995, 1994, 2005a). As a result, globalization processes are not static, but rather place specific, as they adapt to a particular context. Conley (2002) claims these places can be called a cosmopolis or cosmopolitan if they welcome people who are looking for different ways to live. In line with this global trend, urban areas are intricately linked by factors such as international policy discourses, political networks, and increasingly mixed populations, including tourists, residents, and migrants; or by ideologies and perspectives (including the New Urban Agenda and the City We Need paradigm).

Why did I select Helsinki and Sydney as the cosmopolitan case examples in this study? To begin with, both cities employ the classical ideas of the city in their urban plans, policies, and strategies for achieving sustainable urban development. For example, Sydney's governing policies are based on the cosmopolitan ideal of a city, as stated in its urban policy document (City of Sydney, 2016a, p. 9), while Helsinki's urban governing strategy is based on Aristotelian ideas of a city that represent a "good life" or serve as a model of a good life (City of Helsinki, 2017, p. 9). Secondly, an analysis of the UNESCO ideological traditions and UN-Habitat's agenda for "the city we need" in the context of two large modern cities with widely different geographical locations, governmental models, and populations. In this regard, urban culture offers more details than a snapshot of a city or a group of cities with similar cultures and influences. Lastly, Finland has been recognized internationally as a bilingual nation since its inception, and multiculturalism is enshrined in the Australian Constitution as a way of recognizing and celebrating the diverse racial and cultural backgrounds of all Australians.

The dissertation consists of six chapters and four articles. Chapter 1 contains an introduction, the aims, and objectives of the study, as well as a definition and analysis of urban cultures. In Chapter 2, there are three different settings for the study area: the international policy setting of UNESCO and UN-Habitat, the City of Helsinki, and the City of Sydney. In Chapter 3, I examine the theoretical framework that underlies this study: governmentality and cosmopolitanism. As

[5] In Massey (2005, p. 9), space arises from interrelationships, interactions that range in size from the enormously global to the intimately personal or small. In other words, it is the area where multiplicity, in the sense of contemporaneous plurality, can be realized; it is the area where divergent trajectories coexist; it is the area of coexisting heterogeneity. Massey states that it is necessary to acknowledge that space is also a product of relations between things, relationships that are necessarily embedded in material practices that must be accomplished, and that it is constantly being created. It is neither completed nor is it closed.

[6] Massey (1994, 1995) also described places as possessing distinctive, essential identities that are shaped by tradition and history, and the definition of a place involves drawing a boundary around it to separate it from the outside world. Consequently, a place functions as an intersection where local and global are merged, reflecting a sense of place that reflects this intersection (Massey, 1994, p. 155). In this sense, Massey also suggests, the meaning of a place may change over time as the result of a process, and that meaning may not be the same for everyone.

a whole, Chapter 4 examines the methodological approach used in the original articles. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings in the articles and synthesizes them. Finally, Chapter 6 is the conclusion of this dissertation.

1.1 Aims and Objectives of the Study

Urban culture has been studied in a number of different ways at the local, national, and international levels. To understand culture in a broader sense, though, you need to use different approaches. This is because culture is a complicated topic that can be looked at from different perspectives in the humanities, social sciences, business studies, health sciences, environmental studies, and so on. To this end, the broad objective of this study is to examine the process through which cities and institutions of global governance strive to regulate and organize culture within urban cosmopolitan settings. However, there are many other possibilities for cultural regulation and policy, such as within a national context, a religious faith, or geopolitical agenda. In order to collect and analyze the data effectively, this study seeks to answer the following questions: First, in what ways does globalization and internationalization challenge traditional urban cultures in big cities (Sydney and Helsinki)? Second, how do globalization and the policies of international organizations (UNESCO and UN-Habitat) affect cultural policies at the city level? Lastly, what is the role of cultural policy in governing the diversity of urban areas and cultural differences?

In this study, I use the cosmopolitan framework and governmentality as the primary theoretical tools for ascertaining the cultural significance of these global policies and directives as well as their impact on the regulation of urban socio-cultural policies. In practice, this means that governmentality emphasizes the role of governments as well as other institutions in shaping individuals' conduct and beliefs about global issues. This may be accomplished through implementing policies and regulations to encourage individuals to adopt and support global initiatives that recognize the interconnectedness of different societies and cultures. In this study, there are also a range of qualitative methods used, such as case studies, close readings, thematic analyses, and discourse analyses. A particular focus of the investigation is the manner in which the ideologies and cultural influences of the United Nations (including UN-Habitat and UNESCO) are manifest in the specific policies of cities. A cosmopolitan and cosmopolis framework is comprehended in this study as a rationality or a mentality of governance. Michel Foucault (1991) argued that all modern forms of political action and thought are governed by a certain mentality or rationality, which can be called "governmentality." This means that someone (whether a government or not) is able to govern something, and something is made governable. For Mitchell Dean (1999), governmentality is understood as the conduct of conduct that defines, controls, and polices cities (e.g., Helsinki and Sydney) and their

population. The following paragraphs introduce the original articles (namely: Article I, II, III, & IV) within the context of the aim and objectives of the study.

In Article I, I begin by examining the ideologically intertwined and moderately conflicting notions of diversity and difference within the universal order that UNESCO strives to develop. The article discusses how UNESCO's ideological commitments within the diversity/difference discourse are translated from the international to the national and local levels. The article provides a framework for analyzing state and non-state politics of diversity and difference in the context of UNESCO, a concept that has been labeled as "the discursive construction of cosmopolitan internationalism." Internationalism exists in order to perpetuate the supremacy of a member state within UNESCO, while cosmopolitanism serves the motive of promoting the universality of shared citizenship and culture. According to Iriye (1997, p. 3), the creation of UNESCO followed an extensive trend of cultural internationalism that fosters international cooperation through the development of cultural policies and activities that transcend nation-state boundaries. Internationalism and diversity are discussed in relation to the ideals of cosmopolitanism in this article, since both of these concepts are expressed in both UNESCO's Convention on Diversity of Cultural Expressions and local policymaking in the City of Sydney. The above-mentioned research questions are also addressed. Singh (2010) asserts that UNESCO was influential during the Cold War for its role as a cultural, educational, diplomatic, and peacekeeping agency. As a result, UNESCO expanded its role from that of simply formulating international norms and standards to that of an organization rooted in ideology.

Article II of this study focuses on developing a framework that tackles the problems related to the complexity of culture within a globalization and urbanization context. In that regard, it addresses the "question of how culture is understood in the modern age of fear and hope towards the challenges of globalized urbanization." The diversity of space and people, as well as the complexity of the word culture, suggest a mutually agreed meaning of culture for the sake of shared interests and peace (UNESCO 2016). As an example, UNESCO posits that culture is based on respect for human rights and for humanity as a whole (ibid.). The concept of culture is viewed both as a way of life and as a creative foundation for urban sustainability in accordance with Habitat III (the New Urban Agenda). In addition, Delanty (2006, 30) claims that culture is understood from a cosmopolitan perspective as an ongoing construction process rather than being expressed in a specific way of life. Consequently, this perspective restores cosmopolitanism as a rationality of government as well as an approach to cultural policy and planning that is not limited by specific urban identities or geographies, but rather a rationality for structuring cities. Furthermore, this article verifies cosmopolitanism as a multitude of techniques through which the city is constructed in accordance with different modernities and as a mode of cultural transformation grounded in the rationality of universality and inclusion (Delanty 2006, p. 27). The article also mentions UN-Habitat's claim that cultural diversity and urban cultures are

sources of human enrichment that make cities much more sustainable (UN-Habitat, 2016). This article uses UNESCO's Culture: Urban Futures report, which came out in 2016, as an example of idealized cosmopolitanism. According to these definitions, culture and cosmopolitanism are relevant to this study as they address the research questions noted above and are in alignment with Article I, in which it emphasizes UNESCO's formation of an ideology of cosmopolitan internationalism.

In addition, Article III is devoted to discussing how the classical idea of *cosmopolis* relates to the United Nations Habitat agenda of "the city we need" in the context of the New Urban Agenda's first principle (Habitat III), which is to "leave no one behind" (UN-Habitat 2016a, p. 7). In classical times, the Stoics used the term "cosmopolite" to describe a person who considers moving away to serve, in contrast to someone who does not (Kleingeld et al., 2019). In this situation, the article looks at how the New Urban Agenda fits in with the classical idea of cosmopolis and how that manifests itself in local policies. The article also addresses the research questions mentioned above for the dissertation. According to this article, the idea of cosmopolitanism is based on an old idea that originated with the Cynics and Stoics which has endured throughout history and remains relevant today, particularly in the context of Habitat III, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Urban Development. In recent years, cosmopolitan ideas have been used in international and urban settings, such as the UN's policy on human rights, cultural diversity, global peace, and social inclusion (Gilmore 2015; Kant 1795/1991). Douglass (2016, 1) contends that referencing the ancient concept of cosmopolis in current urban planning and policy serves as a rationality for assisting urban areas in becoming more responsive to the changing aspirations of their residents, in support of a comprehensive and participatory place-making. This perspective on city-making and planning emphasizes the cosmopolitan/cosmopolis ideal as a rationality or mentality of government, as well as a model for sociocultural strategies. It would appear that the rationality of governance described in this article represents a fundamental aspect of what UN-Habitat called "the city we need." This makes it possible to study, keep, and improve new kinds of social and cultural diversity and differences. Sandercock and Lyssiotis (2003) assert that cities are the best place to analyze diversity in globalization, since this trend is causing differences in a variety of areas. In this article, empirical data is analyzed and framed using the concept of cosmopolis.

Article IV covers the first, second, and third research questions of this dissertation. In Article IV, Michel Foucault's ideas about police and liberalism are utilized in order to examine how diversity and difference are regulated as forms of power within the sphere of cultural policy. It relates specifically to how the city government depicts what Foucault and Foucauldians regard as police. The article also examines how urban diversity and differences can be managed in specific settings, such as governing spaces of encounter, like a "Chinatown." In that regard, it draws on interviews conducted in Helsinki and Sydney, which were analyzed with a case study and thematic analysis, and grouped under the themes of governable cultural spaces of encounter, the notion of communication,

and Chinatowns as a sub-theme. In Article IV, the governance of difference and diversity refers to a specific governmental function associated with the democratic and liberal idea of respecting freedom, cultural diversity, and urban participation, as well as the importance of knowledge-based governance (see Rose, 1999). Meanwhile, "police" refers to a political technology that is used to govern urban spaces and people (Dean, 2002). Accordingly, an analysis of differences and diversity in Article IV is based on the ultimate purpose of the police, which is to serve the people within the boundaries it encompasses and to control as efficiently as possible in light of certain political considerations. Mitchell Dean (2002) contends that such an approach is consistent with the liberal aims of the government itself.

As stated above, the main purpose and specific questions will be addressed in articles I, II, III, and IV, which represent the original articles in the study, and will be discussed further in the discussion of Chapter 5.

1.2 Defining and Studying Urban Culture

In recent years, urban culture studies have developed into a diverse topic within urban studies (Amin, 2008; Gillberg et al., 2012; Wirth, 1938, 1940). From this point of view, urbanization is seen "as a way of life" (Wirth, 1938). The definition of culture is one of the most complex ideas, one that it is difficult to simplify (Borer, 2006; Williams, 1958). This study, however, sees "culture" as a wide range of elements that are integral to global urban identity and belonging, and which are constantly evolving and changing. Specifically, culture can be defined as the way people make sense of the world and the material goods they use to express their meaning (Borer, 2006; Hall et al., 2003; Wuthnow, 1987; Williams, 1958). Borer (2006), for example, connects culture's definition to the process of finding a place for a space. According to Geertz (1973, p. 5), these spaces are contexts in which urban culture can be studied. In the words of Wirth (1940, p. 743), urban space in cities[7] forms a socioeconomic sector that can be used to explore two distinct poles of human existence: geography and culture, and the urban civilization with folk societies' cultural traditions.

Raymond Williams (1958) posited that culture is a response to the immediate changes in socioeconomic conditions due to industrialization in England. In that context, Gillberg et al. (2012) view culture as both a potential and a way of life that shapes and/or governs urban cultures within spatial relationships. In this regard, one could view the arts and creative expressions as a vehicle for teaching people how to coexist in globalized urban settings (Williams, 1958). It is crucial that this section provides a better understanding of what globalized culture and urban culture are.

[7] According to Zukin (1991, 1995, 1998), urban culture refers to economic-influenced lifestyles or to commercial goods. In that regard, Zukin (1998, p. 828) perceives cities as a landscape of consumption instead of production.

In terms of globalized culture, Eagleton (2000, p. 74) indicates that globalizing cultures are often bound together by universal ideals that are both shared and distinct between urban identity and culture, in which residents and visitors use urban lifestyles and ways of living as identifiers and representations. To this end, globalized cultures in cities are as essential to the conceptualization of urban governance and culture as it is to make cities livable and sustainable. Hoggart (1978, p. 171) argues that the growth of globalized culture is due to the pursuit of universal virtues by people in advanced capitalist societies. Contrary issues emerge when studying cultures in urban and international contexts, such as the fact that cities have the potential to become sustainable while being subjected to intense transnational sociocultural ideologies and rationalities of living together (Gillberg et al., 2012, p. 9). At the same time, culture in such a context can also be a source of conflict and division, as different cultural groups may have different beliefs, values, and customs that are difficult to reconcile. In this framework of globalizing culture, most cities desire to maintain an openness that is accessible to all of their residents and visitors, therefore the term "sustainable" implies a high level of public awareness regarding urban and environmental issues. People with long-standing residences, as emphasized by Leitner (2012, p. 831), tend to protect the city and the identities associated with it, which they perceive as being threatened by international influences, focusing on cities as places characterized by well-defined identities and monocultures rather than as places that are ever-changing and open. There are, however, different ways to handle sociocultural activities in everyday life. These ways interact with each other around the world and affect how people and the public see and define urban life (Frers & Mayer, 2007; Kratke, 2003).

Urban culture is a specific subset of culture that is shaped by the unique characteristics of urban environments (Amin, 2008). There are many forms of urban culture, ranging from graffiti and street art to music shows, fashion trends, and food culture. These cultural practices are associated with specific neighborhoods, spaces, and subcultures in cities, contributing to the sense of welcoming, belonging, and identity of residents. According to Borer (2006, p. 186), urban culture is constantly transforming between civic cultures and hybrid cultures, sometimes leaning more toward one than the other. When this happens, people in cities change how they act and how they see other people, but only within certain limits. For Gillberg et al. (2012), urban culture is the intersection of everyday life activities, surrounding environments, discursive discourses, ideology, and sociocultural policy—the matching interaction between how city life is transformed by and affects the governance of urban space (Gillberg et al., 2012). This includes regulating the patterns and expressions of cultural practices that shape the fabric, forms, and physical spaces in which urban life takes shape. In this light, Gillberg et al. (2012, p. 5) suggest, cities are often spaces of innovation, creativity, and diversity, and urban culture reflects these qualities in a variety of ways that enhance awareness of how cultural policy is visually and physically transformed, thereby establishing a general basis for urban. It includes cultural practices, the way in which ethnic groups are represented, and the way

in which spaces are shaped, all of which serve as the foundation of the culture and life of the city (Miles 2007, Stevenson 2003). In other words, urban cultures can be evaluated in terms of their diversity, identities, inclusiveness, lifestyles, networks, and participation, among other characteristics (Gillberg et al., 2012, p. 5). Moreover, urban culture can be seen as an artistic representation of day-to-day life as a result of artifacts, people, and the social, material, and discursive systems of the city.

In light of the above context, Camponeschi (2010) suggested that open, public spaces can be used in order to experiment with new ways of interacting with, learning from, and respecting different types of individuals. Interaction is limited in cities without such spaces, and without interaction, contacts, socializing, and dialogue, the understanding of people who live with differences is lost (Neal et al., 2015). In this context, urban cultures become an essential debate with the potential to educate urban residents on cultural awareness and openness toward those perceived as strangers (Gillberg et al., 2012, p. 20). In addition, the importance of public and open spaces as a venue for multicultural encounters where cultural spaces are honored and cherished as a symbol of diversity and inclusiveness, even if they are surrounded by tension and conflict, shows the importance of shared "social relations and even a sense of belonging" (Ye, 2017, p. 1036) to collective urban culture and a temporary community or place in cities (Neal et al., 2015). This approach to diversity provides a unique perspective on today's public spaces and the dynamics of difference that define them. Most contemporary cities are clearly suffering from exclusion, racism, and segregation in their places. It is important to realize that not every city resident has the same options, and as a result, many of them may not have the cultural skills they need (Gillberg, 2010). For cities to be sustainable, fair, and able to meet the needs and goals of all their residents, they need to have good urban governance. Accordingly, Degen (2008) defines urban governance as the set of techniques employed by city government to manage and govern daily activities. These techniques must be tailored to the specific context of a given urban area to ensure the best outcomes. This includes understanding the unique needs of the community, such as cultural and social norms, existing infrastructure, and the resources available. With this knowledge, local government and residents can work together to create policies and programs that are effective in addressing the needs of the community while also working to create more equitable and just outcomes (Degen, 2008).

According to Pyykkönen et al. (2009, p. 27), the study of cultural policy in this context necessitates a broader definition of culture than only art or civilization, as well as a more complex definition of policy than simply administrative activity. Cultural meanings that are anything-goes or everything-is cannot be relied on by urban cultural policy, causing it to lose its rationality and importance. In this sense, culture in urban policy resembles Williams' (1981, p. 184) conception of culture as a "realized signifying system." When it is openly realized and reproduced in person-to-person interactions and the participation of urban residents and their visitors in a sociohistorical context, it is also political,

which makes it governable and specifies what (place/space) and who (subjects/people/residents/visitors/urban users) is to be governed and in what ways (Pyykkönen et al., 2009). This cultural governance needs a set of techniques, strategies, and frameworks to be recognized, understood, and governable. This opens up the study of urban cultures to a more methodological and theoretical examinations, constructions, and explorations by researchers interested in the field. This is exactly what this study is about: the governance of globalizing and internationalizing cities according to the current rationalities of international and local cultural policies.

2 THE STUDY AREA

In this section, I explore how the different scales of international organizations (UN-Habitat and UNESCO) work globally and how two small cities (Sydney and Helsinki) are grouped together in this study. The research conducted in Sydney and Helsinki should have encompassed the interests of commercial real estate, hospitality, and city councils, as these areas play a crucial role in shaping and exploring multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism in urban cultures. The study, however, was unable cover all these areas, which would have given a more comprehensive understanding of the subject, due to the need to narrow the scope of the study, the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the distance between the cities. The methodological chapter and Article IV provide a thorough explanation of these obstacles.

2.1 Introduction to the Global Policy Context: UN-Habitat (Habitat III) and UNESCO

The link between culture and urbanization in this era is complex and deeply intertwined with the changing reality of globalization. In an overview of the Habitat conferences, Andrew (2016) reports that the global population was 4.1 billion in 1976, and 1.4 billion lived in urban areas (38%) at the time of the first Habitat I conference (popularly known as "the Alarm Call"). At the time of Habitat II (also called "the emergence of governance") at the Istanbul Summit in 1996, there were 5.8 billion people on the planet, out of which 2.6 billion, or 45 percent, lived in cities. In 2016, the year of Habitat III (also referred to as "the renewal of commitment"), there would be 7.3 billion people on earth, with 4 billion (55%) of them living in cities. By 2050, there will be approximately 6.4 billion urban residents worldwide (66% of the total), as opposed to 750 million in 1950 (30%). In that context, within a century, humanity will have transitioned from a primarily local to an increasingly urban society.

According to UN-Habitat (2020, p. 169), culture is the lifeblood of cities, and it involves different patterns of social inclusion, such as understanding past and present institutional structures, both informal and formal. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2007) posits that cultural components are widely recognized as enhancing a city's image and attractiveness. UNESCO (2016, p. 17) asserts that cultures are vibrant living spaces without which cities cannot exist. Culture makes the difference in cities; without it, they are just concrete and steel buildings, vulnerable to social degradation and pollution.

UNESCO (2016, p. 23), in its capacity as the principal representative of culture at the United Nations, has increased its efforts to promote culture's role in the process of urbanization. These measures include reducing poverty, lowering the risk of disasters, improving social justice, and making life better for everyone (ibid.). In this situation, UNESCO's comparative advantage is mostly tied to urbanization, especially through the illegal trade of cultural goods, the diversity of cultural expressions, the creative economy, and the Culture Conventions on tangible and intangible heritage. Additionally, the discourse surrounding the creative economy has influenced UNESCO's perspective on globalization (Cohen, 2000). A common criticism of globalization is that it leads to homogenization and the erosion of cultural diversity; however, the creative economy provides an alternative perspective. Through the promotion of cultural and creative industries, UNESCO highlights the significance of cultural diversity and the potential for local cultures to contribute to global economic development.

In addition, UNESCO makes strategic recommendations and proposals and helps its Member States make norms, policies, and principles, which are promoted through policy advice, programming, monitoring, and implementation. It is important to note, however, that the UNESCO context appears only in the first and second articles of this dissertation as an empirical case study. The first article in this study focuses on the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which explains how cities can foster creativity and protect it to be more sustainable. UNESCO provides a framework for member nations to develop policies, initiatives, and activities that promote collective and individual creativity, creative industries, artistic freedom, and entrepreneurship (UNESCO, 2016, p. 24). The second article examines cosmopolitanism in cities using UNESCO's Culture Urban Futures reports. Through UNESCO's networks, the organization also promotes collaboration with and among cities and local governments in order to foster dialogue and collective action (ibid.). In this way, "cities provide an engine and a fertile ground for urban development through culture and innovation, science and technology, education, social inclusion, and minimizing environmental effects" (UNESCO, 2016, p. 24).

In regard to UN-Habitat, the New Urban Agenda (Habitat III) of the United Nations recognized the contribution of culture and diversity to sustainable urban development and human settlements (UN-Habitat, 2016a). Habitat III also recognizes how important culture is for implementing and promoting

sustainable production and consumption models, since it encourages people to use urban resources in a responsible way. Culture is at the heart of the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. For example, goal 11.4 is to intensify "efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage" (UN-Habitat, 2020, p. 172). As a result, cities in this context recognize and utilize their cultural identity, and these characteristics are integrated into policy planning and initiatives that promote sustainable urbanization.

In addition, researchers like Florida (2002) have found that the quality of cultural life in cities strengthens the social fabric, drives economic growth, brings in businesses, and makes it easier for residents to get involved. Culturally diverse cities are known to have more innovative residents due to the fact that they benefit from global knowledge links, ideologies, problem-solving, and multiple modes of decision-making (Lee & Nathan, 2011; Gilmore, 2014). In that context, Ripley (2010) posits that participation in arts and cultural opportunities eases isolation, promotes identity building, and facilitates intercultural learning, appreciation, and understanding. As an example, urban diversity is celebrated, and policymakers develop programs and create conditions to allow people of diverse cultural backgrounds to be accepted and celebrated (UN-Habitat, 2020, p. 73). In this situation, culture is being used as a political tool to govern people in multicultural societies (UN-Habitat, 2004). It helps policymakers define identities, which have huge effects on planning cities for everyone. In this regard, urban cultural governance will be critical in achieving a more inclusive and sustainable urban future.

Global culture, local communities, and economies, as well as urban and cultural diversity, are all represented in the 2030 Global Agenda for Sustainable Development. Indeed, culture and urbanization are crucial in determining how cities contribute to global concerns (World Cities Culture Forum, 2017). With the help of other partners, UNESCO and UN-Habitat have been developing indicators that can be used to measure the influence of culture on urbanization (UNESCO, 2019). These indicators are divided into the following thematic areas: "environment and resilience," "prosperity and livelihoods," "knowledge and skills," and "inclusion and participation" (UN-Habitat, 2020, p. 177). These indicators were made to measure the qualitative and quantitative effects of culture on the formulation, implementation, and monitoring of global policies through adopted urban policies and activities that include culture.

2.2 Introduction to the City of Helsinki's Policy Context

Finland is becoming increasingly urbanized, with more than 70% of Finns now living in cities (Ministry of Environment Finland 2021, p. 108). In today's world, major cities such as Helsinki, Tampere, Turku, and Oulu are increasingly reliant on urban growth. In Finland, urban planning is governed by the Land Use and Building Act (enacted in 2000). At all phases of the planning process, this act gives great attention to safeguarding the landscape and cultural heritage. Such

spaces were contextualized by UN-Habitat (2020, p. 83) as historical places for innovation and creativity, as well as trade, culture, and science centers. Planning rules in Finland are mostly about protecting the image of the city and places where people can be creative and innovative (Ministry of the Environment Finland, 2021, p. 108). Cities decide on this protection and the planning program on their own.

According to Saukkonen (1999), "ethnic and cultural homogeneity" has always been the image of Finland, both in Finland and around the world. As a multilingual nation at the beginning of its independence, Finland was recognized by, as co-founders of the country, both the Swedish and Finnish residents, whose economic and cultural needs were guaranteed (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen, 2008, p. 52). McRae (1999) asserts that this time period has given Finland two large, parallel cultural environments and a network of voluntary institutions. As a result, in legal and political practice, the Finnish understanding of national identity combines a strong sense of solidarity between the state and the cultural community with relatively far-reaching minority rights. The national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish. According to Section 17 of the Constitution of Finland (2000), the Sami are considered indigenous people, along with the Roma and other ethnic groups, and they are guaranteed the right to preserve and develop their languages and cultures (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen, 2008, p. 53; Ministry of the Environment Finland, 2021, p. 100).

Like the larger Finnish public administration system, the cultural policy system is both decentralized and centralized (Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends, 2017). This is due to local government autonomy. However, the state set the legislation legally required to compensate for a statutory share of expenditures. Also included in this system are public libraries and adult education, and basic (extra-curricular) arts instruction, as well as museums, theaters, and orchestras. As a result of this shift, the state now oversees arts funding, national cultural institutions, foreign cultural exchange, and university-level arts instruction. It also co-manages the nation's performing arts facilities and cultural services with the local governments. Finland's cities are responsible for preserving urban and local cultural and artistic infrastructure and are eligible for federal infrastructure grants (Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends, 2017). In terms of cultural policy, the state and city governments are on a similar footing, while the state has more control over legislation and funding.

Furthermore, the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (HMA) is Finland's capital and the heart of the Helsinki Region, with an estimated population of 1.5 million people (Helsinki, 2021). There are four municipalities that comprise the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (HMA): Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, and Kauniainen. The conclusions of this study are limited to the municipality (city) of Helsinki. Helsinki is one of the first cities to commit to reporting on the implementation of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals on a local level (Ministry of the Environment Finland, 2021, p. 134). This report (i.e., "From Agenda to Action 2021") was published in June 2019 and May 2021(Helsinki, 2021). In the City of Helsinki, the Urban Environment Division is responsible for planning, building,

maintaining, supervising construction, and providing environmental services, as well as for the development and planning of urban and open spaces, and the implementation of traffic and street planning (Helsinki, 2021).

Additionally, Helsinki has a variety of challenges concerning urban and international cultures. Helsinki's cultural policy is without a doubt one of the most important aspects of its urban politics of "ethnic and cultural diversity" (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen 2008, p. 50). As a city policy, cultural policy defines, limits, or restricts "forms of cultural expression" and provides a framework for creative grants, self-understanding, and group-specific cultural activities (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen 2008, p. 50).

2.2.1 Demography and Ethnic Diversity

As a result of Helsinki's demographic characteristics, it has a higher proportion of females (52.5%) than any other city in the country (City of Helsinki, 2020). In spite of a very slight difference, women in Helsinki have a shorter life expectancy than the national average. Males are estimated to live an average of 79.0 years (compared to 78.2 years for the national average), and females are estimated to live an average of 84.4 years (compared to 84.5 years for the national average) (City of Helsinki, 2020).

In Finland, which has both Finnish and Swedish as official languages, 87.3% of its residents speak Finnish as their first language (City of Helsinki 2020, p. 11). In Helsinki, 78.2% of its residents speak Finnish as their first language, 5.6% speak Swedish, and 16.2% speak languages other than Finnish or Swedish, which is higher than the national average (see the annex for more information) (City of Helsinki 2020). Further, Helsinki is currently home to over 140 nationalities, making it Finland's most ethnically diverse city (ibid.). The most prevalent foreign language spoken by immigrants as a mother tongue in Helsinki was Russian (2.9%) at the end of 2020, followed by Somali (1.8%), Estonian (1.6%), Arabic (1.2%), English (1.1%), Chinese (0.6%), Kurdish (0.5%), and Persian (0.5%) (City of Helsinki 2020). It also fits with historical records, which show that many Swedes, Finns, Russians, and Germans lived in Helsinki in the 19th century (World Population Review, 2022a). The following is a summary of the demographic characteristics of Helsinki. For more information, please refer to the list for Helsinki in the annex.

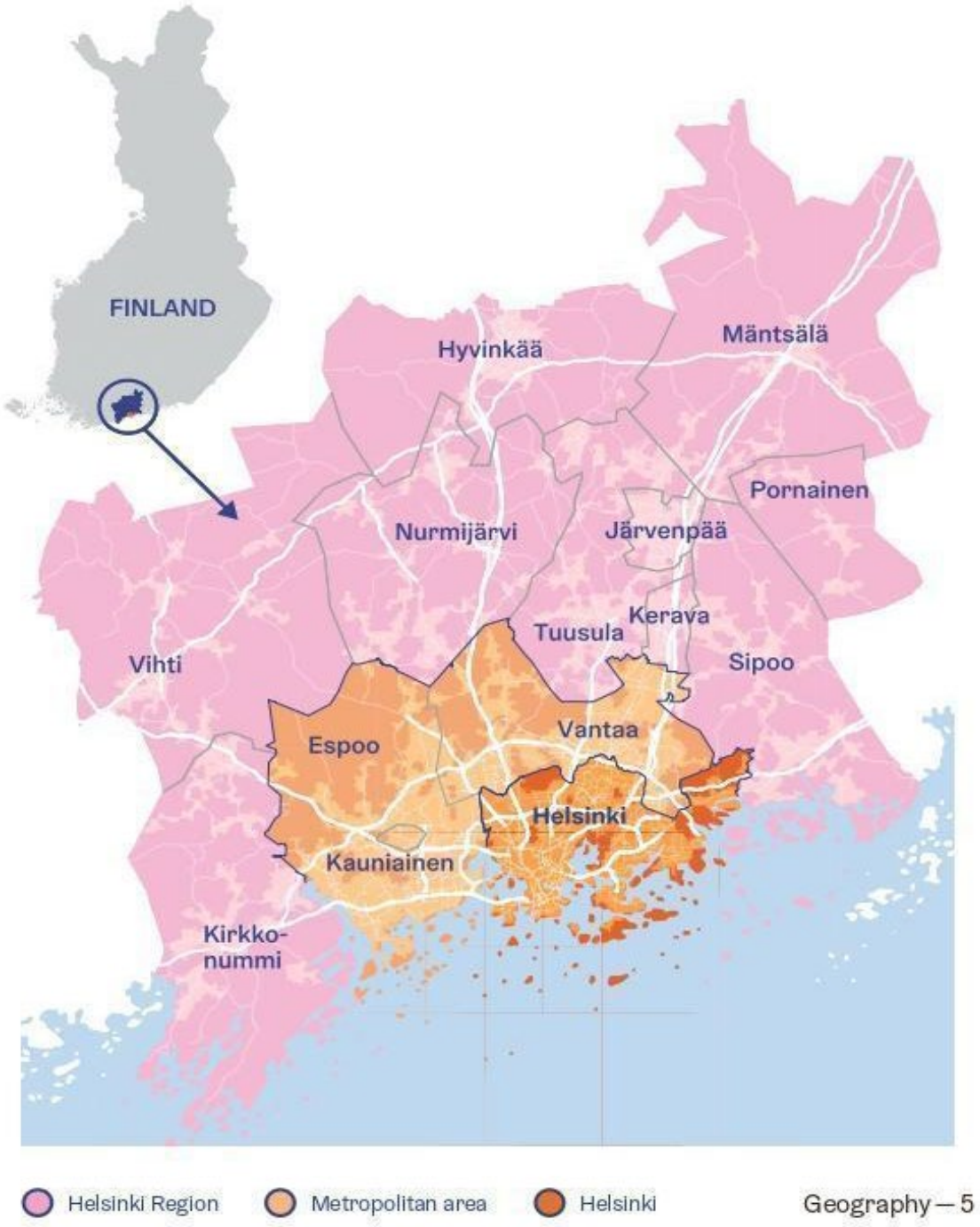


Figure 1 Map of Helsinki in the Helsinki Region

Source: City of Helsinki, 2020

Figure 2. Helsinki Population by Gender

Source: City of Helsinki, 2020

2.3 Introduction to the City of Sydney's Policy Context

As a result of its long history of immigration, Australia has become a melting pot of different cultures (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 7). Since the first settlement established on January 26, 1788, Australian culture has been predominantly impacted by early Anglo-Celtic settlers and primarily represented by Western notions of culture. Australian Aboriginal culture, which has been around for more than 40,000 years on the continent and its islands, and recent waves of immigration from all over the world are also important (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 7). Like Finland's cultural, Australia's policy needs to be examined in terms of the country's history, people, and the way it governs. The size of Australia's population in relation to the size of the country is another factor that naturally affects how culture is defined, governed, and promoted. In addition, Aboriginal people were granted full citizenship rights and were counted in the national census following a 1967 national referendum to modify the Constitution (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 8).

Almost all of Australia's major cultural institutions are statutory authorities with their own boards (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 13). A board is accountable for the agency under the Commonwealth Authorities and Companies Act of 1997, which regulates financial management, corporate governance, and reporting. In addition, although federal and state cultural policies differ, both levels of government support various organizations, particularly performing arts organizations. Authorities from both constituencies typically review funding agreements to verify that they are compatible and do not impose contradictory requirements on recipients. The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (previously the Department of State) is in charge of overseeing and coordinating the federal portfolio's arts and cultural agencies, which include the Australia Council and significant collecting institutions (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 11). Furthermore, the Australian cultural system does not require states and territories to follow the federal government's priorities (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 21). It is common for arts and culture priorities to be formulated through public consultation, and there is often some degree of agreement between stated priorities at both levels of government, regardless of political affiliation. In Australia, local government plays a role in cultural policy. Local governance is not as overtly political as it is in some European cities (Seares & Gardiner-Garden, 2011, p. 13). Local council candidates are rarely elected under the banner of a political party. The Australian Local Government Association (ALGA) represents all 670 Australian councils, including the City of Sydney, but these cities have no directive responsibility in sectors such as culture. While ALGA conducts research and policy papers on a variety of themes, including cultural diversity, cultural policy implementation is decentralized and differs across Australia.

The capital of New South Wales is Sydney, which is also one of the largest cities in Australia. With 33 local government areas (LGA), or city councils, the Greater Sydney region is substantially larger than the Central Business District. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Greater Sydney's expected resident population in June 2020 will be 5,367,206, which is more than half the population of New South

Wales (NSW). Sydney's local administrative area, like other Australian cities, is the heart of Greater Sydney, with a diverse cultural landscape (City of Sydney, 2008, p. 6). The City of Sydney, which is the Central Business District of Greater Sydney, has 14.8% of its total land area dedicated to open space (City of Sydney, 2016c). Approximately 86 hectares of public and open space are owned or managed by the City of Sydney, which, when added to other government agencies' space, equals 189.5 hectares. In addition, "the State Government's Recreation and Open Space Planning Guidelines for Local Government" establish default standards for planning open space in New South Wales (City of Sydney, 2016c). The Australian Bureau of Statistics says that by 2022, there will be 275,370 people living in the City of Sydney.

2.3.1 Demography and Ethnic Diversity

It is without question that Greater Sydney is a highly multicultural and diverse city (World Population Review, 2022b). Almost 45 percent of its residents were not born in Australia. The majority of Greater Sydney residents (4.3%, or 175,000 people) are from the United Kingdom, followed by the Chinese (3.5%) (World Population Review, 2022b). There are 222,717 residents in the City of Sydney, of which 51.8 percent are males and 48.2 percent are females (City of Sydney, 2008, p. 7). In the City of Sydney, only 1.2 percent of the population is Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander.

When we look at the ancestry of Sydney's people, we can also see how the city's multicultural or diverse identity has changed and grown over time. In the 2006 Census, only 20% of people living in Sydney said they were Australian (City of Sydney, 2008). According to the City of Sydney (2008), English (22%) was ranked first, followed by "Chinese (10%), Irish (9%), Scottish (6%), and German (3%)" (City of Sydney, 2008).

It is important to note that proficiency in English is an important factor in determining the status of overseas-born citizens in Sydney. There may be varying needs in terms of translation services or foreign language communication for Sydney's culturally diverse communities. As pointed out in the annex (Table 3), the table illustrates how populations that migrated many years ago might have fluency in English better than recent immigrants, and we can expect immigrants from English-speaking countries (or countries where English is a second language) to be proficient in the language as well (City of Sydney, 2008). The table and figure below are the overviews of Sydney's population and the geographical map of the City of Sydney. See the list for Sydney in the annex for a detailed description of the demographic characteristics of The Sydney City.

Table 1.

Population

City of Sydney - Total persons	2016			2011			Change
Population	Number	%	Greater Sydney %	Number	%	Greater Sydney %	2011 to 2016
Estimated Resident Population	222,717	--	--	183,281	--	--	+39,436
Enumerated Population	225,733	--	--	181,764	--	--	+43,969
Usual Resident Population	208,374	--	--	169,501	--	--	+38,873

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing 2011 and 2016. Compiled and presented in profile.id by .id (informed decisions).

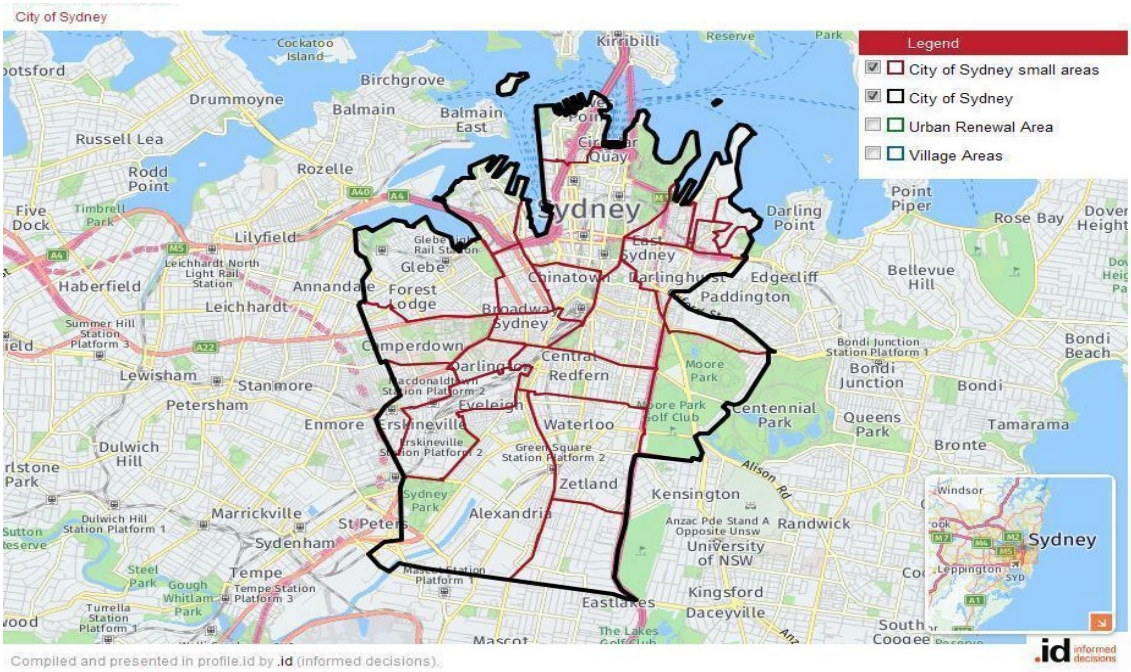


Figure 3. The City of Sydney's Map

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing 2011 and 2016. Compiled and presented in profile.id by .id (informed decisions).

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework consists of three parts. The first part examines governance within urban cultures, that is, governmentality. The second examines culture's complexity—the so-called cosmopolitan shift. The third part discusses cosmopolitanism as a rationality of government of globalizing urban space: the relationship between governmentality and cosmopolitanism. Both cosmopolitanism and governmentality will be utilized; they both provide important tools for understanding globalization and cultural governance in cities.

3.1 The Governance of Urban Culture: Between Global and Urban Governmentality Frameworks

Culture is integral to what keeps cities appealing, innovative, safe, and sustainable (UNESCO, 2016). Culture can be a unifying force that brings people together, while also allowing them to express their differences. There are many benefits of culture in cities, including its potential to generate income, build communities, and help them become more resilient, as well as help people become more creative and work cooperatively (UNESCO, 2016). Meanwhile, power sits at the heart of any notion of culture (Singh, 2015, p. 222). In that context, culture has the potential to shape urban areas and their spaces and challenge established power structures, resulting in equality and justice prevailing in a society in which all voices are heard (ibid.). This has resulted in a set of norms and processes that make culture governable and define who is to be governed, evoking Foucault's 1978 concept of "governmentality" (Foucault, 2008).

The term "governmentality" was coined by Michel Foucault in his 1978 lecture "The Birth of Biopolitics," where he examined the evolution of this concept throughout the history of Western political philosophy (Foucault, 2008). It is used to identify various rationalities or mentalities connected with various approaches to government (Bacchi, 2009, p. 26). An important aspect of governmentality is the integration of both the process of governing and the rationality that permits governing to occur (Joseph, 2010, p. 223). An understanding of governmentality involves

understanding how government influences the thoughts and behaviors of its people (Bacchi, 2009, p. 26). The idea is that power does not just reside within the state or city but is generated and exercised by individuals and sociocultural groups on a daily basis. To make their practices meaningful, global and urban institutions construct governmentality both as a set of behaviors and discursive frameworks.

According to Dean (2002, p. 53), the internationalization (globalization) of governmentality occurs today through the use of multiple agencies (for example, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), which operate by applying existing practices of government (city/local) within nation-states in addition to generalizing and expanding those practices worldwide (Joseph, 2010). Through the lens of governmentality, global governance can be understood by examining how specific rules, practices, and techniques define different governmental rationalities, resulting in different types of action-oriented actors (Sending & Neumann, 2006). These rationalities seek to shape the behavior of action-oriented actors, such as states, cities, international organizations, and non-state actors. Governmentality is thus a useful tool for understanding the dynamics of global governance and the complex relationships between different actors in international cultural politics (Joseph, 2010).

In order to understand Foucault's work on governmentality, it is critical to understand how "government" is defined. According to Foucault (1982, 790), the term government refers to legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection, as well as modes of action, which were designed to affect the possibilities of action of others, in a more or less considered or calculated way. This sense of government refers to the control of the field in which others can act. Government, then, can be seen as the exercise of power over the actions of others in order to affect the outcomes of their decisions (Wilkins & Gobby, 2022). As Foucault argued, the government does not merely serve to control individuals, but also acts to regulate and manage their behavior, so that the state or city can influence their actions, as well as the outcomes of those actions (Foucault, 1982). To accomplish this, norms and standards are established that individuals must adhere to, just as incentives and punishments are provided to encourage certain types of behaviors (Brännström, 2014).

Governmentality in this regard also refers to a type of *government* that originated in sixteenth-century Western Europe and is still present in Western democracies today, in which the state's primary priorities are the security, reproduction, productivity, and stability of the people in its space (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 40). As such, it includes rationalities and technologies: a system of institutions, practices, analyses, views, computations, and strategies that enable the exercise of this very distinct, if not very sophisticated, type of power (Foucault, 2007, p. 144). However, some argue that "governmentality" creates a false sense of security, as it relies more on surveillance and control than on dialogue and cooperation (Foucault, 2004). According to Dean (1999), governmentality studies have resulted in a branch of study known as "analytics of government" that may be used to assess urban culture and its governance. In this setting, governmentality functions at the urban population level, ensuring security, happiness, and order through economic and socio-cultural policy (Bacchi, 2009, p. 26–27).

The population is the primary object of *government* in contemporary cities, and governance is achieved through the development of liberal norms (Joseph, 2010, p. 223). In Foucault's approach, the focus is not exclusively on the direct power of the state or city but rather on how city governments (or states) exercise power through a network of global urban institutions, practices, procedures, and techniques that regulate sociocultural behavior in a strategic way (Joseph, 2010). As a result, the population is seen as an integral part of power in cities and their urban cultural governance, just as it was in the eighteenth century, when urbanization first appeared as a problem of economic and political importance, and where the population was regarded as a source of wealth and labor (Foucault, 1979, p. 25). According to Kleuser et al. (2014), governmentality can be used to study the power dynamics between the government and the population in urban settings, as well as how the government shapes the lives of people on a daily basis. Public policies, regulations, and infrastructure shape the ways in which residents and visitors interact with and experience the city as a result of this power dynamic (Kuecker & Hartley, 2020).

Today's U.N. and Habitat III urban policy context features the urban population as the ones who define the role of cultures in urban areas, how they should be governed, and who should be governed. As a result of this focus on the urban population, cultural policy and politics arose as a type of knowledge that made the population visible through statistical measurement and strategies as both the object and the end of government (Gunn, 2006, p. 709). Due to these developments, cities are governed differently, and urban areas are planned in a way that ensures the population is at the center of decision-making (Gunn, 2006). In that context, Gordon (1991) describes governmentality as "the art of government"—a means of considering "the nature of government's" activities using taken-for-granted conceptions of how urban cities and their cultures should be governed. The governance of city life has always provided open and lively spaces for some and dead or threatening spaces for others who do not conform to mainstream expectations (Degen, 2008, p. 11). It also serves as a tool for examining the problems in urban policies, programs, and other government technology with the aim of destabilizing "taken-for-granted" ideas about how to think about and conduct cultural politics in cities (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 43; Huxley, 2008).

As Hindess (2005, p. 26) describes, governmentality clearly has a liberal character, which makes it distinctive from other forms of government. It is in this regard that individuals are regarded as primary agents of self-governance within governmentality, which is based on the concept of limited governance (Hindess, 2005, p. 26). According to liberal philosophy, this idea emphasizes individual autonomy and the importance of personal freedoms and rights that constitute urban culture (Joseph, 2010, p. 223). By doing so, the government can foster a sense of autonomy and responsibility that can lead to the growth of a vibrant urban culture. To accomplish this, urban residents can be provided with access to resources and opportunities that will enable them to exercise their autonomy and rights. In this setting, the city is seen as increasingly self-governing and independent from the state. To properly govern, the city government must work with its people to promote the happiness and participation of its residents (Bacchi, 2009, p. 27). It translates into a need to understand the full range of people's activities, particularly cultural activities and

interactions that have a direct impact on diversity and differences. Cultural activities are essential for the city government to understand in order to promote diversity and differences.

"Governmentality" offers us an opportunity to rethink many of the assumptions and ideas that are used in policy studies. As a result of government practices, governable spaces are being created, thereby enabling encounters and interactions between residents and visitors (Rose et al., 2006, p. 101). Urban culture has become an important public issue between the government and the individual, with a complete web of discourses, specialized ideas, analyses, and other directives focusing on it (Foucault 1979, p. 26). According to Dean (1999, p. 65), governmentality studies focus on how specific terms—urban diversity and differences—become rooted in governmental practices— "how they actually allow practices" and policies (e.g., cultural policy)—of change in order to work—rather than viewing them as "components of ideology" whose function is to suppress the reality of class power. Diversity and differences are not only an outcome of more fundamental forces and conditions but also integral parts of ways of doing things (Dean, 1999, p. 64). This means that the recognition and appreciation of differences between people are essential for the success and sustainability of an urban area that is diverse and inclusive. This kind of understanding makes it possible to understand why certain notions within public policy continue to endure and are difficult to abandon (Bacchi, 2009; Dean, 1999).

This study facilitates the above type of analysis. Bacchi and Goodwin (2016, p. 32) argue that the concept of government in its broadest sense—global, urban, and national—is associated with the concept of governmentality, that is, that it includes a broad spectrum of agencies, professionals, and experts that participate in the governance of places, people, and their way of life (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016, p. 38). In this context, the governmentality framework allows researchers and policymakers to investigate, compare, and rethink common forms of urban culture. Therefore, examining specific policy interventions in order to understand how "globalized and urbanized culture" functions will open up a valuable opportunity to reflect on how the governance of urban cultures is exercised and what the consequences are. This kind of framework is better at criticizing existing sociocultural systems "than interpretive approaches, which tend to be reformist" (Bacchi, 2015).

3.1.1 Brief Definition of Key Concepts:

Rationality/mentality

Scholars of Foucauldian studies, such as Dean (1999) and Rose (2000), describe governmentality as a form of rationality. In these studies, rationality and mentality are used interchangeably and considered to be distinct approaches to government. For example, cosmopolitanism can be viewed as a type of rationality of governance as described in Article II. Moreover, Bachi (2009, p. 6) argues that rationality as understood in the context of Foucault's studies does not refer to rationality in its literal sense of being rational or wise. According to Bachi, it refers to the thinking that underlies, or the rationale for, particular approaches to government (see Bachi, 2009; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016; Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999). In terms of rationalities, they are the

rationales produced by the government in order to justify certain modes of rule, in order "to make some form of that activity both practicable and thinking to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practiced" (Gordon, 1991, p. 3). Foucault (1990, p. 37) describes rationality as "modalities of power" that "reside on the foundations of human conduct and history." In this case, it means figuring out why political institutions and the many organizations and groups that help run society do what they do (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). Rationality is a type of thinking that defines the goal of an action and the methods by which it should be achieved (Pyykkönen, 2015, p. 3).

Technology/technique

According to Foucault (1987, p. 130), the technique of government refers to established mechanisms for regulating conduct. An analysis is required since these techniques are often employed to establish and maintain states of dominance (see Bachi, 2009; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016; Dean, 1999, 2010). In that context, technology is a system of mechanisms, such as a census, league table, case management, performance data, and the vast array of policies and programs designed to influence the behavior of people and groups (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). According to Rowse (2009), political technology is regarded as a strategy that shapes a nation's political possibilities and that reflects particular political rationales for governing urban cultures (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 42). In this study, technology or techniques are used as strategies that shape urban cultures. I offer as an example the urban cultural policy programs of various city governments that provide governing mechanisms which can be used to conceptualize and plan or organize governance processes. Thus, Mol (1999) posits technologies as part of an ontological politics in which some realities of urbanization and globalization are enabled and disabled, underscoring the need to understand how this trend occurs.

Problematization

In the study of governmentality, problematizations play a key role (see, e.g., Bachi, 2009; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016; Dean, 1999, 2010; Dean & Hindess, 1998; Rose et al., 2006). According to Dean (1999, p. 27), the first step in the analysis of government is problematizing, which means challenging some aspect of the "conduct of conduct." Problematization is an important part of any cultural and political analysis because it involves breaking down assumptions about how things work and coming up with new ways to understand and change the world and its cities (Dean, 1999). By problematizing, the city identifies the underlying mechanisms that shape and direct urban behavior, as well as uncovers the hidden power dynamics that often drive decision-making. By using this information, policymakers are able to gain a better understanding of the context and implications of their actions, thereby developing more effective strategies to address the challenges faced by cities and its residents. According to many Foucauldian thinkers, the state and government is restructured through problematizations. This is true for both the process of renewal and the process of recommending changes (see, e.g., Dean, 1999). Rose et al. (2006) describe this as a "modes of problem formation," which enables the identification of specific

political rationalities. In particular, Dean and Hindess (1998, p. 9) define a neoliberal "mentality of rule" as a way of thinking that can be deduced from the way in which it is problematized, that is, a system of reasoning that is recognized through an analysis of the way in which it is a problematization.

Subjects

Foucault (1982) argued that power is not exercised through oppression but rather through the creation of individuals. He describes the double meaning of subject both as an autonomous (free) entity and as one that is governed (see Foucault, 1982). Defining the subject in terms of its double meaning illustrates an important aspect of Foucault's view of power: power is not simply oppression, but also the production of individuals. Gordon (1991) considers the subject as an autonomous (free) entity, arguing that governmentality is "highly effective" because it targets people who think they are free to act however they want, despite their being influenced by different ideologies and attitudes to the point where they are capable of self-government. So, in this context, being a "free subject," or "freedom," is seen as an act of positive resistance, a process by which a subject becomes independent within a structured system of institutions and practices by internalizing critique.

Furthermore, Foucault defined power as the transformation of the subject into an object—an object of knowledge, an object of language—and of the power that passes through them and transforms them into subjects (see Foucault, 1982). In this regard, Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) argue that subjectification involves creating provisional subjects of particular kinds. This dissertation examines internationalizing cities and their citizens as examples of subjects. Subjects are encouraged to adopt characteristics, behaviors, and dispositions as well as ways in which they may develop in connection with these "repertoires of conduct" (Rose, 1999, p. 43). As outlined by Golder (2010), the subject is a product of politics, is constantly changing, and is shaped by power–knowledge relationships (see, e.g., Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016; Dean, 1999, 2010).

Police

Police science originated in Germany to meet the needs of governing authorities and get a better understanding of those to be governed (see, e.g., Pasquino, 1978). Police is fundamentally about urbanization—that is, the management of city life (see Foucault, 1984, p. 242; 2000, p. 412; 2007, p. 339). This approach involves cities or governments collaborating with or contracting out to institutions, individuals, corporations, communities, neighborhoods, and civil society groups. For Foucault (2007, p. 410), police is also a form of generalized discipline, aiming at public life—cultural and social—in cities, rather than an individual body. Foucault defined it as the art of controlling urban populations to maintain their happiness, existence, and well-being (Foucault, 2007). Policing is unique in this regard. In this sense, governing liberally examines the claims to knowledge and the capabilities of police technology to advance the concept of limited government, which is based on a conceptual and scientific understanding of the social and cultural processes outside of the formal political institutions governing urban populations. To put it another way, the concept of police

is understood in this study as a technology or set of technologies for governing urban cultures in cities (see, e.g., Dean 1999, 2002).

Liberalism

According to Foucault (2008, p. 64), liberalism is a form of government that dates back to the seventeenth century and is associated with destructive and productive aspects of freedom. As such, liberalism must provide freedom in this setting, but it must also establish limitations, regulations, forms of coercion, and demands based on threats, among other things (see Foucault, 2008). For Dean (2002), liberalism emerged through a critique of the theory and practice of governance, which saw decent police and public security as conditions to be met through comprehensive regulations based on a thorough and transparent understanding of the people being governed and their way of life in cities (see Dean, 1999, 2002).

Foucault (2008) also explores the rise of "neoliberalism," which he considers a more extreme version of liberalism that surfaced after World War II. He suggests that neoliberalism signifies a change towards a more market-centric approach to governance, where market forces and competition are viewed as the key drivers of economic development and social advancement (Foucault, 2008, p. 116). This shift to neoliberalism has resulted in the transfer of public services into private hands, the removal of market regulations, and the growth of financialization (Foucault, 2008). Foucault's analysis of neoliberalism is a concept that goes beyond liberalism. It has had a big impact on modern conversations about how capitalism, government, and individual freedom are related.

For liberalism, it relates to the conduct of individuals and how liberal discourses often intersect with and follow modes of disciplinary power and *Polizeiwissenschaft* (Pyykkönen, 2015, p. 11). It can be seen, for instance, in campaigns to protect cities from pandemics and diseases as well as economic institutions from recession; in the creation of urban institutions (such as cultural spaces) for the most comprehensive monitoring of individuals; and in the implementation of urban programs and cultural policies to protect individual freedoms in a period of sociocultural and global crisis (Pyykkönen, 2015). It is also important to note that liberalism theorists have developed perspectives on the state, economy, cities, and citizens, as well as theories of government (Pyykkönen, 2015). In order for these ideals to be realized in practice, urban residents must possess certain rationalities as well as the subjectivities necessary for them to function. In this context, liberalism emphasizes the regulated freedom of individuals and their participation in the spaces of encounters and the role of urban government in the creation of expectations through cultural policy (see Pyykkönen 2015). Throughout this dissertation, liberalism is discussed as a discursive practice of government or a form of governance in relation to limited freedoms. Despite liberal thinkers' attempts to limit freedom, Foucauldian theories suggest that their ideas have generated very different types of urban freedoms and cultures that are regulated and controlled (Pyykkönen, 2015, p. 4).

3.2 The Complexity of the Notion of Culture: The Cosmopolitan Turn

Culture is at the core of the current sustainability and globalized urbanization because the actions for diversity and the recognition of the differences in/by the official cultural policies are not only about celebrating the factual situation. However, culture in this context is also about finding new ways of urban governance in these contexts where cultural homogenization has decisively gone, and one of the critical challenges of governance is how it manages the growing cultural complexity. This section interprets the notion of culture in the context of studying culture and urban culture as noted in Chapter 1; thus, culture is viewed as a way of life for people in its broad sense and as an industry for people in its narrow context. Cosmopolitanism within the context of the research problems offers a theoretical lens for evaluating global/cultural complexity and the tension between and within global/urban cultures and its emerging problems at the city level.

Habermas (1988) posits that cosmopolitan perspectives should promote the eradication of sociocultural barriers that inhibit the formation of a single community that goes beyond nationality, city of birth, and ethnicity. He suggests that adopting a cosmopolitan outlook can help bridge cultural gaps between people from different backgrounds, leading to a more harmonious and unified society (Habermas, 1988). Habermas suggests that people should strive to transcend their differences and find commonalities that bind them together in order to achieve this goal. This understanding of cosmopolitanism challenges the old notion of culture of nation-state and cities, and this challenge calls the governance of urban culture into question as well, which renders the government's operations and activities to govern the lives of its citizens and visitors problematic and complex for socioeconomic and cultural policies as well (Habermas, 1988). As a result of this, policymaking requires a new approach that takes into account both the needs of local as well as international citizens by adopting a more inclusive and diverse worldview.

This section investigates how the theory of cosmopolitanism can be used to analyze global/urban culture and its major problems within the scope of this study.

3.2.1 Cosmopolitanism: A Critical View

Cosmopolitanism is a concept that is growing continuously and spreading rapidly, particularly in the social sciences and humanities (McGrew 2004; Delanty 2006; Held 2002a; 2010). As a result of this concept, it has implications for how identity and culture are constructed, which may, in turn, have profound effects on the way people think, feel, and act (Delanty, 2006). Taking its name from the Greek word *kosmopolitēs*—"world citizen"—the term "cosmopolitan" refers to a range of important views in moral and social philosophy (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 1). The term maintained its moral and philosophical significance as a "duty" that transcends national, community, city, and ethnic boundaries. By doing so, cosmopolitanism creates an ethical outlook that influences individuals' actions to consider universal moral implications (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 1). Cosmopolitans, in essence, think that all people, regardless of political allegiance, are members of a single global community. It can be hard to come

up with a single definition of cosmopolitanism. There are many ways to think about it, from focusing on political institutions and moral principles to its manifestation in urban cultures (Nussbaum, 2019). Although the cosmopolitan ideal has been employed in restricted instances to deny the existence of unique obligations to local cultural and political groups, it is usually viewed as a desirable ideal to be pursued by the city government as a rationality of governing urban residents—locals and others—and their cultures (Kleingeld et al., 2019). Those who follow cosmopolitan ideals or exhibit cosmopolitan qualities are known as cosmopolitans (Kleingeld et al., 2019). One thing that determines cosmopolitanism is how a person thinks about citizenship, which has to do with whether the phrase "world citizenship" is taken literally or as a metaphor (Nussbaum, 2019). Cosmopolitanism presents a philosophical challenge to particularistic attachments to fellow citizens, as well as to local governments, cultures, and so on (Papastergiadis, 2012).

Globalization has taken place under certain conditions, leading to a weakening of the nation-state's power, causing a democratic deficit and a decrease in local autonomy, as well as a rise in inequality within and among cities and countries (Weiss, 1997). In this scenario, the protection of democracy can be seen as crucial in defending the nation-state (Weiss, 1997). While this perspective has some regressive elements, such as the emergence of far-right movements, it also highlights genuine concerns related to globalization (see, e.g., Mgonja & Malipula, 2012; Shaw, 1998; Vesajoki, 2002).

In this context, "nationalism" represents one of the primary theories that stands in opposition to cosmopolitanism. It is crucial to consider this perspective, as it offers an alternative lens through which to view the protection and promotion of nation-states and democracies amidst globalization. According to Anderson (2006), nationalism, in contrast to cosmopolitanism, prioritizes the interests and identity of a specific nation or ethnic group over those of others. This ideology emphasizes loyalty to one's country and places the well-being of the national community above all else. In this context, the word "nation" refers to an imagined political community that is both limited and sovereign (Anderson, 2006 p. 6). Nationalism values cultural identity and history and often opposes the influx of foreign cultures and internationalism in cities. Despite the apparent opposition between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, some scholars argue that the two can coexist and even complement each other. For example, Held (2002b) posits that cosmopolitanism and nationalism are not mutually exclusive and can support each other. He suggests that a healthy nationalism that values multiculturalism and diversity can contribute to a more extensive cosmopolitanism that prioritizes social justice and human rights (Held, 2002b).

Cosmopolitanism and nationalism are distinct political ideologies with divergent values and principles. Although they may share some commonalities, they essentially embody different perspectives on urban cultural policy, citizenship, and identity. Therefore, it is crucial to comprehend the fundamental characteristics of both ideologies to comprehensively assess their effects on cities and globalization.

In addition to the cosmopolitan perspective above, a number of discussions have taken place regarding how this universal community could be established (localized in cities) and how it might be constituted (Kant, 1975/1991; Hoggart, 1978). As Habermas (1988) indicated in his enlightenment discourse, cosmopolitan perspectives

should promote the overcoming of sociocultural differences that hinder the building of a single or shared community. Therefore, cosmopolitanism is sometimes considered a possible substitute for nationalist or specific ways of life and their sense of attachment, as well as a way to challenge a cultural identity confined to a certain location—an urban space or city. In this context, De Beukelaer (2017) argues for cosmopolitan cultural policies that seek more inclusive types of sociocultural relations among urban residents—both local and transnational individuals—as well as diversity and a global perspective on understanding the culture of people perceived as others and in search of recognition in cities. Thus, this form of cosmopolitanism facilitates the examination of the complexity of cultures in cities such as global/urban relations, cultural governance and rationality, and people learning to live with diversity and differences; and the creation of cosmopolitan spaces and cities that "leave no one behind" (UN-Habitat, 2016).

According to Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann (1997), the current political debate focuses on renewing the Kantian ideal, which remains relevant in the face of globalization, purported crises within cities and countries, and the emergence of a global civil society. As Immanuel Kant (1795/1991) argues, there is a collective obligation to strive toward the construction of a cosmopolitan society, which is believed to be necessary for the establishment of peace. This view holds that a world government respecting all human rights, and not only citizens, is the best way to achieve a long-term, durable, and universal peace. In the Kantian tradition, there is a universal commitment to recognize the moral worth of all humans, with a practical proposition inscribed in the policy directives and commitments of international organizations such as UNESCO and UN-Habitat today (Miller 2007). In addition, Kantian cosmopolitanism allows us to examine broader issues and conflicts, such as the growth of sociocultural and economic differences across political, national, and ethnic lines (Zürn & Pieter, 2016). It is in this context that Rovisco and Nowicka (2011, pp. 10–11) argue that the globalization (universal or shared) of culture promotes the celebration of diversity produced by urban conceptions of cosmopolitanism, which acts as a symbol for examining the insurgence and identity of individuals with diverse cultures and views in cities. In this approach, cosmopolitanism is incorporated into urban cultural policy rationale, thereby redefining the national and local through interaction with a global citizen.

Benhabib (2004, pp. 174–5) claims that cosmopolitanism depends on the unity of communities irrespective of language, ethnicity, religion, or nationality, which is the foundation of the post-universal cosmopolitan ideal. In this case, "post-universalism" refers to the desire to seek alternative interpretations of the past and accept that there are many different kinds of people, rather than trying to make a universal order and community. Delanty (2006, p. 35) defines "post-universal" as "cultural cosmopolitanism." Cultural cosmopolitanism is defined by a wide range of cosmopolitan projects that encourage communication between the local and the global in different ways (Delanty, 2006). In this view, cosmopolitanism is characterized by diasporas and transnational forms of belonging. Robertson (1992) says that this interaction leads to the local appropriating the global or, as in the case of diasporas, to local people becoming part of a new cosmopolitan global flow. Beck, Sznaider, and Winter (2000) argue that, in situations of interconnection between local and global, the

global exerts a profound influence on the local. Delanty (2006, p. 39) maintains that the cosmopolitan concept emphasizes openness and societal transformation. A more succinct description would be that this framework advocates the rejection (or at least the limitation) of the nationalistic and particularistic ideals of culture and cultural policy, which are detrimental to openness, recognition, and living together without racial or national prejudice. In Appadurai's (2006) view, these tensions derive from cultural changes, including migration and globalization, where those regarded as minorities in urban areas have triggered fears throughout the world. Even though these complexities and tensions must not and cannot be ignored, they have generated a situation whereby urban/global problems are increasingly perceived as being "cultural" (Beck 2004, p. 432).

3.2.2 Cosmopolis

The argument over the concept of cosmopolis may be traced all the way back to classical times. The essence of a city, according to Aristotle's political works (1984), is to improve the quality of life—to create an environment in which all residents can partake in what is regarded as a *good life*. According to Lilly (2004a), the Platonic polis represents the structure and order of the divine macrocosmos, a concept that can be called cosmopolis. Stoics believe that the universe has always been a polis, as it is fully regulated by law, also known as "right reason" (Nussbaum, 1997). According to the Stoic philosophy of cosmopolis, the right reason functions as a "standard of right and wrong," advising "naturally political subjects" on what actions to pursue and which to avoid (Brown, 2010). Hence, the Stoics gave the word cosmopolis a concrete and practical meaning: a cosmopolitan contemplates moving away to serve, while a non-cosmopolitan does not do so (Brown, 2010). In this context, it is ideal to broaden the borders of existing societies to establish a society that is designed to unify the entire race without segregation rather than having conventionally unifying relationships (Cicero, 44 BCE). In reality, this ideal only existed within the minds of political philosophers during the classical era (see Jain 2016). For instance, in the ancient polis of Athens, political participation was restricted to the minority with citizenship rights while women, children, and slaves were excluded (Rosivach, 1992; Turner, 2015, p. 3).

In modern times, the concept of cosmopolis has assumed new meaning. Currently, it is being reintroduced into societies as a means of organizing and negotiating ways of living together (Douglass, 2009). According to Toulmin (1992, p. 127), the concept of cosmopolis represents the entwinement of human society with the universe, which is governed by the same set of laws. As a result, Sandercock and Lyssiotis (2003) maintain that cities are increasingly becoming areas of interaction in the world of globalization, creating, among other things, cities with many different types of people. The concept of cosmopolis in this context also relates to the rebuilding of the city as a welcoming place and providing space for participation for those who have fled unbearable situations and are seeking a new way of life (Conley, 2002). The cosmopolis ideal generates urban cultures that promote tolerance among citizens, who embrace citizenship beyond the concept of nationality or their city of birth (Kristeva, 1993). In addition, Sandercock (1998, p. 111), suggests that cosmopolis draws influence from the voices of those who regard themselves as living in cultures

with a long history of discrimination, who have been segregated for a century but are now reclaiming their marginalization in the process. According to Beumer (2017, p. 2), the classical way of conceptualizing the city, in this context, remains relevant for understanding the role that contemporary cities can play in global urban cultures and human well-being. Lastly, according to Douglas (2009), cosmopolis is a participatory process of making cities, and this is also the perspective I am partly studying in this research.

3.3 Cosmopolitanism as a Rationality of the Government of Globalizing Urban Space: The Relationship Between Governmentality and Cosmopolitanism

Creating and governing urban cultures and spaces of interaction are inevitable aspects of urban policymaking. In regard to urban research, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the production of these transformations through governmental rationalities (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 98). For instance, the governance of urban culture may prove to be a useful tool for urban politics. Cosmopolitanism—cultural cosmopolitanism—calls for the ability to make one's way through another culture as well as the appreciation of different cultural experiences, which could serve as a resource for universal political commitments and rationality (Hannerz, 2006, p. 13). The term cosmopolitan can be interpreted in various ways, including as a description of a mixed city, a social magazine, or a person of unexplainable reliability (Hannerz, 2006). A rethinking of cosmopolitanism is presented in this section, which reframes it as a system of rationality used by cities to govern shifting relationships and practices, which, in turn, allows the discussion of global and urban cultures, diversity and differences, inclusion and exclusion of others, encounters and interactions, and freedom of expression in urban activities.

It is in this context that the term "cosmopolitan" has become a popular rationality when it comes to creating harmony in cities and assessing the interactions between urban and international cultures (Hannerz, 2006, p. 5). In that regard, rationality can be understood as an approach that is generally systematic (Dean, 1999, p. 211). Foucault was interested in government as a practice, and in the arts of government as a method of understanding what that practice entailed and how it might be performed (Gordon, 1991, pp. 2–3). In the context of rationality, therefore, we refer to a way of reflecting upon how the government (of a city) is practiced (i.e., who is entitled to govern; what governing entails; what or who is governed), how it is capable of making some form of that activity both rational and practicable for its practitioners as well as for those upon which it is practiced. It is noted that cosmopolitans—as an outcome of city government rationality (mentalities)—are able to manage meaning through the embrace of other cultures and their ability to handle them, as well as displaying a sense of urban mastery, and always knowing where the exit is (Hannerz, 2006, p. 7).

It has been demonstrated that policies, in specific contexts, create cosmopolitan impulses like compassion, solidarity, and peace by extending shared moral principles

to mankind as "a community of citizens of the world" (Beck, 2004; Hannerz, 2006). In this context, the concept of cosmopolitanism brings together governments (cities), politicians, international organizations, and policymakers and researchers to create ideas and institutions for global and urban governance (Hannerz, 2006, p. 10). The cosmopolitan rationality of governance can be described as flexible in this context, to construct the shared city through power relations, which reflects the premise that people can relate to the world not just as outsiders, but as citizens as well. Also, this adds more political connotations to cosmopolitanism—a rationality associated with global governance and government, with global citizenship and recognition (Hannerz, 2006, p. 9).

In addition to the rationalities—which guide and frame cosmopolitan discourses, technology practices, and subjectivities in the world in general—Foucault's analysis pays specific attention to how rationalities function within the context of particular forms of government (Pyykkönen, 2015, p. 3). Foucault himself claimed that he sought to analyze the rationality applicable to particular practices, technologies, and apparatuses of government (Pyykkönen, 2015). From this perspective, the term "governing" is expanded beyond the conventional political institutions to encompass such cosmopolitan knowledge and discourse as governing urban practices and assessing how international and urban cultures interact with each other. The identification and analysis of cosmopolitan rationalities of government, therefore, are conducive to a critical reflection on various types of thinking— "unexamined ways of thinking" (Foucault, 1994, p. 456)—that guide and form the processes of urban government as well as how we might become subject of governance. In addition, this approach provides cultural policy makers and researchers with an understanding of how governance can be achieved (Miller & Rose, 1990, p. 9) via the regulatory mentalities and technologies that contribute to establishing a global urban way of life. Such global urban cultures and mentalities promote the creation of "governable subjects" who are capable of accepting others and regulating their own behaviors (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 41).

According to Foucault (2000), although power relations do not exclusively entail the state or city, they have historically become the government's responsibility. As a researcher in cultural policy analysis, I encourage policy workers and analysts to think about "urban cultures" as political creations. Since urban cultures are seen as political creations, police technology can be used to look at how assumptions and rules lead to the formation of cosmopolitan cities or places. According to Martha Nussbaum (1996, p. 15), cosmopolitanism "offers only reason and the love of humanity, which may seem at times less colorful than other sources of belonging." In this context, urban policies relate primarily to the activities of the city and international organizations that have achieved regulatory power in specified territories (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 91). As such global/urban policies become a part of people's daily lives and everyday activities, there may develop what one might refer to as "being, or becoming, at home in the world"—"banal cosmopolitanism" (see also Beck, 2002; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002).

As discussed here, the conduct of conduct focuses on the political power and institutions of the city, as closely defined, and ignores other means of carrying out government (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 92). It also depoliticizes the "where" and

"how" of policy in which governments act as if they have legitimate authority to govern daily lifestyles with such rationalities (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). A significant aspect of this research is how governmental mentality has the potential to encourage the rethinking of specific global/urban cultural policies and programs based on unquestioned (cosmopolitan) assumptions. Further, cosmopolitanism as a rationality of governance emphasizes how public policies have a major influence on policing the city and the residents within it, shaping their modes of conduct and expression in ways that leave no one behind. As such, policies have the ability to shape what people are capable of becoming, demonstrating how power is a force for attaining a good life in a city similar to the classical understanding of the cosmopolis. The study of governmentality is concerned with the ways in which governments constitute political subjects for the purpose of influencing their behavior and cultures in ways that are deemed desirable for global/urban space (Gordon, 1991).

4 METHODS

This chapter describes how my research began, and the methods I employed in collecting and analyzing data. It has never been my pleasure to write the methods section of my articles. Although I have taken several courses pertaining to various research methods, I do not believe any one research methodology can adequately explain how I developed my conclusions. While I acknowledge my hesitation, I remain convinced that methodology is an essential component of academic research; in fact, I do not consider methodology irrelevant or unimportant. Besides the importance of method, we should also keep in mind that writing is much more than simply a guide to research. We must also recognize our own contribution to the development of knowledge. Researchers must not only reflect on their own roles as knowledge producers to comprehend this aspect of knowledge creation, but also on the processes by which they arrive at patterns that are considered meaningful or cultural (Lichterman, 2015). In this context, Turunen et al. (2020, p. 7–8) include both individual and collaborative efforts.

In this study, qualitative methods are used to evaluate and analyze the findings of original articles. These methods include case study analysis, close reading analysis or close textual analysis, discourse analysis, and thematic analysis.

4.1 Case study and its Analysis Methods

I adopt Robert Yin's (2015, p. 194) definition of a case study as "an empirical inquiry that closely examines a contemporary phenomenon (the case) within its real-world context." This definition was a valuable source of background knowledge for me and served as a guide for developing research questions and when gathering data for the empirical analysis of the study. In this context, I discuss ways to increase transparency within the data so that empirical case study research contributes more to methodological, conceptual, or theoretical foundations.

In accordance with the study's overall objectives, the cases was preferably a concrete entity: the selected cities, international and urban programs, and policies within a specific period of time. Additionally, the cases were selected according to the

objectives of the articles, and each article represents a distinct case within this study. In each article, a different methodology and a different data set were employed: discourse analysis, close reading, and thematic analysis. Using the identified case-specific insights, I then seek to identify similarities and differences between the cases. By doing so, the research questions in these articles serve as an analytical framework or guideline. In this manner, the case study contributes to the research objectives rather than merely providing a snapshot of the situation (Simons, 2009; Yin, 1984). Accordingly, this study is based on the combination of in-depth interviews conducted in Helsinki and Sydney, as well as other multiple sources of evidence detailed in section 4.2.2 on data and fieldwork. Below are descriptions of the different methods employed in each article.

Article I uses *discourse analysis* as the most prominent methodological approach to analyze the ways in which UNESCO's ideologies are articulated in the form of multiple discourses. Ideology and discourse are reciprocal in their relationship. In this context, ideologies influence discourse, which in turn influences and reproduces ideologies (Fairclough, 2013, p. 25–69; van Dijk, 2006). As a result, ideological discourses can influence the beliefs and attitudes of their "users" by limiting their options to discuss and think about a particular topic (van Dijk 2006, p. 116). Thus, they outline how diversity and differences, cosmopolitanism, and internationalism should be addressed. However, the analysis in Article I demonstrates that such indoctrination, starting at a global level and working towards national and local levels, is not an easy undertaking.

Additionally, articles II and III utilized close reading analysis. A close reading, or close textual analysis, determines a text's persuasiveness by examining the interactions between the internal workings of discourse (De Castilla, 2017, p. 136). The text in this context is a work of art that provokes meaning. In order to discern that meaning, a close reading of the text is necessary. In close reading, "three important traits should be examined: the rhetor, or the author of the text; the audience(s); and the message" contained in the policies themselves (De Castilla, 2017, p. 136). During the process of close reading, the purpose of articles II and III was to reveal the details, often hidden, that contribute to a text's stylistic consistency and rhetorical effect. By doing this, I am able to identify and evaluate unique points of view, which, in turn, leads to my creative thinking (De Castilla, 2017, p. 137). My close reading of data for these articles allowed me to connect the findings to theory, which is a type of explanation that is employed to understand a phenomenon, people, or space. I also examine classical notions of the cosmopolis and cosmopolitanism in Article III through a close reading of policy documents and research publications. The method also aims to determine how classical understanding has been reflected in contemporary policy speeches. How and why does this occur? Hence, cosmopolis serves as the theoretical basis for the close reading analysis in Article III, while the cosmopolitan ideal serves as the theoretical basis for Article II. In other words, these theories—cosmopolis and cosmopolitanism—explain how texts function in society. They are the means I use to understand why theories work the way they do.

Lastly, as I described in Article IV, I applied a *thematic analysis* (TA) approach. Clarke and Braun (2017, p. 297) define thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning (themes) within qualitative data."

However, it often goes further and explains how different parts of the topic and the goal of the study fit together (Boyatzis, 1998). The aim of TA is to identify and interpret key characteristics of data that are outlined in the research questions (Clarke & Braun 2017, p. 297). This allows the research questions to evolve flexibly as coding and themes are developed. The analysis process in Article IV was guided by Braun and Clarke (2006), who provide guidelines for thematic analysis. This kind of TA is flexible when it comes to the research questions, the size and composition of the sample, the way data are collected, and the way meaning is made. With this method, patterns can be found within and between the data about the lived experiences, views, perspectives, policies, and practices of the participants. This method is called experiential research since it seeks to understand what people are thinking, feeling, and doing (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297). TA can be used to examine both small and large data sets, including one with as few as one or two participants (Cedervall & Berg, 2010) to those with as many as 60 or more participants (Mooney-Somers, Perz, & Ussher, 2008).

As a result of the abovementioned methods in the articles, they form one case study in this dissertation.

4.2 Conducting Research

Despite my contention that methodology cannot be reduced to merely a snapshot of events, I acknowledge the need to provide empirical evidence for the methods I employed. In sub-section 4.2.1, I deal with the analysis used in each of the articles, and in sub-section 4.2.2, I discuss the data and fieldwork.

4.2.1 Analysis

The importance of each step in the research process must not overshadow the fact that doing research without achieving results is equivalent to doing nothing. For the research to yield results, the data must be analyzed carefully and systematically. According to Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p. 3351), the credibility of a qualitative study depends on the quality of its analysis. As a result, researchers must be able to understand, describe, and make sense of perceptions and experiences in order to come up with reliable results (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). According to Attride-Stirling (2001, p. 386), meaningful conclusions can only be drawn when data are analyzed in a systematic way. In order to answer the research question and look at various levels of global governance and urban cultures, I must examine various aspects of global–urban governance. The study specifically used the following tools to analyze each article: close reading, discourse analysis, and thematic analysis.

The study starts with a co-authored article (Article I) entitled "Cosmopolitan Internationalism: UNESCO's Ideological Ambiguity and the Difference/Diversity Problematic," published in the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. In this article, I employed discourse analysis to examine ideology (see Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 2006) and establish the regularities that enable authors to express their ideas, the concepts in the text to exist, and the reader to understand the issues raised (cf. Foucault, 1972). Regularities in this article are manifested within three interrelated dimensions. The

first of these corresponds to the sociocultural practices and institutional settings that frame the discourse. Thus, it is an examination of the sociocultural, political, economic, and ideological practices that give rise to the discourse. The analysis incorporates international, national, and local practices. A second dimension relates to discursive practices. In this context, it refers to regularities that are present in institutional and contextual conditions and that have an impact on the choice of objects, words, and other components of a discourse. This is evident in the decision-making procedures and the relations between UNESCO and its members. Finally, there are the regularities found in the dimension of textual practices. By using a consistent set of words, keywords, and themes that relate to one another and address the audience for which they are intended, meaning and order can be added to the words and concepts. The analysis of statements in this article indicates that certain words and concepts, which by definition are arbitrary, produce statements that reflect cosmopolitan internationalism in a specific manner. Article I suggests that the case-specific discourse pertaining to analytically constructed understandings of cosmopolitan internationalism in the context of UNESCO be viewed within the context of a framework that facilitates comparison, contrast, and analysis of ideologies, in accordance with Terrence Ball and Richard Dagger (1991, pp. 8–10).

Article II, "Cosmopolitanism as a Potential Theoretical Solution to the Challenges of Globalised Urbanisation," was published in the peer-reviewed journal *Art and International Affairs*. In this article, the findings were critically analyzed and discussed using the close reading method. The third paper (Article III) has been published in *Cogent Arts & Humanities* (Open Access Journal). The title is "Re-Thinking the global cosmopolis: an analysis of the un-habitat 'city we need' policies in Helsinki and Sydney." In this paper, I used a close reading analysis to discuss and evaluate the findings. Articles II and III employ a combination of close reading of policy documents and of research publications. I followed the same analytical strategy but used different data sets. Each document was closely read or closely analyzed. Each article focuses on a different type of policy document (e.g., international reports, policies and strategies, and urban policies and strategies), and the study is concerned with how close reading should be characterized by a reasonable interpretation of the text. To do so for both articles, I pay particular attention to what is being discussed in the document. A key factor during close readings was specificity (De Castilla, 2017, p. 138). Upon reading the text for the first time, I became aware of both the initial and reactive responses. However, as I continued to read, I began to formulate an interpretation that was both critical and creative. A key component of these close readings is asking important questions, not only about the text itself but also about one's own understanding.

As a result of the initial readings, I first preanalyzed the data by coding key elements of the selected messages and terms, and then examined how these terms were contextualized in a way that was essential to the use of textual analysis (Nelson, 2017, p. 550). Additionally, I reanalyzed these codes in the second phase, paying particular attention to the definitions of terms such as urban culture, identity, inclusion, and cosmopolitanism, alongside their relationship to each other, synonyms used, and how they were incorporated into the general discourses in the data. By doing so, I was able to attain higher quality close readings, communication, and investigation. My emphasis during both phases has been on the importance of

discourses and their contribution to the construction of discursive practices in urbanization. A good example of this can be found in Article II, where the concept of culture is discussed in a global and urban context. Following an in-depth examination of the contexts in which these phenomena were discussed, I examined how these phenomena related to the Habitat III (The New Urban Agenda) goal of leaving no one behind within the context of fear and hope. In focusing on these terms, fear and hope, I was able to identify a discursive construct based on a cosmopolitan ideal and a dominant discourse that promoted the inclusion of others in cities as a positive element in building a universal urban culture.

The fourth paper (Article IV) for this research, which is currently accepted (or in-press) in the *Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy*, is titled "Liberal Governmentality and Urban Culture: Governing differences and diversity in the policies of Helsinki and Sydney." This article used thematic analysis for the analysis of the primary data, which consisted of an in-depth interview conducted with policymakers at the city level from September 2019 to July 2020. The first step of the analysis was to transcribe the data I collected from my research participants into a word document. Despite taking a considerable length of time to transcribing the entire text, the entry process allowed me to examine participants' responses that led me to reflect on connections and patterns within the data (Guthrie, 2010, p. 160). Following the transcription, I immersed myself in the data by reading the transcript repeatedly to gain a better understanding of the content of the interviews. The transcription process was therefore the first instance in which transcripts were read and reread (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 17).

Following the transcription of recorded interviews, the data were coded. The significance of coding qualitative data cannot be overstated. The purpose of coding is to reduce large quantities of data into smaller units of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). When the transcripts were looked at, codes were found in similar sentences, words, and even groups of sentences. However, not every phrase or word was coded. The study coded only responses relevant to its research objective. As there were no pre-established codes, I used the open coding method, which involved creating codes as I coded and fine-tuned them. After reading all of the transcripts and giving codes to different parts of the data, I put the codes into themes. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 10) define themes as important aspects of data that are relevant to the research question. They represent some type of pattern or significance within the data collection. After reviewing the code generated, I grouped the codes that fit together into a theme. As an example, "welcoming of others, languages, Chinatowns, etc." were found to be themes after careful thought and review. The first themes were grouped under the heading "initial themes." The next step in the process involved reviewing all the initial themes. I did this to make sure that the themes I selected were not overlapping but were distinct and coherent from one another.

In the end, the themes were refined to reveal the essence of what each one is about (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To do this, I evaluated the relationship between the themes, research questions, and the theoretical frameworks with which I attempted to answer the research questions. In articulating these themes, they presented assertions concerning issues within the scope of this study. Throughout the process of analysis of Article IV, themes have emerged that serve as unifying frames. Accordingly, a

thematic analysis was undertaken based on the research question and theoretical framework of the study.

Now, I will move on to the next section to describe the fieldwork and data collected for this dissertation.

4.2.2 Data and Fieldwork

My data in this thesis were compiled from both international and urban policy documents and strategies, and from interviews, I conducted with urban cultural policymakers in the cities of Sydney and Helsinki. During fieldwork in Helsinki, Finland, in June and July 2020, as well as in Sydney, Australia, in October and December 2019, an online interview, as well as four semi-structured recorded interviews, were conducted with participants. In the face-to-face interviews, there were three key players from the NSW Department of Planning, Industry, and Environment as well as the City of Sydney local government area (LGA), which were identified as Syn1, Syn2, and Syn3. The COVID-19 outbreak in Helsinki, however, made data collection extremely difficult due to the inability to conduct face-to-face interviews. This was the primary reason I chose to conduct an online interview (via Skype and through email). I conducted two semi-structured interviews with policymakers within the Culture and Leisure division of the City of Helsinki, anonymized as Hel1 and Hel2. The interview was conducted after the policy documents had been thoroughly reviewed and sorted. The interviews are needed to examine the agendas of the cultural policymakers in these cities as they strive to feed global/urban cultures. Why do they desire to do so (what is the goal)? In what manner would they like to proceed?

Furthermore, Article I partially uses the interviews conducted in Sydney for its second case. There are also three documents of UNESCO importance in Article I. These are the 2005 Diversity Convention, ratified by 150 countries as of 2021, the UNESCO Operational Guidelines (OG) in 2007, and the period reports (248 at the time of writing Article I) that the Intergovernmental Committee (IC) has required them to submit every four years since 2012. Aside from the interviews in Sydney, the first case in Article I uses the periodical reports of the UNESCO Diversity Convention (2005) as primary data. The primary data for Article II is taken from the UNESCO (2016) report Culture: Urban Future. To be more precise, the quotations in this data are limited to the perspectives in UNESCO's (2016) policy listed on page 15 of the main report. Additionally, Article III uses the UN-Habitat 2016 urban manifesto, The City We Need 2.0: Towards a New Urban Paradigm; the City of Helsinki's urban policy, The Most Functional City In The World: Helsinki City Strategy 2017–2021; and the City of Sydney's urban policy, A City for All: Towards a socially just and resilient Sydney (Discussion paper, March 2016 and Social Sustainability Policy, July 2016) as its primary data sources. Article IV, in turn, relies on the interviews conducted in Helsinki and Sydney.

It is important to note that, prior to each data collection period, I emailed a formal request explaining the broader purpose of my study and the necessity for interviewing respondents for data to be collected. In response to my request, the unit or department in the cities selected candidates for interviews in Sydney and Helsinki. As a member

of the cultural policy unit, each participant was expected to represent the views of his or her city. However, the interview process also afforded the participants the opportunity and freedom to express their personal views regarding the policies and issues being discussed. The interview process, in keeping with my broader research aims, was *purposefully* limited to cultural policy units and did not include perspectives from other departments in the city councils. In the following chapter, I present the summarized results of the original articles.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Article I (a co-authored article): Cosmopolitan Internationalism: UNESCO's Ideological Ambiguity and the Difference/Diversity Problematic

The analysis or result section of Article I was written entirely by me for the second case (City of Sydney), and I played a significant role in writing the theory and conclusion sections. In addition, I contributed to the revision of the article in response to the peer reviewer's comments. As the first article within the dissertation, it serves as the starting point for the results chapter. This article is summarized in the following paragraphs.

Using UNESCO's core principles as a lens, Article I focuses on how the ideologization of these principles is framed at the international standard-setting level, how the norms for their practical application are established, and how the programs are shaped by the way in which the ideology formation process of these principles is implemented. This paper examines how UNESCO's ideological engagements are negotiated in the context of the difference/diversity discourse after they are transferred from the international standard-setting level to the national and local levels. With respect to the UNESCO system, this article proposes a discursive framework referred to as cosmopolitan internationalism, which addresses state/non-state dynamics through a discourse on difference and diversity. In this way of thinking, cosmopolitanism means being a citizen of the world and having a common global culture. Internationalism, on the other hand, means keeping nation-states at the top of the UNESCO framework.

Furthermore, diversity is positioned within the state as a positive phenomenon that deserves protection. Differences, however, are ultimately negative forces that occur between states. As per the moral perspective of cosmopolitanism and the political principle of internationalism, differences are the responsibility of the state, whereas diversity lies with the people. Even so, a lot has changed since UNESCO was founded in 1945. For example, keeping cultural diversity alive is now the

responsibility of all states, which makes things even more complicated. UNESCO's founding was part of a broader trend of cultural internationalism, or "international cooperation through cultural activities that transcend national boundaries" (Iriye, 1997, p. 3), a development in international politics dating from the late 1800s. In accordance with the UNESCO Constitution, it is clear that UNESCO's objective is to help people from diverse backgrounds better understand one another and gain a deeper understanding of their shared heritage by focusing on the varying elements of culture that together constitute a "net-like" world culture.

As this article addresses the notion of political ideology, it attempts to locate the occasionally converging intersections between the ideals of cosmopolitanism and the practicalities of internationalism. As a result, ideology follows Terrence Ball and Richard Dagger (1991, pp. 8–10) as "a fairly coherent and comprehensive set of ideas that explain and evaluate social conditions, enable people to understand their place in society, and provide a strategy for social and political action." Political ideologies play four main functions in linking ideas with action: explanatory, evaluative, orientative, and programmatic. In addition to this, the article analyzes the process of translating international policy principles into national policy-directing guidelines and then putting those guidelines into practice on a local level, by using two case studies. The first case concerns UNESCO's Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005). In this article, particular attention is given to the Operational Guidelines (OG) set out by UNESCO for ratified parties in their implementation of the Convention. In the analysis, the relationships and tensions between international organizations and nation-states are examined in the context of the post-Convention processes, where the ideological orientation and programming of the member states occur. Additionally, the second case involves Sydney, where UNESCO (2016) viewed cultural diversity as central to the construction of a universal ideology that supports inclusion and celebrates diversity, and where cultural expression is protected and promoted. Ball and Dagger (1991) provides a model for examining how UNESCO explains the current status of cultural diversity and provides moral and normative considerations for assessing these conditions.

Throughout the Convention and its implementation, the four functions of ideology (Ball & Dagger, 1991, pp. 8–10) are present, but they operate ambiguously. A key principle of the Convention, which lies at the heart of all international law, is cosmopolitanism. The Convention explains the need for it and explains the meaning and significance of its core rationale and principles. In addition, it serves as the foundation for more practical measures, which are explained further in the OG, and thus serve both the orientative as well as the programmatic functions of the ideology. It is, however, apparent from the reports of the parties that the operational stage is fraught with uncertainty: parties often interpret culture and cultural diversity differently, and in particular, the implementation methods vary widely. Despite this ambiguous "discursive regularity" (Foucault 1972), which appears to pose a challenge to the implementation of the Convention, it nevertheless reveals that the difference/diversity discourse goes beyond cosmopolitanism and internationalism to cosmopolitan internationalism.

The second case looks at how the Convention's shared principles are translated into local policy discussions, from the ratified state level to the local level. It is argued

that Sydney is a suitable space for exploring the political ideology of the cosmopolitan in its local context, as the focus shifts to examining both the cosmopolitan ideology and the local ideology of welcoming as logically meaningful and genuine responses to the issues of internationalism and differences. In Sydney, UNESCO's cosmopolitan internationalism is concretized through the concepts of welcoming, one-worldism, and inclusion. As the analysis shows, there are duties at the city level to respect the moral value of all people, no matter where they were born or what country they are from. Although Sydney is situated at the heart of the debate between difference and diversity, there are several factors, such as the lack of affordable housing, that influence and shape the discursive construction of internationalism that is welcoming and cosmopolitan.

As a result, the article concludes by identifying the transition from principles to policy and from rhetoric to action, which is at the heart of UNESCO's difference/diversity discourse. Despite often being equated at the level of rhetoric, these two concepts serve very different purposes and carry almost contrary implications in practice. A relevant aspect of this is the ideologicalization of UNESCO's values at the international level, which attempts to unify differences through the homogenization of diversity discourse, which can be appropriately viewed as little more than normative cosmopolitanism. In spite of this, ruptures found in practice that can be identified in the analysis of empirical cases are represented and framed as existing within the same tradition dictated by UNESCO's core values and, on the one hand, as part of the wider narrative of diversity while, on the other hand, being to some extent ignored and dismissed from official discourse. At the same time, the national and local diversity discussions relate to the international context due to the fact that they serve as a means of international differentiation. The analysis suggests that UNESCO's cosmopolitan ideals as manifested in the notion of diversity promotion are primarily communicated through transnational terms, while the realities of cultural differences based on internationalism are understood within local and national contexts. The issues addressed in this article are part of formalized and institutionalized cultural policy. Using the conceptual framework proposed for the discursive construction of cosmopolitan internationalism, Article I provides a critical assessment of the points of friction between difference and diversity within the UNESCO system, which is in line with the overall objective of this dissertation.

5.2 Article II: Cosmopolitanism as a Potential Theoretical Solution to the Challenges of Globalised Urbanisation

The purpose of this article is to develop a framework for addressing problems related to culture and globalization in a world that is becoming more urbanized and more interconnected. The framework explores and analyzes the issue of "how" culture is

understood in an era of hope [8] and fear. [9] Due to the complexity of culture, understanding culture is always viewed as an agreement that serves the interests of all (UNESCO, 2016). UNESCO defines culture in accordance with the system of rights-based approaches based on the concept of humanity in general. Moreover, in Habitat III (the New Urban Agenda), culture is viewed both broadly as a way of life as well as narrowly as a platform for attaining sustainable urban development. Whiles Delanty (2006) states that in a cosmopolitan context, culture is a construction process rather than an established lifestyle. In this way, culture is a dynamic and changing phenomenon that is created and reproduced through the interaction of people. As well as the values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of a certain group of people, culture plays a vital role in urban planning and sustainable development. Taking Delanty's perspective on culture as an example, this definition reactivates the idea of cosmopolitanism as a model for cultural policy and planning that seeks to manage urban cultures beyond rights or identities. Yet it also represents cosmopolitanism as the multiplicity of modernities in which the city is created (Delanty, 2006, p. 27). Essentially, modernity pertains to conditions and strategies that are cosmopolitan in nature, not just global conditions in the strict sense (Delanty, 2006, p. 38). The essence of cosmopolitanism and its underlying principles consists of the desire to promote world peace and the common good for mankind (Delanty, 2006; Held, 2002a). They are represented as embodiments of "global culture," which encompasses all these issues. In addition, it is important to understand how these ideas are governed by nations and city councils. The article also discusses ways to approach policies that transcend cultural boundaries.

As stated in Article II, the analysis is based on the UNESCO report Culture: Urban Futures (2016). The report is divided into sections devoted to cases, perspectives, and articles, which are grouped according to themes. In this article, I analyze specific perspectives found in the data by selecting and analyzing selected excerpts. As I see it, these perspectives provide a platform for exploring global cosmopolitan ideas or the rationality of "the city we need" as well as the process of creating an alternative society within the context of cultural policy and globalization. Culture, as part of Habitat III, seeks to leave no one behind, be they strangers or fellow citizens. As noted by Isar (2009, p. 53) and De Beukelaer (2017, p. 9), cultural policies are aimed at ensuring access and excellence in cultural life, with the goal of eliminating obstacles and limiting factors that may hinder individuals from being recognized as citizens in pluralistic and open societies. As a result, cultural policy influences interactions between members of society toward societal representations and transformations. At its core, transnational policymaking aims to combat the fears of particularism and to inspire hope in those who lack a sense of belonging. The

[8] As described in this article, *hope* is all the steps taken to live as a global citizen, irrespective of where one lives or from where one originates. Furthermore, it promotes freedom and equality, in addition to diversity and equality (UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 11). Hope is closely related to enlightenment and to the development of cities as a whole.

[9] Fear is conceptualized as a feeling of hate for people from other ethnic backgrounds and religions. As UN-Habitat (2016, 11) points out, the movement of large populations into towns and cities presents a variety of challenges. Additionally, fear is also associated with both past and current evidence for the New Urban Agenda, which has been developed as a response to these challenges.

following is an analysis of the data in Article II under the heading "Cosmopolitanism and Inclusion of Others."

Cosmopolitanism and the Inclusion of Others

Social Inclusion

In Article II, the cosmopolitan hope is found in how modern cities formulate policies that address the fears of inclusion. Taking Steven Vertovec's view of migration and diversity (see original article) into consideration (in UNESCO, 2016, p. 141), Article II asserts that cultural pluralism is a cosmopolitan phenomenon related to social inclusion. As a result of such contemporary processes, researchers and policymakers can develop a greater understanding of society or cities as a continuous transformation and construction of individuals becoming ethically ethnic in a cosmopolitan manner, with an emphasis on inclusion. In addition to this, as shown in the article's quotation "...people are learning to live together" (in UNESCO, 2016), cultural tension can be defined as the result of love between individuals. As a result, it is imperative that urban cultural policies for social inclusion and openness promote optimal interactions between individuals, regardless of origin or upbringing, toward social representation and transformation without prejudice or discrimination. In this sense, I argue that the social inclusion of cosmopolitan ideas can enhance both ideological transfer and institutional development for cities.

In addition, as the Council of Europe (in UNESCO 2016, p. 144), points out, the inclusion of others in urban cultural policy should appreciate the mutual respect between urban citizens and minimize segregation and discrimination against those deemed to be threats. As with urban plurality, it does not define the boundaries of cosmopolitanism, and if that becomes a strategy for governing urban cultures, then multiculturalism becomes the destination. In other words, coexisting as global citizens does not mean variety in numbers, but rather the cultivation of diversity, peace, tolerance, and coexistence among diverse groups in urban areas. Accordingly, based on the perspective provided by UNESCO (2016, p. 144) in Article II, and given the United Nations (UN) influence on migration and refugee policy, it seems strange for governments and local councils to restrict the expression of rights essential for citizenship and recognition to their particularistic and nationalistic perspectives. As a result of the complex nature of these rights, which are required to combat stereotypes and racism, migrants and refugees enjoy many rights under international human rights laws in urban areas. In this way, Delanty (2006, p. 30) points out the role transnational organizations play in creating an alternative society of openness and recognition. Due to this, the boundaries that determine where a person was born have become less significant.

Cultural Inclusion

Culture is viewed broadly as a way of life for cities within UNESCO and the New Urban Agenda as well as narrowly as a creative foundation for sustainable urban development that leaves no one behind. Within Article II, the contexts of cultural inclusion discussed are the cosmopolitan self and identity, open and public spaces, and creativity.

When it comes to the construction of a cosmopolitan self and identity, Pieri (2012) argues that people become cosmopolitan since they have a passion for foreign lands and are consumed by aesthetic tastes. In this respect, Held (2002a) stresses that cosmopolitanism reflects the ability of societies to observe and recognize each other's rights. Overall, cosmopolitanism promotes the well-being, freedom, and expression of all through the construction of an urban identity that is universal as opposed to specific. It is implied in the article that artistic and cultural goods contribute to the creation of self-identity and respect for others. Article II claims that this type of global idea promotes the arts industry as a creative base for shaping sustainable cities. UNESCO's (2016, p. 130) perspective in this section of the article, for example, describes the cosmopolitan self as a means of governing a free society and covering those who are considered different. It also proposes a similar approach, which allows individuals to be themselves according to their aesthetic tastes, thereby becoming cosmopolitan from afar, as mobility encompasses more than just individuals, but also cultural ideas, goods, and services as well. These exchanges also create cosmopolitan self-images, identities, and images for these cities (Pieri, 2012, p. 34). This process between cultures is what creates tension within modernity and gives the city its identity as an urban culture.

As noted in Article II, open and public spaces are critical for cultural inclusion. As Richard Stephens (in UNESCO, 2016, p. 187) describes it, "great places tell great stories." As stated in Article II, open and public space is one of the primary symbols of cosmopolitanism when it comes to the inclusion of others because it serves as the primary means by which people from different backgrounds interact with dignity and without prejudice. As a result, the cosmopolitan concept creates a space in which all people are welcome, regardless of their nationality or ethnicity. As stated in the article, public spaces are becoming increasingly important to urban regeneration, which contributes to a "new urban culture" (UNESCO, 2016, p. 121) that leaves no one behind. According to this article, the purpose of open, public spaces is to encourage interaction and to increase participation among urban residents, in an effort to create a more inclusive society. As part of the transition to global urbanization in the 21st century, this approach aids in reducing the fear of threats and tensions and strengthening urban diversity, which ensures that no one is left behind in the quest for universal identity and openness. From the perspective of Ien Ang, as stated in UNESCO (2016, p.146), Chinatowns in Sydney, Australia provide an example of the importance of open space to urban inclusion. Even if this inclusion appears to be particularistic, mixing Chinese and residents of the city can be viewed as cosmopolitan. This approach holds that urban cultural policy is a driving force for inclusion because city policymakers (in terms of methodology) are tasked with translating cosmopolitan ideas into reality. The public/open space can be viewed as an example of how government policies can contribute to making the cosmopolitan ideal of leaving no one behind a reality.

According to Article II, creativity is instrumental to the construction of a transformative vision of an alternative society and the implementation of sustainable urban development in the 21st century (Habitat III). This article specifies that critical cosmopolitanism views creativity as a cultural factor that influences the internal development of cities. Based on Richard Stephen's perspective (in UNESCO, 2016, p.

187), planners and designers need to be excellent storytellers and should use cultural and artistic media in their work. Accordingly, cities created in the 21st century must produce a universalistic outlook, leaving no one behind, and by so doing, provide an environment that allows people to be creative "world citizens" who are open-minded and respectful toward others. Such a cosmopolitan mindset includes others via the rationality and creativity of the city, since the human choice of the city depends on the meanings associated with the city and on their sense of belonging to it. In this way, creativity gives meaning to places and structures. This article presents Creative Vilas as an example of how urban space can benefit local and global interaction, which also contributes to a stronger sense of belonging.

Article II concludes that cosmopolitanism is not limited to a universal space or to phenomena that have been made possible by urbanization and globalization. In this article, I make the argument that cosmopolitanism is a social and cultural process that can be applied to any city at a time when world-openness is firmly established. Cosmopolitanism also refers to processes of development within the self and the city, which enable new cultural strategies and policies to take shape and facilitate participation and dialogue that lead to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development for Cities. In conclusion, I contend that cosmopolitan policies enacted through urban cultural policies will foster inclusion by making both sides ethically ethnic, which offers hope to current and future generations.

5.3 Article III: Re-thinking the Global Cosmopolis: An Analysis of the UN-Habitat III 'City We Need Policies' in Helsinki and Sydney

In Article III, the classical concept of the cosmopolis is discussed in relation to the Habitat III agenda of "the city we need" through the first principle, "Leave No One Behind" (UN-Habitat 2016a, p. 7). Specifically, Article III looks at how the Habitat III agenda is reflected in classical conceptions of cosmopolis and how this is realized at the local level. This comparison is intended to support discussions about the New Urban Agenda under UN Agenda 2030. In spite of the fact that it dates back to the time of the ancient Cynics and Stoics, the notion of cosmopolitanism remains relevant today in several ways. At the time of the Stoics, a cosmopolitan represented someone who considered moving away to serve as opposed to someone who did not (Kleingeld et al., 2019). Douglass (2016), on the other hand, refers to cosmopolis in contemporary urban planning as a vision of creating inclusive and participatory cities that respond to the needs of individuals. I also believe the concept's mobilization is a crucial factor for what UN-Habitat describes as "the city we need"; in other words, I believe the cosmopolis facilitates and sustains new forms of diversity. In this regard, the study examines not only explanations supporting the concept of cosmopolis, but also various arguments against it.

As described in section 4.2.2 of the dissertation, the concept of cosmopolis is used as the conceptual framework to analyze and frame empirical data in this article. The information in the article lays the groundwork for cities to develop their urban policies

in a way that brings back the cosmopolitan values of ancient times and encourages people to take part in the social and cultural life of society beyond their own country's borders. Sydney's policy and Helsinki's strategy are examples of this approach. Among these statements are "Helsinki is for a good life" (City of Helsinki, 2017, p. 9) and "Sydney is a cosmopolitan city" (City of Sydney, 2016a, p. 9). Considering urbanization from a classical perspective, the above quotations provide a foundation for rethinking the global cosmopolis as an avenue for understanding trends in sustainable urbanization and cultural policy. As such, the article argues that the modern cosmopolis has become a strategy for planning and negotiating differences in the modern world.

Sandercock (1998) states that respect for urban cultural diversity and social justice is dependent upon listening to the voices of difference in cities. In this regard, the term cosmopolis refers to reconstructing the city as part of welcoming and providing rights to those who have fled untenable situations, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and individuals seeking alternative livelihoods (Conley, 2002). Further, urban diversity in Article III is understood as the opportunity for every citizen to realize their potential, interact with others, and participate in the success of their city, regardless of their identity or birth city, which is in accordance with the classical cosmopolis. Despite its limitations, the classical conception of the city may still be useful in understanding contemporary cities' roles in global urban sustainability and human well-being, as Beumer (2017, p. 2) observes. Below is a summary of the analysis of the data presented in Article III under the heading "Urban diversity and the Cosmopolis: participation and inclusion."

Urban diversity and the Cosmopolis

As noted in Article III, UN-Habitat's New Urban Agenda for Sustainable Cities promotes cosmopolitan approaches so that every citizen has an equal opportunity to thrive. This is a way of welcoming all individuals and providing universal hospitality. In the words of UN-Habitat: "The City We Need fosters a culture of peace. It does so by working together with all stakeholder groups in organizing inter-generational, inter-cultural dialogue and events to promote understanding, tolerance, and communications" (UN-Habitat, 2016b, p. 12). As an example in the article, the City of Sydney policy emphasizes this point by stating that our strength is our rich mix of social and cultural diversity (City of Sydney, 2016a, p. 9). As reported in the City of Helsinki's strategy, true, vivid bilingualism is a major asset for Helsinki (City of Helsinki, 2017, p. 12). It can therefore be argued that urban places are becoming more welcoming to marginalized groups, particularly if existing residents or citizens recognize they are negotiating their culture and identity with one another. This is similar to Harvey's argument (2003, p. 939) that the right to remake ourselves implies the necessity to reconsider urban development for all.

Participation

As discussed in Article III, participation is crucial to understanding the cosmopolitan perspective. In that context, urban diversity in global cities refers to the creation of a universal code of communication and transformation of contact in order to promote

openness. The article asserts that participation in cultural and political life promotes a sense of belonging and trust that permeates urban identities and cultures. Using the data as an example, the UN-Habitat says: "The city we need is participatory. It promotes effective partnerships and active engagement by all members of society and partners" (UN-Habitat, 2016b, p. 7). As stated in the Helsinki strategy: "a healthy, mutually respectful pride of one's own neighbourhood is part of the city's identity" (City of Helsinki 2017, p. 16). Whiles the City of Sydney (2016b, p. 4) argues that "people's views are genuinely considered, and they can see and understand the impact of their participation." Based on the above, the article concludes that a person living in a contemporary city such as a cosmopolis should be able to celebrate his or her cultural and social life, as well as participate in that of others. Participation, to me, is a tool to create a perfect place that attracts tourists and residents alike, regardless of nationality or ethnicity. In this way, "the city we need" provides equal access to resources and opportunities, and residents can reach their full potential. In this regard, Helsinki and Sydney reflect the ancient Stoic philosophy, as well as Stephen Toulmin's (1992) notion of the classical cosmopolis in contemporary cities. Consequently, participation in a cosmopolitan way is regarded as a virtue, a virtue that contributes to the well-being of others.

Inclusion

Article III states that inclusion aims to create a sense of belonging and safety in a city by creating an atmosphere of openness. In this regard, the article suggests that the evolution of cosmopolitan cities is dependent upon residents living in harmony with the city and its space. In this context, the article argues that diversity is achieved by acknowledging and equalizing differences to enhance cultural interaction and cohesion in cities. As a result of fostering inclusiveness in the city, urban citizens are able to express themselves creatively, negotiate their differences, and live in a multicultural environment that rejects particularistic ideologies. As quoted in the article, UN-Habitat (2016b, p. 12) states: "The City We Need is welcoming night and day, inviting all people to use its streets, parks, and transit without fear." Another example can be found in the City of Sydney, which states that a safe, accessible Sydney allows everyone in the community to live an enriched, fulfilling, and contributing life (City of Sydney, 2016b, p. 4). The City of Helsinki also describes itself as a city that focuses on tolerance and pluralism, becoming increasingly international, and offering attractive venues and events (City of Helsinki, 2017). Whether classical or contemporary, inclusion encourages policymakers to work with urban subjects on innovative solutions that make cities more attractive, more affordable, and safer and encourages the principle of not leaving anyone behind. As such, inclusion aims to develop a wide range of cultural and creative programs to allow people from different backgrounds to interact and socialize even from a distance. The city becomes a platform in which classical concepts of a good life, creativity, and belonging can be replicated in the 21st century.

The conclusion of this article argues that cosmopolitism does not mean devising a system of accommodating all races at once. Rather, it refers to the internal processes of sociocultural city-making and positions urban spaces as places where all people are welcome regardless of their nationality, place of birth, or loyalty to the government.

The cosmopolis is only meaningful in a context that understands the value of helping and welcoming others within its borders. In most cases, people living outside of the city (residents) are not offered help or welcomed. "The city we need," according to the cosmopolitan vision, is a city open to and recognizing the rights and freedoms of all people. The cosmopolis involves dynamic changes among individuals and the city, as well as new sociocultural policies and strategies designed to facilitate interaction and urban cultures. The concept entails that those residents learn and live together in such a way as to improve their participation in urban affairs.

5.4 Article IV: Liberal Governmentality and Urban Culture: Governing differences and diversity in the policies of Helsinki and Sydney

Article IV presents Michel Foucault's understanding of police and liberalism as a guide to governing diversity and differences in urban cultural policy discussions. Today in urban areas, people learning to live together through differences has become increasingly prominent in governance theories (Skovgaard Nielsen et al., 2016; Fincher et al., 2014). Furthermore, cities, their administrative departments, and councils are crucial in advancing the rationale of city government and promoting a new sense of urban governmentality (Appadurai, 2001, p. 25). In this context, Richard Sennett (1991, pp. 133–141) suggests that predicting how diverse groups will interact, engage in politics, and engage in sociocultural issues may be difficult. Even so, Sennett does not comprehend the difficulties of managing urban diversity in order to govern a typical urban culture of difference (Kraus, 2016). In order to address this issue, Article IV examines Foucault's notions of police and liberal governmentality as means of governing urban diversity. Specifically, the article focuses on how city government exhibits what Foucault and Foucauldian refer to as "police." Moreover, this article illustrates how diversity and difference can be managed in specific contexts, such as in spaces of encounter or interaction, like Chinatown. As described in Braun and Clarke (2006), this article relied on in-depth interviews conducted in Helsinki and Sydney which were then analyzed thematically. The theme of Chinatown is closely associated with the idea of spaces of encounter, which has been categorized as a subtheme of cultural spaces of encounter and the notion of communication.

In this article, Chinatown is an example of an urban space in which cultural encounters can take place, as well as a manifestation of diversity and difference in cities. A Chinatown encompasses a lot more than just Chinese residents living in a specific area in a city. Ang (2016, p. 4) maintains that Australia's Chinatown is a key location where the Chinese diaspora establishes a sense of belonging. Moreover, Kraus (2016, p. 38) suggests that the recognition and inclusion of others is an appropriate strategy for managing such multilingual and multidimensional urban spaces. By engaging in such a process, communicative resources can be established that facilitate interactions between diverse groups of individuals—residents, and visitors—and enable them to function independently and tolerate others. In urban contexts, language is one of the barriers to understanding the complexity of diversity

and differences, interaction and well-being, trade and commerce, contacts, and socialization within a society (Deltas & Evenett, 2020). According to Kraus (2016), this is important since the freedom of urban residents is directly related to their linguistically embedded way of life, resulting in the formation of cultural and urban identities. As such, Hodler et al. (2017) claim that language can be used in urban interactions in order to reduce bitterness toward outsiders, promote peaceful coexistence in cities, and increase trust between ethnic groups and visitors.

According to Dean (2002), the governmentality model of governance follows a liberal interpretation of the activity of government itself. In this regard, the governance of cultural spaces and people is considered essential for ensuring political participation and people's inclusion in line with Habitat III's agenda of "leaving no one behind"(UN-Habitat, 2016). To provide a rationalized type of government, Kraus (2016, p. 38) argues that multilingualism should be incorporated and recognized in government and cultural policy planning. Diversity and difference are discussed in this article as a specific form of governance practice relating to the need for knowledge-based government as well as the appreciation of people's freedoms, cultural differences, and residents' participation (cf. Rose, 1999). As a result, differences in this article are considered as factors that directly or indirectly restrict people's ability to communicate and participate in everyday life.

In light of this, I define *police* as a political technology that governs urban spaces and individuals (see Dean 2002). In that context, an analysis of diversity and differences refers to the ultimate objective of the police, which is to serve and protect the urban spaces and cities it encompasses and controls in light of some political considerations. Foucault's liberalism, however, implies that one is always seeking a way to complain about the excessive urban regulation of subjects by the city government (Dean, 2002). By understanding Foucault's concept of government as an activity and governance as an art, this article is able to gain a deeper understanding of how this activity might be implemented, particularly in terms of urban cultural policy, which defines notions about how urban culture should be governed. The discussion below provides the empirical description of this understanding.

Policing cultural spaces of encounters and the notions of communication: What about "Chinatown"?

The conditions for a space of encounter to arise have several components, such as economics, culture, social norms, and, most importantly, the way in which target people are policed, which is a characteristic of liberal governance. As a result, the normalization of such urban spaces and communities hinders sociability and interactions between citizens and excluded individuals. Even so, the city government established the agenda for managing people through agreements between businesses, government, and residents (Sarger, 2011). In light of cultural differences, this article holds that it has become increasingly difficult for individuals and groups to agree on and communicate how to behave, eat, and interact in various urban situations. In order to govern ethnic differences and diversity, it is necessary to carefully observe everyday life and interactions in these spaces. In related terms, this article argues that foreign settlers' spaces, such as Chinatowns in cities, are manifestations of increasing diversification in the city and their representation.

The City of Sydney's case

According to the article, when speaking of cultural expectations in Sydney's Chinatown, immigrants used to assemble there only to work and survive in the past. However, today Chinatown is a bustling dining district that attracts foreign tourists who are not culturally different from those who speak both English and the language spoken by immigrants. In this way, cultural relationships have become more visible in Sydney, simplifying government policing of the area. Based on the findings about Sydney's Chinatown, Article IV asserts that Chinatown is no longer a racial enclave and a place of exclusion, but rather a space of learning, trade, and meeting that is increasingly multilingual, multicultural, hybrid, and transnational, where people express gratitude for living together with the excluded others. Furthermore, in urban cultural policy formulation, recognizing language differences and diversity is crucial for leaving no one behind. It has been a vital element of communication in governing spaces of encounter and cultural policy practices. Although language is a crucial component of communication in public spaces, however, language explicitly appears to be underrepresented in the cultural policymaking and practice of the City of Sydney.

The City of Helsinki's case

According to the article, Helsinki is portrayed as a city that opposes Chinatown as a distinct space and advocates for alternatives that strongly recognize the equality and welfare of all its residents. Accordingly, the article noted that the City of Helsinki adheres to good policies relating to urban areas that contribute to integrating the entire society into a single space of leaving no one behind, which is in line with Habitat III's objectives. The article argues that Helsinki's alternative approach to Chinatown demonstrates how intercultural interaction and urban culture can be effectively integrated as one space. However, it is extremely interesting to note that creating Chinatown-like spaces is a point of contention among policymakers, according to one viewpoint in the article. The article emphasizes that these areas are associated with issues of representation, which is echoed by the UN-Habitat slogan "the city we need." In spite of the debate about Chinatown in Helsinki, the article argues that the establishment of Chinatowns and other similar enclaves will provide a social and cultural setting for diverse social and cultural encounters. Additionally, given its urban context, Helsinki appears to be a place that plays an important part in symbolizing the coexistence of the two national languages. I argue in this article that bilingual cultural services in Helsinki use a liberal technology that specifies freedom as a governmental function, a social practice within the context of urban governance that promotes a multicultural way of life through methods that are best described as cultural police.

Conclusion

In general, this article concludes that policing in cities is not solely about regulators' practices and controls. Therefore, cultural policing has improved the socioeconomic status of the city and given voice to those who are marginalized. In cities like Helsinki and Sydney, Chinatowns and other cultural spaces are prime examples of urban

diversity and differences. As well as discussing differences and diversity in urban spaces, this space also acknowledges the underlying contexts of urban culture in order to ensure a shared urban cultural identity. Taking into account the evidence presented, policing primarily aims to formulate a strategy for managing diversity that is influenced by city policymakers. The article re-conceptualizes Chinatowns as normative models to understand the socioeconomic and cultural implications of living together, promote tolerance for differences, and create opportunities for people to interact. It is important that this level of responsiveness is maintained as a means of meeting the linguistic and cultural diversity of the cities.

5.5 Synthesis of the studies

In this dissertation, the principal focus was the governance of urban cultures and globalization in contemporary large cities. The research was conducted to examine cultural governance from the perspectives of cosmopolitanism and governmentality, both of which contributed to the literature in different ways. As a means of comprehensively addressing the empirical findings described in the articles, this study examines the data at different levels, including international organizations (UNESCO and UN-Habitat) and practical implementation levels in Sydney and Helsinki. Upon review, the articles in the above results indicate that cities, councils, and urban spaces have increasingly emerged as strategic locations to investigate the benefits and values of culture in urbanization and globalization. Therefore, the United Nations (UN)—notably UNESCO and UN-Habitat—provide a suitable platform for conducting cultural research on current urban issues in an international context for policymakers. The articles demonstrate that UN-Habitat and UNESCO are effective platforms for assessing the classical and contemporary ideological notions of living together and participatory city-making. The following paragraphs explain how the articles relate to one another and to the dissertation's general objectives.

As a starting point for the relationship between the articles summarized above, I will focus on *international and universal ideology*. The empirical research shown in articles I, II, and III suggests that cities are good places to start when looking into, promoting, and explaining how culture affects the formation of ideologies. Cities provide an interesting perspective on how different ideologies develop and why they exist in the manner that they do because they are places where different cultures and beliefs intersect. According to articles I, II, and III, cities may provide valuable information about the influence of international ideologies on culture. The articles demonstrate, from a historical and philosophical perspective, that cosmopolitanism is also linked to universal and global ideologies that promote intercultural harmony and understanding. In this regard, UNESCO (which appears in articles I and II) and Habitat III (which appears in articles II and III) offer an opportunity to rethink conventional interpretations of culture's role and alternatives to it in the context of these transnational institutions. Following this, the interaction between urban and global ideologies of the past in continuing history serves as a starting point and basis for the governance of people, cities, and urban spaces discussed in articles I, II, and III.

As a means to achieve cultural harmony, it is possible to form relationships and engage in interactions with people who are regarded as being different from oneself.

In the context of *urban and globalizing culture*, the empirical results of articles I, II, and III suggest that the role of global institutions (UN-Habitat appears in articles II and III of the study, UNESCO in articles I and II) in developing cities is consistent with the idea of universal space that is promoted by cosmopolitanism. In general, as described in articles I, II, and III, cosmopolitan culture appears in cities as an ideology that transcends national and city borders, much like the activities of international financial markets. Article II, for example, discusses cosmopolitanism as a form of social and cultural development which applies to any city in an age of globalization and openness. As stated in Article III, the cosmopolis concept is an inclusive, participatory vision for creating cities that meet the needs of urban subjects without discrimination. As a result, the three articles may be interpreted to suggest that the modern cosmopolis has evolved into an ideology rooted in the rationality of government for planning and negotiating differences in modern cities and the world at large. As a result of this interpretation, the cosmopolis can be seen as a rationality of governance (in Foucauldian terms) for empowering urban populations to play a role in the development of their cities. The concept of cosmopolis thus demonstrates how to make cities more open, fair, and sustainable places to live. In this regard, I contend that cosmopolitan ideology as governmental rationality focuses on the internal processes of cultural city-making that define "the city we need" as places where people of all backgrounds can feel welcome, regardless of their nationality, place of birth, or relationship to the state. In the same way, the cosmopolis as described in Article III becomes meaningful only when it is based on a recognition of the importance of welcoming and supporting others.

Considering the diversity and differences in urban cultures, *public spaces* are frequently used as a means to interact, learn about, and respect different cultures. In the dissertation, it is argued that open, public spaces should be designed to facilitate interactions and increase participation among urban residents, therefore contributing to a more inclusive society. In articles II, III, and IV, it is posited that communication is limited in cities that lack shared urban space, and without relationships, contacts, socialization, and dialogue, it is difficult to understand people who live with differences. Public and open space is also celebrated and valued as a symbol of diversity and inclusion, even if it is surrounded by urban controversies. Similar to articles II, III, and IV, these spaces imply a value on shared social relations and even a sense of belonging to collective urban culture and temporary localities within cities. In Article IV, open spaces or spaces of encounter described as examples of how government policies can contribute to realizing the cosmopolitan dream of leaving no one behind are discussed. Further, it is important to closely observe how everyday life and interaction are conducted in these spaces to ensure a shared sense of urban identity, as shown in Article IV. Articles II and IV focus on Chinatown as a case example of an urban space to present a normative understanding of urban living, promoting tolerance for differences, celebrating diversity, and encouraging community interaction. In Article IV, the administration of these areas for interaction is referred to as policing practice.

As a result, all the articles in this study relate in terms of defining urban culture as a multidisciplinary strategy that aims to clarify how culture is constructed and governed, thus providing a basis for urban life and interaction. This includes cultural practices, ethnic representations, and spatial representations, which shape the character of urban life and the cultural environment. In addition, the interaction between global and urban governance of culture provides policymakers and governments with an opportunity to restructure and develop the spaces that produce different cultures to be inclusive of all societies in cities. Due to these changes, social, economic, political, and cultural dynamics in everyday urban life must be considered through new theoretical frameworks to understand how they affect residents and visitors, as discussed in the articles. It is stated in Article III, for instance, that diversity is achieved by recognizing and balancing differences, which facilitates interaction and cohesion among residents and visitors. As a result, diversity and difference are emphasized in Article IV as specific forms of governance practices, such as the importance of knowledge-based government, as well as valuing personal liberties, cultural values, and resident participation. Therefore, there is a need to establish a broader definition of culture that includes everyone, and a more detailed definition of policy that aligns with UN-Habitat's global manifesto—*The City We Need*—rather than relying solely on the administration to function. Cultural governance in cities requires a set of government techniques, strategies, and frameworks in order to be recognized, understood, and governed. As such, global and urban cultures have been examined, constructed, and explored from a theoretical and methodological perspective in the research articles that have been utilized for this dissertation.

Next, I turn my attention to the conclusion, which summarizes both the main objective of the dissertation and the three research questions, as well as the manner in which these questions were addressed.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The study of urban culture has evolved in the past few years into a broad field within urban studies that is of interest to both scholars and policymakers (Amin, 2008; Wirth, 1938; 1940). In order to fully comprehend the complexity of cities and their cultures, more detailed and interdisciplinary research of this kind is required, and new approaches are necessary. For cities to improve the quality of lives, it is essential to be able to detect emerging global–urban interactions, sociocultural changes, and the implications they may have on urban governance and policy formulation. For Wirth (1938), urbanization can be viewed as an approach to life and a rational approach to government. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the dynamics of urban life and the relationships between different groups of people. As defined in this context, culture is a process of creating meaning about the world and the objects that embody those meanings (Borer, 2006; Williams, 1958). In this regard, it is imperative to understand the role of culture in urbanization as well as how people's needs and interests are expressed in cities. Understanding urban culture is key to creating a sustainable, inclusive, and equitable urban environment.

As discussed in section 1.2, urban culture refers to the interaction between daily life activities, the environment surrounding them, discursive discourse, ideologies, and sociocultural policies (Gillberg et al., 2012, p. 5). This concept describes how urban space governance affects and transforms city life. This includes regulating the patterns and expressions of cultural practices that shape the fabric, forms, and physical spaces in which urban life takes shape. According to this definition, urban culture includes a wide range of fields that try to make people more aware of how cultural policies change the way things look and feel in cities, laying the groundwork for urban development.

As part of this research, I examined how the meanings and rationality of urban cultures are governed in cities, as well as who governs them and how they are governed. This question has been addressed through a number of empirical case studies (in articles I–IV). To examine the shifts in the meaning of urban culture, case studies have been utilized as a means of understanding the shifts. As a general aim, this study examined the process through which cities and institutions of global governance strive to regulate and organize culture within cosmopolitan urban contexts. To achieve the primary objective, three research questions were formulated:

1. In what ways does globalization and internationalization challenge traditional urban cultures in big cities (Sydney and Helsinki)?
2. How does globalization and the policies of international organizations (UNESCO and UN-Habitat) affect cultural policies at the city level?
3. What is the role of cultural policies in governing the diversity of urban areas and cultural differences?

The empirical case studies (articles I–IV) examined urban culture from two different perspectives: as a way of life and as a creative foundation for urban development. Several data sets have been utilized in order to investigate the research questions (as described in 4.2.2). Also, the main objective and research questions were centered around the ways in which the underlying ideological cultural influence of the United Nations (specifically, UN-Habitat and UNESCO) manifests itself in urban policy. As a theoretical framework, the study draws upon Foucault's studies on governmentality and cosmopolitanism (see Chapter 3). In the following paragraphs, the three sub-questions are discussed, along with the manner in which they were addressed.

Research question 1 has been addressed by the study by demonstrating that ideologies, rationality, mentalities, and discourses facilitate the interaction between traditional urban culture and global cultural influences. It is evident that discursively global ideologies and discourses lay the foundation for urban cultural policy, which determines how words, expressions, and meanings are used in accordance with governmental rationality. As part of this thesis, I argue that the processes of the United Nations (specifically, those of UNESCO and UN-Habitat) are characterized by ideology and rationality. By examining these international processes, my thesis argues that the power of global discourse and ideology is reflected in the urban cultural policies of today, ultimately shaping the way words and meanings are structured and used in everyday ways of life. This has a significant impact on how cultural policy and diversity are understood and discussed in cities, as well as how they are implemented. In this context, ideology, discourse, and rationality serve as self-fulfilling machines that correspond to the premises that underlie the governance and urban processes of living together. Also, it is important to note that a further aspect of UN-Habitat's mission is to attain safer and sustainable urbanization for all mankind through its first principle (leaving no one behind by 2030). On the other hand, UNESCO is an international lead organization for culture that is committed to serving the people of the world, regardless of the conflicting allegiances the organization may possess from time to time. It is important to note that both UNESCO and UN-Habitat systems are characterized by a fundamental contradiction between urban cultures shaped by the practicalities of nation-states and global influence based on human solidarity ideals. In this study, Sydney and Helsinki are used as examples of contradictory notions of urban cultural policy. It examines the discursive framing and norms governing globalization/international ideology (of the UN in particular) of urban cultures, as well as how policymakers adhere to a program determined by the ideology of this universal philosophy. This dissertation demonstrated that cosmopolitanism can be viewed as both an ideology when applied to international settings and also as a rationality when applied to urban settings.

Research Question 2 is answered by looking at the role that globalization and policies play in relation to the key themes identified at the city level—such as urban space, diversity, identity (citizenship), rights, participation, inclusion, and creativity—which can be thought of as discursive discourses, perspectives, and ideologies. In this study, globalization and transnational organizations such as UNESCO and UN-Habitat have had an impact on the conception of public space, resulting in a different approach to thinking and governing. It has been demonstrated in this dissertation that the purpose of these spaces in cities such as Sydney and Helsinki are to encourage the construction of attractive venues that encourage urban inclusion, facilitate interaction, enhance participation in sociocultural activities, and strengthen the ability of the city to create spaces for encounter and interaction between its residents and visitors. Furthermore, in order to facilitate such developments at the local level, it is necessary to rethink the relationship between universal ideology (cosmopolitan) within international organizations and governmental rationality (cosmopolitan strategy) at the local level. Since international organizations influence urban policies and lifestyles, in addition to their ideology, governments and city councils are also faced with limitations on nationality and citizenship rights. According to the dissertation, this multiple, overlapping loyalty that is continuous across languages, races, religions, and nationalities facilitates cosmopolitan rationality in governance. There have been several factors contributing to this development, such as global urban migration and diversity, as well as the growing demand for recognition of different lifestyles and preferences.

In this study, cosmopolitanism has been incorporated into law and institutions as a philosophical ideology derived from international organizations (UNESCO and UN-Habitat) as well as a rationality for city governments (Sydney and Helsinki) in facilitating living together in cities. In many ways, this transformation has altered the way the nation-state and the urban population live, including the recognition and embracing of patterns and expressions that are unique to the nation-state and the city. According to this research, cosmopolitan ideas have contributed to city councils' growing interest in policy. This has led to changes that are already happening in public domains and areas, as well as the realization of an alternative society's goal of leaving no one behind (see, e.g., the analysis section of Article II of this dissertation). In addition, as a further theme identified, creativity is important (e.g., in Article II). Cities invest in creativity in order to enlighten and attract subjects, and by doing so, they improve their attractiveness and safety as well as improving the beauty of their cities. As a result, cities become enlightened when their governmental rationality focuses on living together without discrimination, resulting in the creativity and labor of individuals. The study found that creativity provides positive meaning to the social and cultural surroundings of citizens as well as other members of society.

Research question 3 related to how cultural policies contribute to the governance of diversity and cultural differences within cities. According to this dissertation, it appears that the governance of diversity and differences in cities has a significant impact on both explicit and implicit cultural policy practices of city governments. As well, UN-Habitat in this study, however, treated diversity and differences as implicit cultural policy, whereas UNESCO presented them as explicit cultural policies. As a result, the implicit cultural policy can be seen as a political strategy intended to

influence the culture of a given space and the people over which it operates (see the discussion of Chinatown in Article IV for a practical example of this) (cf. Ahearne, 2009). Therefore, it is possible to distinguish between the influence of globalization, the governance of diversity, the differences between various types of policies, their consequences, and the deliberate actions that alter the city and the behavior of individuals without explicitly stating that intention in the policies and programs or naming it as a cultural policy.

As a result of this dissertation, I emphasize that urban culture is crucial to creating alternative interpretations of the past in recent contexts and to recognizing diversity and differences in urban areas. This dissertation considers the governance of diversity as a significant way of ensuring UN-Habitat's urban agenda: no one is left behind in cities. In addition to contributing to the creation of a universal culture, the cultural policies of cities such as Sydney and Helsinki facilitate the promotion of tolerance among their residents, who respect and recognize the cultures of those regarded as others, thereby enabling peaceful coexistence within a multicultural-focused space well-governed by policies and regulations. It is imperative to note that the diversity governance model in cities represents the considerable amount of liberal governance employed as a form of cultural policing, manifesting itself in specific situations as well as in positive interventions aimed at improving residents' and visitors' quality of life. As a result, cultural policy must be able to keep diversity and differences in check. Toward addressing research question 3, the dissertation re-conceptualizes the governance of diversity and differences to understand the cultural implications of living together and to encourage tolerance towards others. It is therefore essential for cultural policy to be designed in such a way that it ensures the preservation of diverse cultures as well as fosters greater understanding of diverse worldviews and ideologies.

Following the explanation of the research questions above, this dissertation concludes by stating that researchers should further explore the topic and examine the mechanisms by which cities and institutions of global governance organize and regulate culture within cosmopolitan urban contexts. It is also important to note that what occurs in urban areas is not predictable. Throughout this dissertation, the primary objective has been thoroughly examined based on the specific goals and empirical analysis presented in articles I to IV. The results demonstrate the ways in which institutions of global governance (specifically UN-Habitat and UNESCO) and cities (Sydney and Helsinki) work together through ideology, discourse, rationality, and other forms of cultural influence to make sure that all issues are brought to the attention of policymakers in cities. In spite of the fact that the dissertation provides a broad overview of the research goal, its empirical focus is only on urban governance from a cultural perspective. To gain a broader understanding of the topic, the goals, and the challenges cities face, future research must examine all aspects of urban governance, including those governed by policymakers. In addition, the study had several limitations, the most noteworthy of which were the language barrier and the COVID-19 restrictions. Despite these limitations, however, this dissertation still represents the first study of cosmopolitanism as a rationality or mentality of government. As a result of this doctoral research, I have gained a tremendous amount of knowledge and experience, and I have found it immensely rewarding.

ANNEX

List of Tables and Figures

A. List for Helsinki, Finland

Helsinki in Europe

Comparison of cities in the Baltic Sea region

	Total population		Change (%) in 5 years	Proportion of population	
	City	Region	City	15 years or younger	65 years or older
Helsinki[1]	653,835	1,511,337	4.1	14.3	17.2
Stockholm[1]	974,073	2,374,550	5.5	17.1	14.9
Oslo[1]	693,494	1,305,126[2]	7.1	17.3	12.5
Copenhagen[1]	632,340	2,045,259	6.9	15.8	10.3
Tallinn[2]	434,562	598,059	5.7	16.0	18.4
Riga[2]	632,614	632,614	–1.7	15.5	20.4
Vilnius[2]	552,131	815,430	2.3	17.3	16.2
Warsaw[2]	1,790,658	5,423,168	3.0	15.4	19.4
Berlin[3]	3,644,826	3,644,826	5.0	13.9	19.2
St Petersburg[4]	5,281,600	5,281,600	7.2	13.7	15.9

Year of latest population data:
[1]2020 [2]2019 [3]2018 [4]2017

Figure 4. Helsinki population in Europe

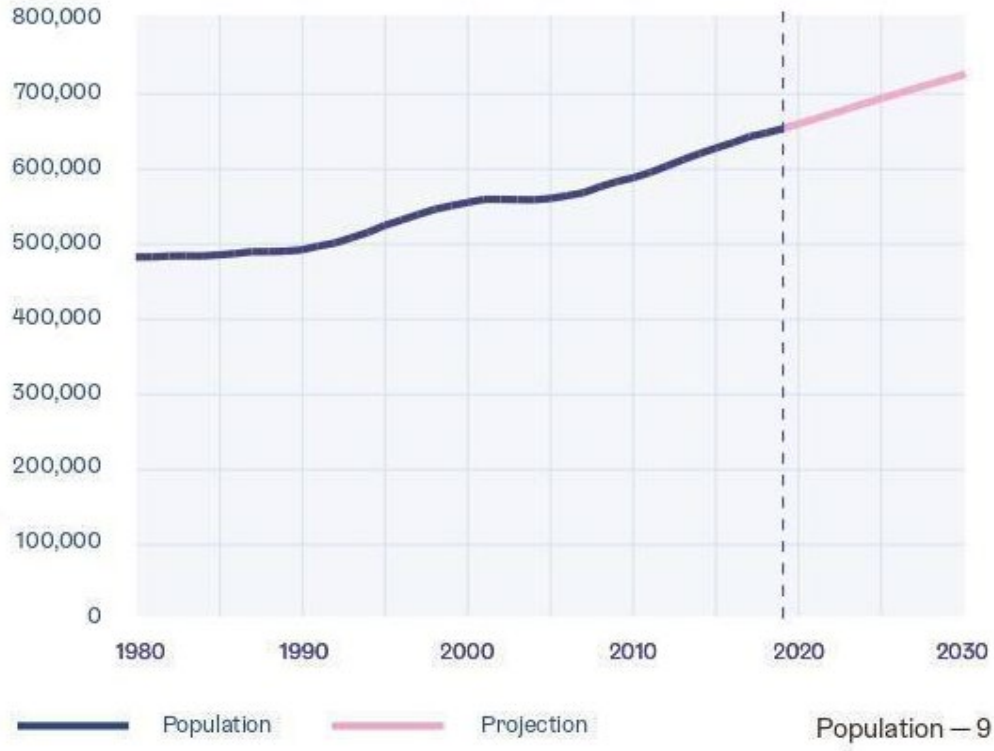
Source: City of Helsinki, 2020

Population changes (2018)

	Helsinki	Helsinki Region
Births	6,388	14,763
Deaths	5,191	10,416
In-migrants	42,286	51,860
Out-migrants	38,526	39,237

The population of Helsinki increased by 0.9% in 2019.

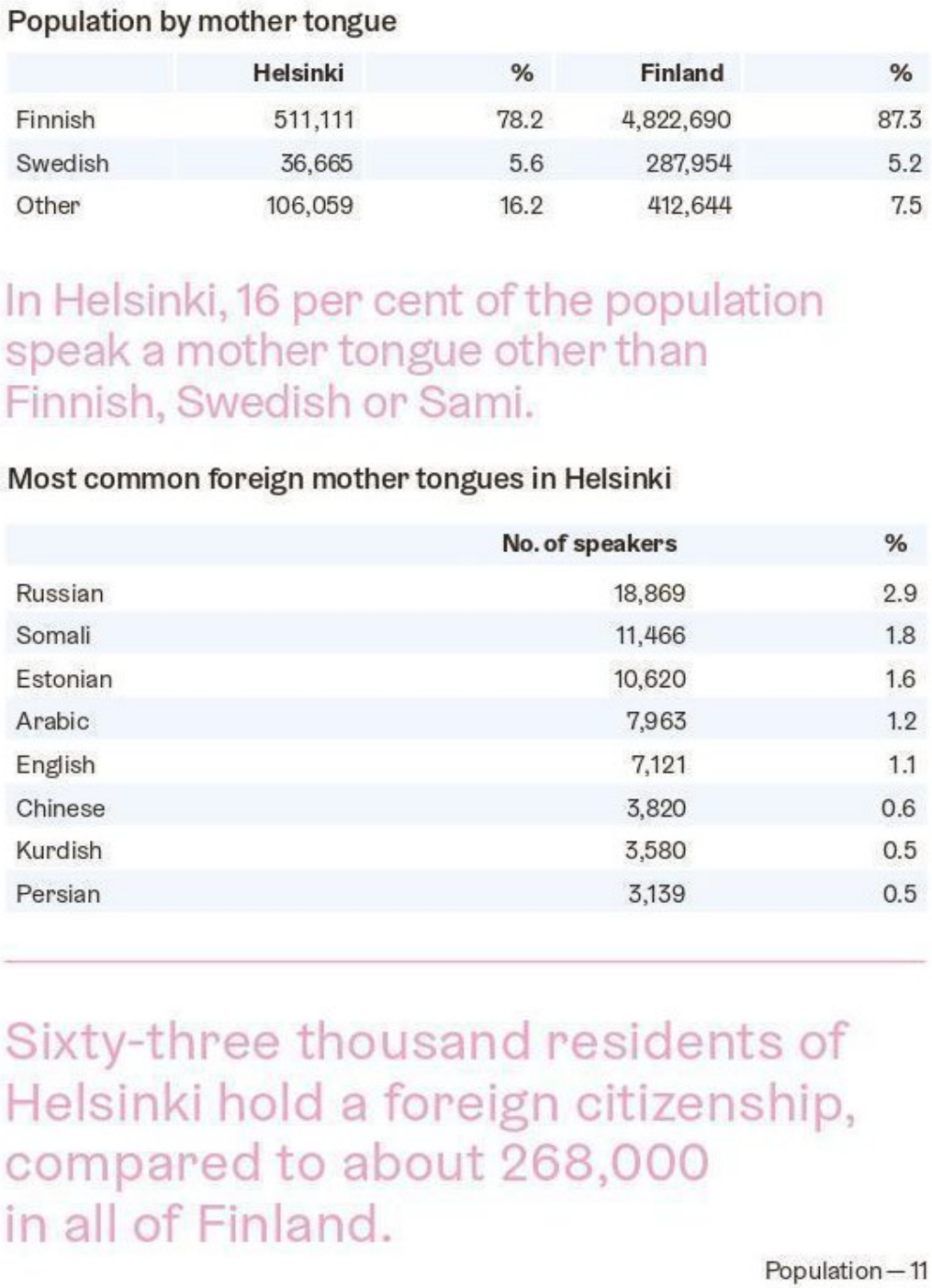
Population of Helsinki 1980–2019 and projection to 2030



Population — 9

Figure 5. Helsinki Population changes

Source: City of Helsinki, 2020



Population by mother tongue

	Helsinki	%	Finland	%
Finnish	511,111	78.2	4,822,690	87.3
Swedish	36,665	5.6	287,954	5.2
Other	106,059	16.2	412,644	7.5

In Helsinki, 16 per cent of the population speak a mother tongue other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami.

Most common foreign mother tongues in Helsinki

	No. of speakers	%
Russian	18,869	2.9
Somali	11,466	1.8
Estonian	10,620	1.6
Arabic	7,963	1.2
English	7,121	1.1
Chinese	3,820	0.6
Kurdish	3,580	0.5
Persian	3,139	0.5

Sixty-three thousand residents of Helsinki hold a foreign citizenship, compared to about 268,000 in all of Finland.

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Figure 6. Population by Ethnicity in Helsinki and Finland

Source: City of Helsinki, 2020

Figure 7. Helsinki tourist map

Source: Trip Indicator, 2022

B. List for Sydney, Australia

Table 1.

Population

City of Sydney - Total persons	2016			2011			Change
Population	Number	%	Greater Sydney %	Number	%	Greater Sydney %	2011 to 2016
Estimated Resident Population	222,717	--	--	183,281	--	--	+39,436
Enumerated Population	225,733	--	--	181,764	--	--	+43,969
Usual Resident Population	208,374	--	--	169,501	--	--	+38,873

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing 2011 and 2016. Compiled and presented in profile.id by .id (informed decisions).

Table 2.

Selected subpopulation categories

City of Sydney - Total people (Usual residence)	2016			2011			Change
Population group	Number	%	Greater Sydney %	Number	%	Greater Sydney %	2011 to 2016
Males	107,852	51.8	49.3	89,561	52.8	49.2	+18,291
Females	100,530	48.2	50.7	79,940	47.2	50.8	+20,590
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population	2,417	1.2	1.5	2,178	1.3	1.2	+239
Australian citizens	116,534	55.9	79.5	105,229	62.1	82.5	+11,305
Eligible voters (citizens aged 18+)	103,754	49.8	60.0	94,564	55.8	62.4	+9,190
Population over 15	194,334	93.3	81.3	157,451	92.9	80.8	+36,883
Employed Population	117,258	94.0	94.0	96,786	94.2	94.3	+20,472
Overseas visitors (enumerated)	23,788	--	--	15,021	--	--	+8,767

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing 2011 and 2016 (Usual residence). Compiled and presented in profile.id by .id (informed decisions).

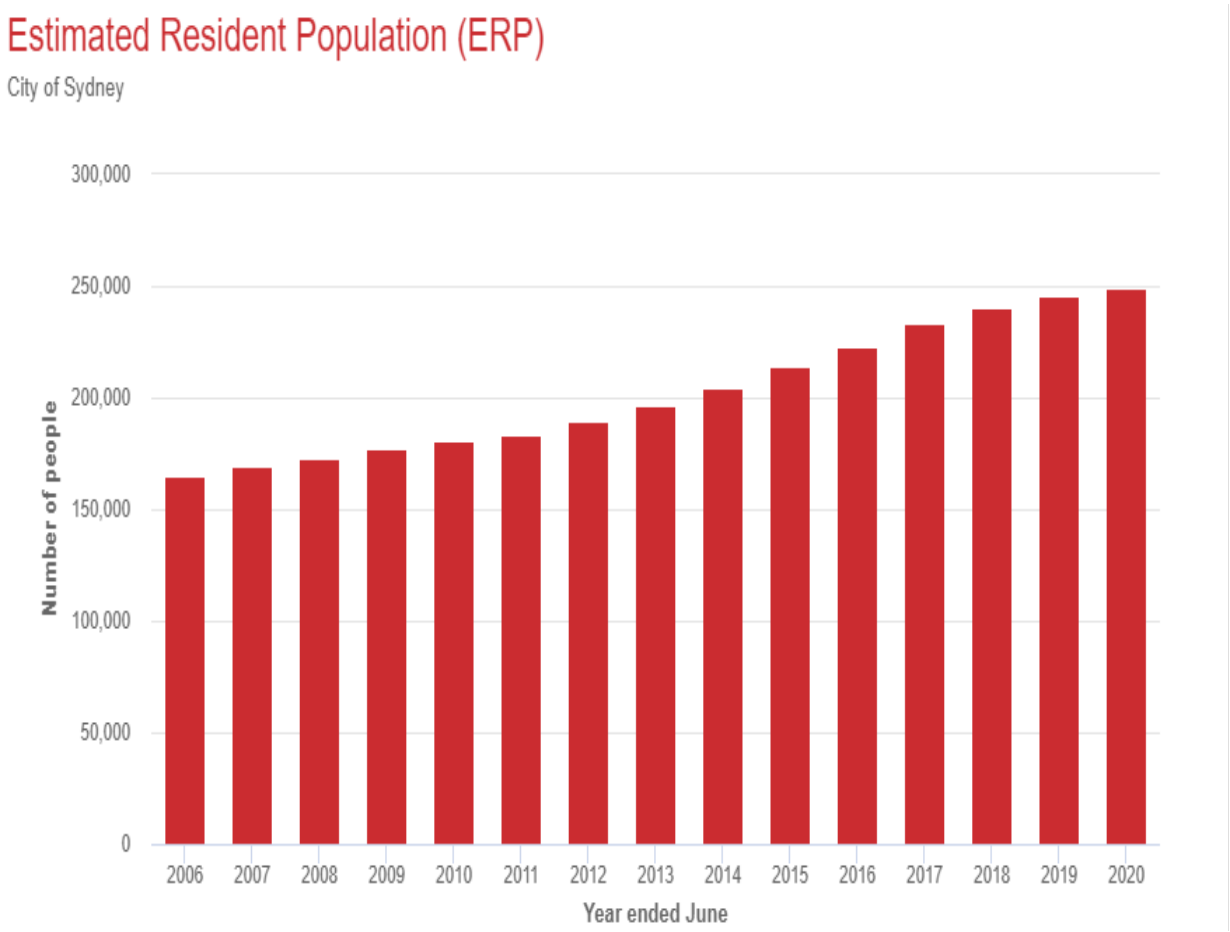

Figure 8.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Regional Population Growth, Australia (3218.0). Compiled and presented in profile. id by .id (informed decisions).

Table 3.

Proficiency in English

City of Sydney - Overseas born	2016			2011			Chang
English proficiency	Number	%	City of Sydney - Total population %	Number	%	City of Sydney - Total population %	2011 to 2
Speaks English only	33,672	33.8	51.5	29,241	40.5	57.1	+4,4
Speaks another language, and English well or very well	53,914	54.0	30.0	35,059	48.6	24.9	+18,8
Speaks another language, and English not well or not at all	11,671	11.7	6.2	7,330	10.2	4.9	+4,3
Not stated	508	0.5	12.4	505	0.7	13.0	
Total people	99,765	100.0	100.0	72,135	100.0	100.0	+27,6

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Regional Population Growth, Australia (3218.0). Compiled and presented in profile. id by .id (informed decisions).

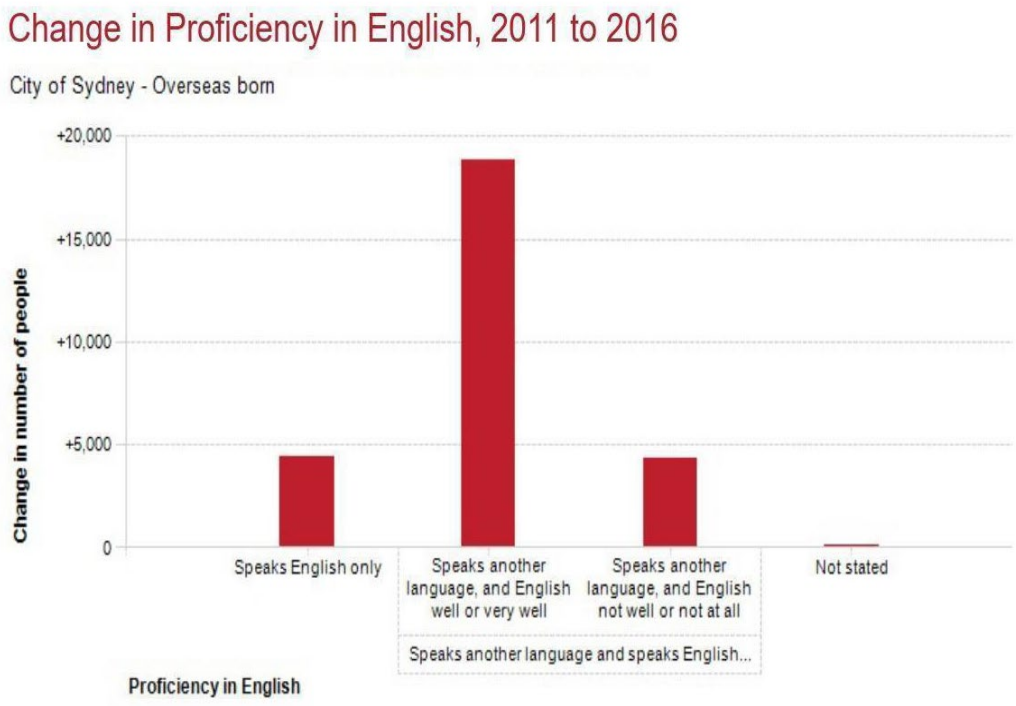

Figure 9.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Regional Population Growth, Australia (3218.0). Compiled and presented in profile. id by .id (informed decisions).

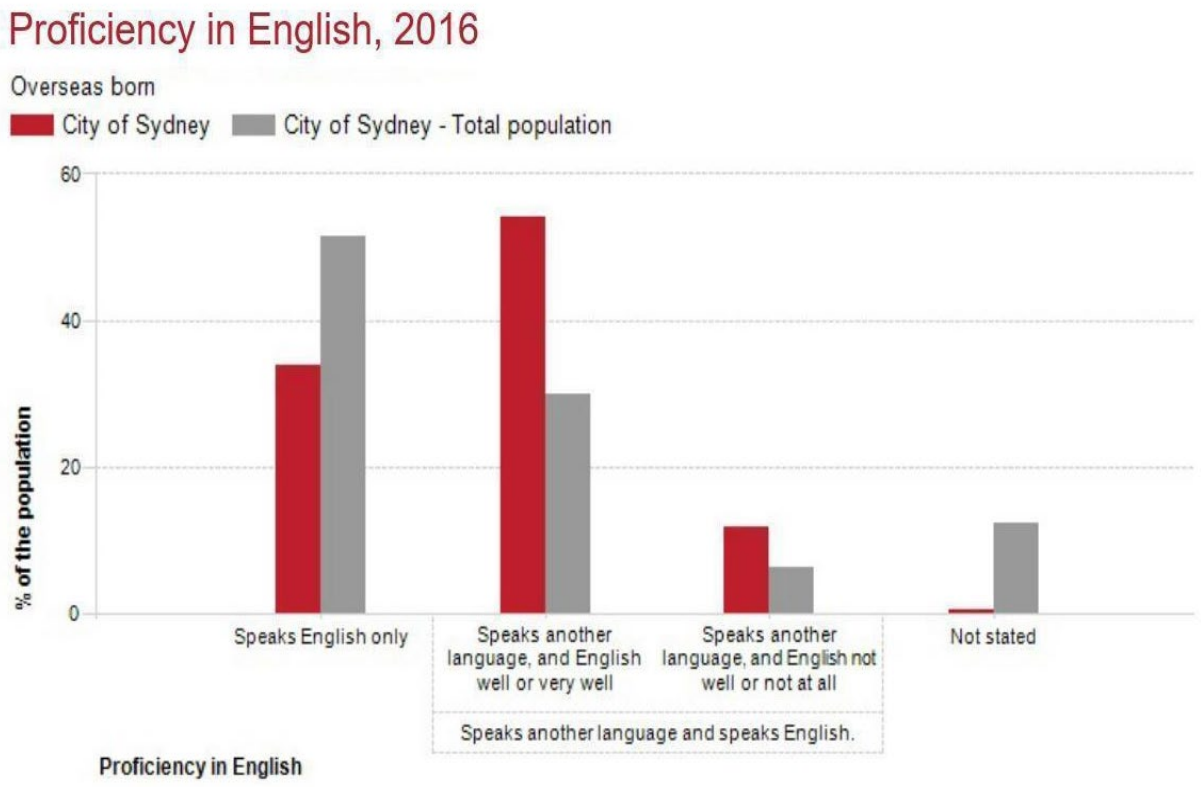

Figure 10.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Regional Population Growth, Australia (3218.0). Compiled and presented in profile. id by .id (informed decisions).

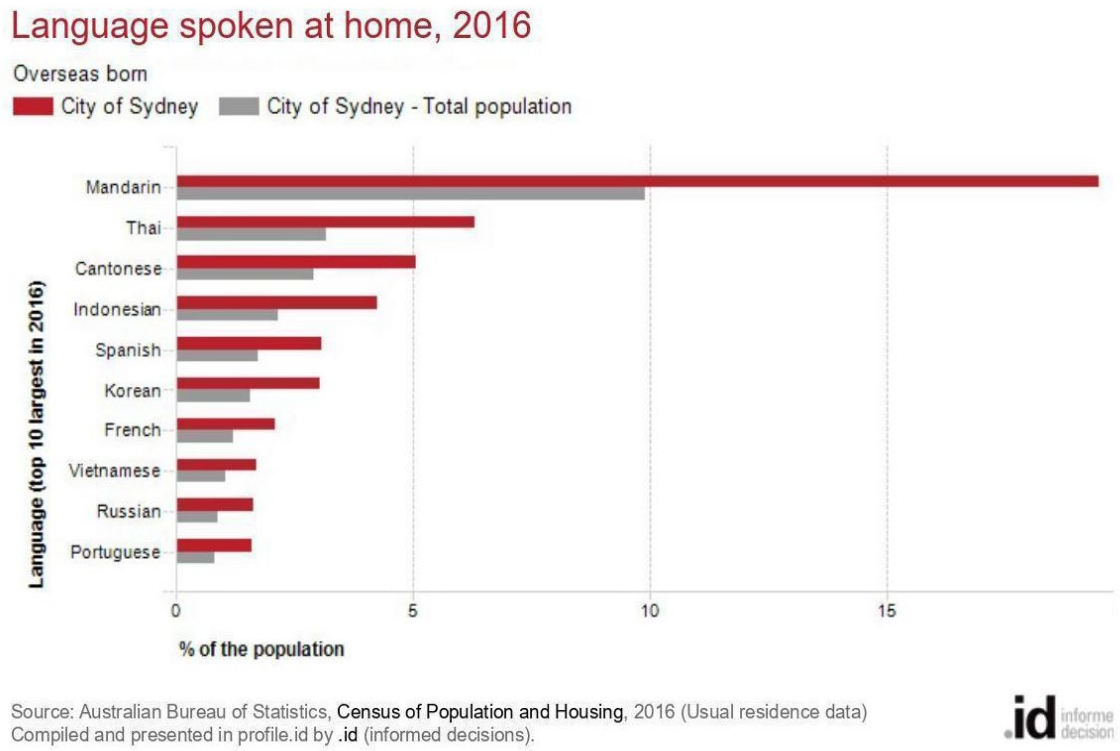

Figure 11.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Regional Population Growth, Australia (3218.0). Compiled and presented in profile. id by .id (informed decisions).

Figure 12. Sydney's Tourist Map

Source: Trip Indicator, 2022

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ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

COSMOPOLITAN INTERNATIONALISM: UNESCO'S IDEOLOGICAL AMBIGUITY AND THE DIFFERENCE/DIVERSITY PROBLEMATIC

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ARTICLE

Cosmopolitan internationalism: UNESCO's ideological ambiguity and the difference/diversity problematic

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the ways in which UNESCO's ideological engagements are negotiated in the difference/diversity discourse as they are transferred from the international standard-setting level to the national and local contexts. It proposes the discursive construction of cosmopolitan internationalism as a framework for analysing the intersections of difference, located in the practicalities of internationalism, and diversity, tied to the ideals of cosmopolitanism, as they are manifested at the level of both the implementation of UNESCO's Diversity Convention and urban policy making in the city of Sydney. The analysis suggests that ruptures challenging the homogenising diversity discourse rise from the national and local policy-making level, with such discourse simultaneously becoming an instrument for international differentiation. UNESCO's normative cosmopolitan international tradition thus manifests itself as an obstacle against the emergence of transnational political spaces beyond the confines of the state, while it also carries with it a promise of facilitating such developments.

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Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is an actor defined by its ideological aspirations. As one of the most notable post-war peace organisations, ideologically grounded moral argumentation is both UNESCO's primary means of legitimising its own existence and justifying the realisability of its mandate and mission. On the ideological level, UNESCO's strategy is to benefit humankind as a whole, but the attempts to put its ideals into practice have proven challenging (see e.g. Duedahl 2016), as UNESCO suffers from inefficiency in the implementation of its resolutions, declarations, conventions, and initiatives. Most notably the World Heritage Programme (see e.g. Foster and Gilman 2015; Lázaro Ortiz and de Madariaga Celeste 2021) and the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity (see e.g. De Beukelaer, Pyykkönen, and Singh 2015) have been a source of major controversy and criticism. Yet, UNESCO's ideological basis has remained solid since its outset (see e.g. Singh 2010).

The part UNESCO plays on the world political stage is to function as a mediator between nations and cultures, and more importantly, as a preventative force against the problems possibly arising from the differences between them. UNESCO (1945) Constitution points a finger to *cultural difference* as the root cause of war and conflict: 'That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war' (UNESCO 1945, Preamble). Yet, at the same time, the Constitution rather confusingly calls for the preservation

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of *cultural diversity*: 'With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of the Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction' (UNESCO (1945), Article 1(3)).

Diversity is thus positioned as a positive phenomenon worth protecting and preserving, and located within the state. Difference, on the other hand, is an ultimately negative force and exists in the gaps between states. Conceptualisable through the moral perspective of cosmopolitanism and the political principle of internationalism, respectively, diversity becomes the business of the people, while difference is that of the state. Much has, however, changed since UNESCO's founding in 1945, as the safeguarding of cultural diversity has determinately been transferred into the inter-state realm, complicating the matter even further. These developments took their most concrete form in UNESCO's Our Creative Diversity report (1995) and the 'Diversity Convention'' (UNESCO 2005) with the recognition of national differences becoming a foundation for UNESCO's diversity policy as well.

This article takes as a starting point the ideological entanglements of the slightly contradictory notions of difference and diversity within the world order UNESCO aims to establish. The aim of this article is to examine the ways in which the ideologisation of UNESCO's core principles is discursively framed on the international standard setting level, how the norms for its practical implementation are set, and how policy makers, in turn, follow the programme set by the ideologisation process of these principles. It addresses the question of how UNESCO's ideological engagements are negotiated in the difference/diversity discourse as they are transferred from the international standard-setting level to the national and local contexts. In order to do so, we propose an analytical framework we call *the discursive construction of cosmopolitan internationalism*, which provides the conceptual means to address the state/non-state dynamic within the UNESCO system through the notions of difference and diversity. In this conceptualisation, cosmopolitanism refers to the value base of world citizenship and shared world culture, while internationalism serves the purpose of maintaining the practicalities of the primacy of the nation state within the UNESCO system.

UNESCO's founding followed a wider trend of cultural internationalism, or 'the fostering of international cooperation through cultural activities across national boundaries' (Iriye 1997, 3), a development in international politics starting from the late 1800s. Already in the UNESCO Constitution, the explicitly stated purpose of the organisation was to increase mutual understanding between nations and to promote its view on common heritage through emphasising the diffuse and diverse elements of culture, which together were seen to formulate a net-like world culture (UNESCO 1945). The shift to understanding culture in terms of a way of life and focus on the issues of development emphasised this side of UNESCOs work even more from the late 1950s onwards, as the organisation's initial focus on post-war reconstruction gave way to addressing new challenges brought about by the exhilarating decolonisation process. At the same time, the new opposition created by the Cold War ensured that antagonistic ideological engagements became a central component in both shaping the UNESCO system and questioning the basis of the trust placed in international post-war peace organisations (Sluga 2013). UNESCO's role as a strategic organisation of cultural and educational diplomacy and peacekeeping was crucial during the Cold War era (Singh 2010). This enhanced UNESCO's role not only as a formulator of international norms, but also of international ideology.

This article turns to the notion of political ideology with the aim of locating the occasionally contradicting intersections of the practicalities of internationalism and the ideals of cosmopolitanism. It analyses the step from the international policy principles to national policy directing guidelines and finally to the implementation of those guidelines into practice on the local level, making use of two specific case studies. The first case concerns the principles of national differences, cultural diversity, and one-worldism as expressed in UNESCO's Diversity Convention (UNESCO 2005), and both UNESCO's own guidelines and national guidelines for its implementation. The Diversity Convention has been ratified by 150 countries (August 2021). When ratifying the Convention, a country becomes legally bound to the terms stated in it. The Intergovernmental Committee (IC)

that oversees the implementation of the Convention created regularly updated 'Operational Guidelines' (OG) in 2007. Forming a part of the data of the first case, "[t]hey are to be considered as a 'roadmap' for [national] understanding, interpretation and implementation of specific articles of the Convention" (UNESCO 2021a). The guidelines define a framework of 'obligatory passage points' (Callon 1986) that member states should follow when implementing the Convention. The main data of the first case consists of the period reports that the IC has required countries to submit every four years since 2012 (see UNESCO 2021b). At the time of writing this, there were 248 of them.

The second part of the analysis descends from the national to the local level, examining views on and understandings of the jointly held principles set out in the Convention and the ways they guide – or don't guide – local policymaking. The analysis turns to the politics of difference and diversity through the notions of welcoming and inclusion in the urban policy making context by analysing data obtained by interviewing policy makers in Sydney, Australia. Australia has been a party to the Convention since 2009. Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with two key government socio-cultural policy actors from the New South Wales Department of Planning, Industry and Environment and the City of Sydney Local Government Area (LGA) between September and December 2019. Starting from the premise that cultural diversity is vital to what makes cities attractive, creative, safe, and sustainable (UNESCO 2016), the analysis connects the local level with the principles and values expressed in the Diversity Convention as a vital part of UNESCO's mainstream discourse. The analysis also investigates the (theoretical) cosmopolitan ideals that undertone UNESCO's ideological construction concerning cultural diversity, differences and one-worldism which UNESCO seeks to establish in cities and in and between nation-states. The case-studies have been selected on the following basis: UNESCO's Diversity Convention is one of its key mechanisms in trying to tackle the challenges of the globalising world according to its ideological canvas. Australia has been an active party both in the creation of the Convention and its implementation. Sydney strives for being a model city for cosmopolitanism and diversity, and refers to the Convention in these endeavours (Sydney 2017; Mar and Ang 2015).

We have used critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the analysis method of the data. In CDA the focus is on the textual production of ideologies and power relations and structures (see e.g. Fairclough 2013; van Dijk 2006). Utilising discourse analysis as the main methodological device, the focus of inquiry is placed on the different ways UNESCO's underlying ideological engagements are manifested in the form of specific discourses. Our focus is specifically on the significations and ideologies, but we also look at the relations and structural implementations through the analysis of the difference/diversity significations in different contexts (UNESCO, nation-states and one capital city). In practice we – by following one of Foucault's (1972) key rules of archaeology of knowledge – observe the regularities in the data texts. The group of utterances, themes, and keywords with a regular relation to each other and a regular way of objectifying their targets, give significance and regular order to the words and concepts used. The analysis of utterances then reveals how certain – and, by definition, arbitrary – words and concepts formulate statements, which represent cosmopolitan internationalism in a particular way.

For the purposes of the CDA, ideology is understood following Ball and Dagger (1991, 8–10) as 'a fairly coherent and comprehensive set of ideas that explains and evaluates social conditions, helps people understand their place in society, and provides a program for social and political action'. A political ideology thus performs four functions in its attempts at linking ideas to action: 1) the explanatory, 2) the evaluative, 3) the orientative, and 4) the programmatic. The relationship between discourse and ideology is understood as reciprocal. Ideologies influence the formation of discourses, and discourses construct and reproduce ideologies (Fairclough 2013, 25–69; van Dijk 2006). Through determining the possibilities to think and speak about a certain issue, ideological discourses tend to control beliefs and attitudes of their 'users' (van Dijk 2006, 116). In this case, they define how diversity and difference, and cosmopolitanism and internationalism should be approached. Yet, as our analysis will show, such 'indoctrination', starting from the international and descending through the national level to the local level, is far from an effortless and straightforward endeavour.

The discursive formation of the political ideology of cosmopolitan internationalism

In the context of international organisations, ideologies essentially speak to the question of how societies – both domestic and international – should be organised according to specific interests and ideals (see e.g. Voeten 2021). The distribution of ideas serving certain interests requires the ideologisation of meanings and frames of signification, i.e. discourses. This takes place by using discursive, rhetorical, and practical means and strategies through which particular opinions and views are represented as truths and related actions as compulsory and inevitable. This requires mastery of the necessary means of communication; the ability to mobilise the right kinds of knowledge producers, such as legitimate experts; appropriately problematic social conditions for backing up the arguments; and the right kind of problematisation of existing rationalities, discourses, and practices (van Dijk 2006, 36; Laclau 1996, 35–39). In institutional and organisational settings – like the one UNESCO provides – the ideologisation is easier than in arbitrary contexts, because these structures and practices prevail.

UNESCO's paradoxical vision of the organisation of the international community, manifested in the notion of 'the one world ideal', or the cultural unity of all humankind (see e.g. Duedahl 2011; Pemberton 2001, 121–3; Sluga 2010), lies at the root of the problem with addressing UNESCO's ideological underpinnings. When it comes to UNESCO's call for the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind as the basis of a peaceful conduct of world affairs, the central paradox is embedded in the juxtaposition between national interests and cosmopolitan ideals characteristic to the UNESCO system. In the words of Niebuhr (1950, 10): 'In one sense the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind is an unattainable goal. The world community will be distinguished from particular national communities for ages to come by the higher degree of heterogeneity in its moral, intellectual, ethnic and linguistic forms of culture'. To make it possible to realise UNESCO's vision in practice, this heterogeneity – based, however, in this case still on a traditional division between ethnically and linguistically constituted nation states – must be made natural and normative. This then requires the ideologisation of the key concepts, and the values and the practices they bear. In the case of this article, it is the idea of cosmopolitan internationalism that has to go through this formulation in different contexts.

The main challenge to this could be phrased in the words of Sathyamurthy (1964, 16) as 'the irreconcilable demands of nationalism and internationalism' within the UNESCO system. Buehrig (1976, 680), commenting on early UNESCO's 'tribulations', likewise identifies a fundamental contradiction. The relationship between the organisation's internationalist aims and its practical influence on fields such as national education was marked by an intrinsic juxtaposition, which would suggest a reinforcement of national differences instead of promoting internationalism. For UNESCO, however, the national and the international are intrinsically dependent on each other rather than in conflict – and rightly so, as internationalism by definition cannot exist without nations. Political scientist and one of the architects of UNESCO, Alfred Zimmern, noted in 1923, that in the traditional sense of the term, internationalism is concerned with cooperation between states, not between nations (Zimmern 1923). For Zimmern, true internationalism was about contact between nations. The same can be said for UNESCO, even though for practical reasons a nation is often equated with a state in UNESCO's rhetoric.

The notion of cultural diversity provides a novel solution to addressing the problem between nationalism and internationalism. UNESCO's understanding of cultural diversity puts forward the argument that not only the differences between countries but the differences between their citizens alike are something that should be understood as a common nominator for humankind and cherished in their potential to work as a unifying factor between nations. In its understanding that all states are, in fact, heterogeneous and consist of diverse cultural groups and their expressions, cultural diversity becomes a new way of emphasising such one-worldism.

In terms of cosmopolitanism, this is also a rather radical twist. Immanuel Kant (2006) believed that it was our duty to aspire towards the establishment of a cosmopolitan society, thus outlining what he saw to be the necessary conditions for the establishment of peace. For him, the ideal solution to achieving lasting, universal peace would have been a form of a world government that respects the human rights

of not only those with the status of a citizen, but also those of others. Yet, recognising that due to the restrictions posed by the likely reluctance of states to surrender their sovereignty, Kant was forced to compromise and to replace his ideal with a practical proposition much resembling internationalism – just as is the case with UNESCO. The Kantian tradition suggests that there are universal commitments to respect the moral worth of individuals everywhere (Miller 2007) and positions the nation state as well as the cities as an extension of welcoming and inclusion (Conley 2002).

Such commonly held principles of organising the international community that apply regardless of, but not detached from, particularistic interests form the basis of multilateral cooperation (Ruggie 1992, 571). While the high, principle-based cosmopolitan ideals UNESCO speaks of are ones we should all share as members of the human race, there are restrictions to how UNESCO can pursue its goals – namely its unbreakable ties with the nation state. Thus, the question of how well the practicalities of cultural difference rooted in the acknowledgement of separate national cultures fits together with the equally forceful ideal of globally shared values becomes pressing. It is precisely the ideological contestation embedded in the clashes between particularistic national interests and general, jointly held, principle-based ones that fundamentally shape the politics of multilateralism (Voeten 2021). In order to conceptualise the coexistence of the two levels of global communities making up the UNESCO system, this article proposes bridging these two together through what we call cosmopolitan internationalism. In this conceptualisation, internationalism refers to a community of states confined by formal borders and maintaining the practicalities of the primacy of the nation state, and cosmopolitanism to a community of different and diverse peoples transcending them and capturing the organisation's value base of world citizenship and shared world culture.

As Voeten (2021, 3) suggests, if we are to understand the challenges to the multilateral order in the form it takes in international institutions, we must take a serious look at the ways these principles are being challenged both nationally and internationally. In terms of this article, this means turning a critical eye to the ways UNESCO's idealistic principles are negotiated and contested as they are transferred from the international level to the national and local contexts.

The case specific discourse of analytically produced understandings of cosmopolitan internationalism in the UNESCO context is interpreted here in a framework within which to compare, contrast, and analyse ideologies, as proposed by Ball and Dagger (1991, 8–10). Ball and Dagger's framework provides a practical four-step model for examining ideologies and their practical manifestations while simultaneously serving to determine whether something actually is an ideology instead of, for example, a religion or a political programme – although it must be acknowledged that the boundaries between these can be rather hazy. An ideology, according to this model, must serve four primary functions. First, an ideology offers an explanation for why things are the way they are, be this in reference to social, political, or economic conditions. These explanations are often on the simple side, as this type of a formulation is more likely to convince the widest audience possible that the proposed explanation indeed is the best one for making sense of the world and what is happening in it. Second, an ideology seeks to evaluate the conditions it explains and to provide standards according to which its followers are to decide whether a certain action, policy, or state of affairs is good or bad, and to propose solutions for improvement if deemed to be the latter. Essentially, ideologies tell us what to think about the way things are, thus providing grounds for drastically different reactions to the same phenomena among the followers of differing ideologies. Third, an ideology supplies its followers with a sense of who they are and where and how they fit into society, providing orientation and identity in terms of their relationship with the world. Fourth and finally, an ideology sets out a program for social and political action. It gives guidelines and advice for what to do and how to move forward.

An ideology and its implementation

UNESCO is the most prominent international actor when it comes to signifying culture and setting norms and guidelines to realise them in practice (De Beukelaer, Pyykkönen, and Singh 2015; Garner 2016; Hoggart 1978; Singh 2010). Like all international players promoting specific causes and serving

certain interests, UNESCO needs to 'ideologisise' its messages, actions, and existence (Sluga 2013; Voeten 2021). It uses justificatory concepts with moral foundations the purpose of which is to make itself and its messages as self-evident and uncontested as possible. We observe two cases here, both of which explain how UNESCO discursively frames its ideology of cosmopolitan internationalism, sets norms to it and its implementation, and how countries and cities, in turn, follow UNESCO's 'programme' of cosmopolitanism in their practices.

The first case is about UNESCO's Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005). We pay specific attention to the Operational Guidelines (OG) that UNESCO has set for the ratified parties implementing the Convention (UNESCO 2009). We read the reports of the parties reflecting upon how they follow the 'spirit of the Convention' and the 'rules of practice'. The analysis opens a window for the relations and tensions that take place between international organisation and nation states in the post-Convention processes, where the ideological orientation and programming of the member states happens. The second case is the City of Sydney, where UNESCO (2016) positioned cultural diversity as a crucial component in the construction of the universal ideology of welcoming and inclusion, and where the protection and promotion of cultural expressions are promised to be guaranteed.

We follow Ball and Dagger's (1991) model in analysing how UNESCO explains the current conditions of cultural diversity and how it provides moral and normative standards for evaluating these conditions. As Ball and Dagger suggest, we also examine how the roles of the actors are defined and what the policies for them to follow are. Furthermore, the analysis sheds light on how cosmopolitan internationalism – like any other ideological constellation – is not a 'bullet-proof' discourse, but includes contradictions, cracks, and ruptures especially in the context of its implementation by parties such as nation states and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs).

Ideologisation, the state, and the diversity convention

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions defines UNESCO's principles, conceptualisations, and methods concerning cultural diversity and its enhancement. Translated into the terminology proposed by Ball and Dagger, the Convention lays the ideological normative foundations for contemporary cosmopolitan internationalism by explaining its core meanings, providing reasoning for its necessity, and evaluating and polishing its value and significance. It also aims to frame and stir up orientations towards it and create programmes for its implementation.

Concretely speaking, in the Convention, 'cultural diversity' refers primarily to cultural expressions: visual arts, music, heritage and traditions, crafts, cinema and theatre, but also to cultural differences between and among groups, organisations, and individuals. The spirit of cosmopolitanism emerges at the beginning of the Convention in the statements regarding its fundamental principles such as:

> *[a]ffirming* that cultural diversity is a defining characteristic of humanity
> and
>
> [b]*eing aware* that cultural diversity creates a rich and varied world, which increases the range of choices and nurtures human capacities and values, and therefore is a mainspring for sustainable development for communities, peoples and nations.

It is also outspoken in utterances describing how cultural diversity is part of human nature, basic rights, and equal opportunities for socioeconomic development. A reader familiar with the traditional, especially Kantian, discussions on cosmopolitanism notices that UNESCO is not giving up nations or ethnicities for the revelation of the 'citizen of the world'. Rather, it constellates a concurrency of belonging to a more or less definite ethnocultural entity, and respect for corresponding entities and their cultural expressions. We call this combination here cosmopolitan inter*nationalism*.

These somewhat cosmopolitan fundamentals build upon UNESCO's 'one-worldism' written in its Constitution, which not only positions cultures as different due to the contexts of their birth and existence, but also because of the variances in identity production rooted in national or ethnic institutions. These differences are seen as 'natural' and therefore they create 'natural' tensions between nations, cultures, and communities. On the other hand, the Constitution envisions a peaceful coexistence of cultures, rooted in the idea that precisely because of its internal differences, mankind needs ideas to unite behind – namely knowledge, appreciation, and mutual understanding as the elements of UNESCO's aspirations towards the 'moral solidarity of mankind' (UNESCO 1945). In order for UNESCO to achieve its vision, this fundamental principle needs to be disseminated as widely as possible and as uncontested as possible. In other words, it needs to be ideologised. This is where UNESCO's measures of conduct, such as the Convention, step on stage.

> The Convention is a legal instrument. [. . .] It supports governments and civil society in finding policy solutions for emerging challenges. The Convention ultimately provides a new framework for informed, transparent and participatory systems of governance for culture (UNESCO 2019).

The Convention offers Operational Guidelines (OG) for supporting diversity of expression, which all UNESCO member states – in particular those that have ratified the Convention – should implement in their policy practices. They aim at giving form to the above-mentioned principles and naming the key actors, who not only implement them autonomously, but who can be steered by UNESCO's soft power measures, such as the evaluation of their periodic reports. The key actors are the nation states, but also their unions and some bigger NGOs have a part to play.

The first step defined by the OG is, not surprisingly, the integration of the Convention into national legal frameworks. Second, the texts contain suggestions for the means of information-sharing and transparency concerning country- or party-specific practices of implementation and related knowledge production, material for education, visibility of the Convention, and public-awareness raising. Third, they offer models for enabling the participation of civil society actors, and ideas regarding ideal partners and the division of labour amongst them. There are specific suggestions for cooperation and networking related to development issues along with tools for evaluation, monitoring, and reporting. In addition, Convention-related publications and documents describe the key measures achieved and identify good practices (Sekhar and Steinkamp 2010; UNESCO 2019). Last but not least, an International Fund for Cultural Diversity as envisaged in Article 18 of the Convention has been established.

In other words, the OG operationalises and fixes the ideological basis of the Convention by repeating its core meanings and values and intertwining with recommended and regulated practices. Discursively it lays the foundations for speaking about cultural diversity, directing to use certain words, expressions, and significations in a specific order. All periodic reports of the parties must include an explanation of how they tackle the following goals:

- support sustainable systems of governance for culture,
- achieve a balanced flow of cultural goods and services and increase the mobility of artists and cultural professionals,
- integrate culture in sustainable development framework, and
- promote human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The form of the reports is dictated by the questions that parties must answer and the specified sub-sections they have to address. This means that all the parties will express manifestations and utterances echoing the spirit and ideology of the Convention in a more or less similar manner. The contents of the reports include: national cultural policy system and laws applying the Convention; national actions that can be considered as a part of the Convention implementation; indications of measures, practices and actions, which follow the requirements of the OG; practices and actors, which implement the measures; actions that indicate the tackling of the current trends that the

Convention defines significant (such as cultural and creative industries, civil society cooperation, digitalisation, mediation); other treaties and agreements signed for cultural diversity; emerging national issues, challenges and achievements; and the follow-up and evaluation actions of the implemented public measures. In addition, state parties must collect and represent reports by civil society organisations about the measures and initiatives taken that have implemented the spirit and goals of the Convention.

One could argue that the 'ideologisation' in the Convention implementation process tends to be all-encompassing. It penetrates all levels of implementation actions and their conduct, from the possibilities to understand and speak about cultural diversity to the parties' conceptions of succeeding in the realisation of the Convention ideals and goals. In other words, the ideology works like a self-fulfilling machine. Hence it corresponds with the premises that Ball and Dagger (1991) set for the ideological process: It explains and evaluates (the Convention) the idea and rules of practices and orientates and programs (the OG and the periodic reports) the parties to follow them.

However, each party must implement the Convention according to its own legal and political-administrative arrangements. Hence rates, routes, and degrees of implementation – and thereby certain parts of contextual ideological orientation and programming – vary remarkably, for example in terms of how the parties understand culture and cultural diversity and their expressions. Roughly speaking, five categories can be distinguished from the point of view of the issues raised in this article. First, for some, basically everything can be fitted under the title 'cultural diversity' (e.g. the Netherlands and Sweden), resulting in somewhat openly striving for cosmopolitanism in and through culture. This is the case especially in countries where ministerial cultural policy approaches culture and cultural diversity in the broad sense, and culture and cultural policies are not tied to one specific aspect of culture, such as the arts, above all others. These are mostly countries with a long cultural policy tradition of welfare, democracy, and equality on the one hand, and somewhat liberal and pluralistic political ethos on the other hand.

> Culture is by and for everyone. [. . .] Our society will become more diverse in the coming years, in terms of the cultural background of its members as well as other factors, and hence also more diverse in who produces, practices and enjoys culture. New generations have a preference for novel genres and stories [. . .] By extending its focus to include 'alternative' forms of art and new generations, the government particularly hopes to reach groups that may not currently engage with the stories being told in 'traditional' theatres, concert halls and museums. (Netherlands 2021).

Second, some countries, such as Finland, Greece and Slovenia, focus on the arts, arts policies, and artistic expressions. Diversity and inclusion are present in the reports, but not so much as holding value of their own, but rather as aspects, which can or should be added to arts and culture or which can be envisioned to be influenced by them. Their reports also emphasise culture as a part of a broader creative industries and, thus, link it to economic implications, productivity, and growth. On the other hand, the arts and cultural institutions, like art museums and publicly funded theatres and orchestras, are considerably noted in the discourse. This focus seems to be typical for countries with a tradition of strong public support for arts and culture. Many of the reported actions and initiatives do not concern diversity as such but speak about cultural policies more generally. This discourse is challenging to rigorously locate on the cosmopolitanism – internationalism axis, mainly because the economic and institutional cultural initiatives are there to support national objectives with inclusion and diversity often explicitly embedded in them.

> The Ministry of Culture prioritizes the connection of culture with the creative economy over the whole range of culture (cultural heritage and contemporary creation). It has already started the implementation of a program of mapping the whole cultural and creative industries of the country, aiming to a comprehensive understanding of the cultural creation (of needs and their problems) and the development of specific supporting policies. (Greece 2016).

Third, some country reports talk about principles, actions, and measures, which paint a somewhat nationalistic picture of approaching cultural diversity. There are two clear orientations in operating within this discourse. For some, it stems from what can be thought of as a minority position of

national culture or an element of it, such as language, like is the case with Ireland and Iceland. For others, it arises from the nationalistic and conservative political ideology of the government, as is the case with, for example, Hungary, Poland and to some extent Slovakia. Here the pattern usually is that the party does not speak about the diversity of ethnic or other minorities at all, but rather points out examples about diversity within the dominant culture, such as rural culture showcasing different local cultural traditions. These conceptions of diversity do not match UNESCO's cosmopolitanism, but rather the intrinsic 'national' component of its internationalism.

> The establishment of new funds (the Art Support Fund and the Fund for the Promotion of the Culture of National Minorities) and the increase in fund budgets (including that of the Audiovisual Fund) have clearly contributed to the development of artistic production. (Slovakia 2020).

Fourth, in some cases the reports speak within the frame of traditional multiculturalism. They emphasise services, projects, and funding for different cultural groups separately. The mentioned initiatives do not usually extend to the interaction of people, expressions, or styles across cultural boundaries. Rather this approach strengthens what has been called the 'cultural mosaic' (e.g. Gibbon 1938; Porter 1965) of different kinds of cultural entities inhabiting the same societal space. In a way, this category is close to the Convention's idea of internationalism, but on a smaller scale – within a single state or society. Montenegro and Poland are examples of countries using this category in their reports.

> Poland has been a multicultural country for centuries. the Polish national identity is a multi-layered concept shaped by diverse collective experiences of people coming from various ethnicities, languages, religions and traditions. As a meeting point for Western and Eastern cultural traditions, Polish cultural heritage represents the European civilization's essence. [. . .] Poland creates a friendly climate for building an exciting and diverse cultural life. Each year, it hosts dozens of festivals promoting music, theatre, fine arts, film, and other nations' folk traditions and ethnic minorities living in this country. (Poland 2020).

Fifth, some country reports highlight intercultural connections and dialogue between the different groups of a society. Mostly this theme appears in the parts of the reports, where the role of civil society actors or initiatives directed at them are explained. Reports of Italy and Germany are included in this category, for instance. Although cosmopolitanism is never mentioned explicitly in their reports, the content of the 'culture' and cultural subjectivity they construct is somewhat similar.

> Enabling international and intercultural encounters between different people of all ages; using music as a world language [. . .] Promoting intercultural education and mobility for artists; bringing professional musicians together with children. (Germany 2020).

Therefore, in some cases, national cultural policies – including understandings of culture and cultural diversity – have become more significant than UNESCO's principles regarding internationalism, cosmopolitanism, and diversity, reaching their impact also to the discursive shape that the ideology gets in the reports. Even though UNESCO requires ratified parties to act according to the Conventions rules and guidelines, it does not possess the necessary mechanisms of control and discipline to ensure their compliance in practice, due to the leading UN principle of state sovereignty. This, then, easily leads to a situation where the praxis of the parties becomes 'just' ideology. The parties tell what UNESCO wants to hear in the reports, but may act otherwise, even contrary to the principles – and sometimes rules – of the Convention, in practice. Both the discursive practice of reporting, and the international institutional relationship between the parties and UNESCO then feed the discursive performative repetition of ideology, which in this sense is more 'rhetoric' than 'reality'.

All in all, our cross-analysis of the Convention, the OG, and the reports reveals the discursive ambiguities and practical challenges of the ideological construction of cosmopolitan internationalism. The significations of culture and cultural diversity vary between administrative levels and nations, as arts, lifestyle, culture, creativity, education, and development, for instance, mix mostly with no apparent logic in the texts. This leads to an ambiguous situation, where one part of the discourse emphasises a purer cosmopolitan one-worldism, and the other is rooted on national and

ethnic boundaries. Furthermore, this exemplifies that while UNESCO puts considerable effort into building international practices and a 'world spirit' of governance, the system of conduct is still in practice very much 'methodologically nationalist', resulting from the sovereignty of the states involved and the respect for more or less monocultural nations or ethnicities (Beck 2006).

The contradiction of welcoming on the level of the city

The term 'world city' has become a laboratory for testing the lived reality of difference and diversity among people. It is also a place for testing ideologies and philosophical debates regarding internationalism, localism, and cosmopolitanism of everyday life. Kwame Anthony Appiah's (2007) notion of *rooted cosmopolitanism* emphasises local differences with the aim to reconcile universalist and contextualist ideas. Kantian cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, allows for the identification of wider problems and debates, including the new socio-cultural and economic differences that reach beyond ethnic, national, and political boundaries (Zürn and de Wilde 2016). In this regard, cosmopolitanism and its local manifestation in welcoming and inclusion are closely aligned with the universalist ideology that sees diversity and differences as contextual and often reserved for the local community (ibid). Pairing the notion of cosmopolitanism with that of localism aligns these two levels for the purposes of analysis. Accordingly, an interviewee describes the city of Sydney and its problems:

> I think the pressing problem we see, Sydney is a very wealthy city, a very rapidly growing city, is a city where I think there is a sense *of increased inequality built into it*. And you see elements which clearly push toward a kind of demographic informalities. (Syn1)

In terms of Ball and Dagger's (1991) approach, this statement performs the first, explanatory, function by addressing the core questions of diversity and differences in Sydney in the context of internationalism – concerns for moral equality, recognition, and under-representation that stand at the centre of cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitan tradition builds upon universalist claims like open borders, the formation of global institutions, and individual rights and dignity as the primary frame of diversity and inclusion. This ideological focal point follows the Kantian tradition that heavily impacted the formulation of UNESCO's founding principles. The interviewees seem to directly draw this connection when addressing issues falling under the second function of ideologies, the evaluative one, speaking of the way the situation in the Sydney Central Business District (CBD) should be thought of from two possibly contradictory angles:

> Technically, it would be usually, we are using that term, it is probably, more common we use the term multicultural and it would mean multi-ethnicity, people born in other parts of the world, err-m, it's kind of general Australian sense that most people living here even they were born somewhere else, or their parents were born somewhere else or grandparents were born somewhere else with the exception of the aboriginal population, nobodies ancestors have been here for a certain period of time. (Syn1)

And

> [. . .] I think what it is, is effectively used as a synonym for being a 'world city'. So people often like to refer to Sydney as Australian world city as it is the only city but is not the truth, but it is a common thing to hear, is that Sydney is a city that, compete from err from a perspective attracting from town, producing world-class you know, people and content and all that. (Syn2)

The city of Sydney is thus pursuing two potentially conflicting goals: raising Sydney's status as a world city that attracts talents while affirming multicultural values that would ensure the cohesion and identity of the city. However, the city being in favour of internationalisation does not naturally transform locals and international residents into cosmopolitan ones (Zürn and de Wilde 2016). Cosmopolitanism in this context integrates the concern for global institutions and their organisation while considering the repercussions of internalising differences for all residents irrespective of one's city of birth.

In addressing Sydney's simultaneously cosmopolitan and internationalist core, the interviewees speak about the identity of the city and its relations with the world, and the complexity of the levels of government in Australia. They identify key issues related to Ball and Dagger's orientative function, as they position the conflicting role and power struggles of the federal, state, and local governments as a factor in making governing different people challenging. Those who are in support of policing borders do not have to be cosmopolitans or non-cosmopolitans. Federal and State institutions draw upon these ideological arguments in favour of protecting borders, upholding state and national sovereignty, quality community life and self-determination as the primary tool for governing differences in cities and communities (ibid.). In this context, one can simply identify the patterns of who is welcomed and how they are welcomed. We see that welcoming others without limitation is the primary determinant of openness. However, when it comes to welcoming as a key component in the cosmopolitan ideal, the interviewees both separate underlying principles from practice:

> From the city government's perspective, err-m, pretty much anybody, but [. . .] from the federal perspective, the people who control immigration policy, much much narrower and have grown narrow overtime. Err-m, when we include these kinds of aspirations, value statements in our policy documents, they are coming directly out of strong community support for I mean, everything we get comes out saying people value Australia not being a mono-culture. (Syn1)

And

> I will argue that from the *perspective of an immigrant, Sydney is not necessarily welcoming in practicality*. Even though every public official that you will meet and most people that you will meet from the street, will say, yes, of course, you are welcome, welcome to Sydney and that sort of thing. (Syn2)

The juxtaposition between city government and federal institutions is intrinsic. Both city and federal perspectives are essentially about establishing whether or not it is feasible to give perfect rationality for internationally valid norms without favouring definite ethical values that limit openness to others. The city government thinks the principles of welcoming apply to every individual regardless of their ethnic background, and welcoming others is seen as a value in itself, standing against under-representation of a community. The immigration as a federal institution, however, points to the need to protect communities by having meaningful borders, challenging the virtue of openness and welcoming others as presented by the city government – the principle of Sydney for all.

The question of differences and diversity arises from an institutional context of affordability instead of societal membership. Following Ball and Dagger, the difference/diversity discourse speaks to the programmatic function of ideologies, recognising it as a peculiar political ideology of socio-cultural institutions applicable through the state and city council putting its residents into exclusive institutional obligation. In that regard, the principles of differences and diversity vary with the given institutional framework in which people interact and socialise. As an interviewee phrases it:

> Okay, so, if you are asking that question in a formal sense, I would say everyone is welcome. But there are barriers, you know, and I think and I again specify that we are talking about the CBD, *affordability is a massive issue*. Your affordable housing targets are generally not met from is massively under stock from an affordable housing perspective. So even though there is a strong public housing community in Sydney.

> From an *actual logistical perspective, I don't see how Sydney could be very welcoming*. Because it is extremely expensive, the immigration laws around Australia, in general, are quite strict, err-m, you know, *we don't have a reputation for being particularly welcoming of refugees* largely because of these laws. (Syn2)

Analysing affordability through the programmatic function, the ideology of welcoming cannot be realised because the situation in the CBD generates and sustains inequalities among people and provinces, as shown by huge income differences and limited life chances across Sydney. This is especially interesting in the light of considering a cosmopolitan city as an extension of welcoming (cf. Conley 2002). However, the independence of both private and public institutions does not allow for interference within the city and its institutions, the sovereignty of which at times affects everyday life that does not uphold the principles of equality and affordability:

> [I]f we are trying to reinstigate that it would properly come down to ways to interrupt into housing markets close to the city and we don't have those policies list in place, we have a bit of them, to do it, we need larger space of public land, *we don't have a lot of government-owned lands same way a lot of the rest of the world does*, that's the legacy of private land ownership in Australian very very built into the fabric of the country. (Syn1)

In its focus on residents and visitors under the umbrella of humankind as a whole, the City of Sydney CBD is thus argued to consistently uphold the ethical idea of human rights and its violations are seen to limit the inclusion of others into the socio-cultural fabric of the city. The issue of the lack of affordable housing plays an indirect role that affects both the communal status and its relationship with people within the local government area, placing the debate between cosmopolitan and non-cosmopolitan at the heart of Sydney. The clashes between principles and practice bring to light the challenges inherent to the discursive formation of the ideology surrounding welcoming and cosmopolitan internationalism.

Conclusions

In this article we have analysed the discursive construction of cosmopolitan internationalism in UNESCO's work. Our purpose was to observe how and why the principles that seem to be somewhat contradictory exist side by side in UNESCO's multifaceted policies and what does this contest provoke in terms of key significations on difference and diversity and their practical implementations. As an outcome we identified the move from principles to policy and from rhetoric to practice, which illuminates the central problematic of UNESCO's difference/diversity discourse. While often equated on the level of rhetoric, these two notions operate differently and carry almost contradictory implications in practice. The ideologisation of UNESCO's values manifested on the international standard setting level seeks to unify difference through the homogenisation of the diversity discourse, resulting in what can be labelled as not much more than normative cosmopolitanism. Yet, ruptures are visible in practice. These ruptures that can be identified in the analysis of empirical cases are framed and represented as belonging in the same tradition dictated by UNESCO's core values and as a part of the wider diversity narrative on the one hand, and to a certain extent ignored and written out of the official discourse on the other hand. At the same time, the national and local diversity discourse speaks back to the international level as it becomes a means of international differentiation.

The difference/diversity discourse thus directly addresses the inherent issues of the state/non-state dynamic in the ideological construction of the UNESCO system. Being an international organisation aiming to serve the entirety of humankind despite the occasionally contradicting allegiances different members of it might hold, the UNESCO system is defined by an inherent contrariety between national culture driven by the practicalities of the nation-state and world culture growing out of the ideal of the solidarity of all humankind. The empirical analysis reveals how through the contradictory notions of difference and diversity, UNESCO's ideology of cosmopolitan internationalism is discursively framed and the norms for its implementation are set, and how policy makers, in turn, follow the programme set by the ideologisation of UNESCO's core principles.

The four functions of ideology (Ball and Dagger 1991, 8–10) are present but work ambiguously in the case of the Convention and its implementation. The Convention makes room for cosmopolitan internationalism in a way characteristic to all international legislation by explaining the need for the concept and polishing the greatness of its core rationale and principles. It also constructs the orientation for more practical measures, which the OG then explains in detail and this way, not only continues the orientative function, but also turns the ideology programmatic. The reports of the parties, however, speak about the uncertainty involved in the operational stage: parties understand culture and cultural diversity sometimes very differently and especially the ways of implementation vary a lot. Nevertheless, this ambiguous 'discursive regularity' (Foucault 1972), while creating

challenges to the straightforward implementation of the Convention, is something that reveals the difference/diversity discourse to not be just about cosmopolitanism or internationalism, but about cosmopolitan internationalism.

The second case of the analysis transcends from the ratified state level to the local level by analysing the views and conceptions of the shared principles set out in the Convention, and the ways they are translated into local policy discussions. Through the analysis, Sydney is positioned as a space for analysing the political ideology of the cosmopolitan in the local context, as the focus shifts to considering both cosmopolitanism and its local ideology of welcoming as logically significant and genuine responses to the issues of differences and internationalism. In the case of Sydney, UNESCO's cosmopolitan internationalism as expressed in the Convention gets its concrete form through the notions of welcoming, one-worldism and inclusion. As the analysis makes evident, there are universal duties at the city level to respect the moral value of individuals despite their nationality and city of birth. However, the debate between diversity and difference is at the very heart of Sydney as various factors, such as the lack of affordable housing costs, directly and indirectly influence and shape the discursive formation of the ideology surrounding welcoming and cosmopolitan internationalism.

As the analysis indicates, UNESCO's cosmopolitan ideals manifested in the notion of the promotion of diversity are primarily communicated in transnational terms, while the practicalities of cultural difference rooted in internationalism are understood in the local and national context. The issues identified in this article fall within the realm of formal, institutionalised cultural policy. Due to UNESCO's normative role, possible solutions to these problems must also first arise from the normative level. Rather than a quick fix, our proposed framework of the discursive construction of cosmopolitan internationalism seeks to provide the means for a critical examination of the points of friction between difference and diversity within the UNESCO system. It provides the tools for laying the ideological foundations of cosmopolitan values and internationalist practicalities out in the open, exposing for examination the intersections where the two collide in practice. Explicitly acknowledging this problematic is crucial for both UNESCO to keep living up to its noble doctrine and to its states members putting the organisation's ideals into practice.

Descending from the highly ideological and idealistic international standard setting level to the practicalities of national and local policies crystallises the contradiction between UNESCO's normative role tied to the nation state and the creation and emergence of transnational political spaces outside the confines of the state (cf. Beck 2006). It could then be argued that the normative cosmopolitan internationalist ideological tradition with its ties with the nation state might actually come across as a preventative force against the emergence of such spaces. On the other hand, it could also be imagined to carry a promise of facilitating such developments. This, however, would require a radical rethinking of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and internationalism within the UNESCO system.

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II

COSMOPOLITANISM AS A POTENTIAL THEORETICAL SOLUTION TO THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALISED URBANISATION

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COSMOPOLITANISM AS A POTENTIAL THEORETICAL SOLUTION TO THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALISED URBANISATION

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Abstract

This paper contributes to the effort to formulate strategies for approaching the challenges of twenty-first century "globalised urbanisation." The paper hypothesises that cosmopolitanism might be seen as an option when trying to understand and resolve problems associated with globalised urbanisation within the scope of the United Nations' Habitat III policy framework. In the context of the United Nations' Habitat III (New Urban Agenda) policy framework, culture and cultural diversity are recognised as sources of enrichment for humanity and provide an important contribution to the sustainability of cities (UN-Habitat 2016:4). In addition, the policy framework supports the core aspect of cosmopolitanism through its critical perspective towards achieving a transformative vision of an alternative society. This paper focuses on UNESCO's 2016 report entitled *Culture: Urban Futures* as an example of this idealised cosmopolitanism. Concerning the methods, I use cosmopolitanism as a theoretical concept (which, at the same time, is also used as a "methodological tool") with which I frame and interpret my analysis of the empirical data (i.e. the policy reports). This paper supports the argument that cosmopolitanism is a theoretical framework concerning identity and citizenship in the contexts of "globalised urbanisation": by using it, people formulate their individual and collective identities without binding them to a nation-state or ethnic groups.

Keywords: cosmopolitanism; culture; fear; hope; urbanisation; inclusion.

EL COSMOPOLITISMO COMO UNA POSIBLE SOLUCIÓN TEÓRICA A LOS DESAFÍOS DE LA URBANIZACIÓN GLOBALIZADA

Resumen

Este documento contribuye al esfuerzo de formular estrategias para abordar los desafíos de la "urbanización globalizada" del siglo XXI. El documento plantea la hipótesis de que el cosmopolitismo podría verse como una opción al tratar de comprender y resolver los problemas asociados con la urbanización globalizada dentro del alcance de la Marco político de Hábitat III de las Naciones Unidas. En el contexto del marco de políticas de Hábitat III (Nueva Agenda Urbana) de las Naciones Unidas, la cultura y la diversidad cultural se reconocen como fuentes de enriquecimiento para la humanidad y proporcionan una contribución importante a la sostenibilidad de las ciudades (ONU-Hábitat 2016: 4).

Además, el marco de políticas apoya el aspecto central del cosmopolitismo a través de su perspectiva crítica para lograr una visión transformadora de una sociedad alternativa. Este documento se centra en el informe de 2016 de la UNESCO titulado Cultura: futuros urbanos como un ejemplo de este cosmopolitismo idealizado. Con respecto a los métodos, utilizo el cosmopolitismo como un concepto teórico (que, al mismo tiempo, también se utiliza como una "herramienta metodológica") con el que enmarco e interpreto mi análisis de los datos empíricos (es decir, los informes de política). Este documento respalda el argumento de que el cosmopolitismo es un marco teórico sobre la identidad y la ciudadanía en los contextos de "urbanización globalizada": al usarlo, las personas formulan sus identidades individuales y colectivas sin vincularlas a un estado-nación o grupos étnicos.

Palabras clave: cosmopolitismo; cultura; miedo; esperanza; urbanización; inclusión

世界主义作为全球化下城市化带来的挑战的潜在理论解决措施

摘要

就应对21世纪的"全球化之城市化"（globalised urbanisation），本文促进了相关策略的制定。本文假设，当试图理解与第三届联合国住房与可持续发展大会（Habitat III，简称人居 III）的政策框架下所涉及的"全球化之城市化"相关的问题，并解决这些问题时，世界主义可能被视为一个可选项。在人居 III（新城市议程）政策框架下，文化和文化多样性被视为丰富人权的来源，并为城市的可持续性提供重要贡献（UN-Habitat 2016:4）。此外，该政策框架通过对实现一个替代性社会的变革愿景所持的批判性视角，支持世界主义的核心方面。本文聚焦于2016年联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）发表的名为《文化：城市未来》的报告，将其作为上述理想化世界主义的例证。考虑到研究方法，我将世界主义作为一个理论概念（同时也作为一个"方法论工具"）进行使用，通过这一理论，我建构了实证数据（即政策报告）分析，并对分析进行诠释。本文支持的主张为，世界主

义是一个与“全球化之城市化”背景下的身份与公民身份相关的理论框架。通过使用世界主义，人们能制定其个人身份与集体身份，而不用将这些身份与国家和民族群体相结合。

关键词：世界主义；文化；恐惧；希望；城市化；包容

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to develop a strong framework to approach the problems related to the complexity of the notion of culture in the context of globalisation and urbanisation. This framework is used to examine and analyse the question of “how” culture is understood in the modern age of *fear*[1] and *hope*[2] towards the challenges of globalised urbanisation.

As a result of the complex definition of culture in terms of the diversity of space and people, a mutual definition of the concept of culture is always represented as an agreed meaning serving common interests and peace (UNESCO 2016). For instance, UNESCO’s definition of culture follows a rights-based approach (ibid.). In it, culture is translated with respect to humanity in general. In this context, culture is conceptualised broadly as a way of life and narrowly as a creative base for sustainable urban development in the Habitat III (New Urban Agenda) policy framework. Delanty (2006:30) also argues that, in the cosmopolitan context, culture is a continuous process of construction as opposed to being embodied in a specific lifestyle. Following Delanty’s perspective, on the one hand, this definition of culture reactivates the idea of cosmopolitanism as a model of cultural policy and planning not restricted to specific rights and identities but instead as

1 Fear is conceptualised as the hatred of people of other ethnic races and religions. In UN-Habitat (2016:11), it is noted that “… the movement of large population into towns and cities poses a variety of challenges.” Fear is also linked to both previous and current evidence for the New Urban Agenda, drafted to address these challenges. In the Quito declaration number three (3) on Sustainable Cities and Human Settlement for All, it is claimed that “Since the United Nations Conferences on Human Settlements in Vancouver, Canada, in 1976 and Istanbul, Turkey, in 1996, and the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals in 2000, we have seen improvements in the quality of life of millions of urban inhabitants, including slum and informal-settlement dwellers. However, the persistence of multiple forms of poverty, growing inequalities and environmental degradation remain among the major obstacles to sustainable development worldwide, with social and economic exclusion and spatial segregation often an irrefutable reality in cities and human settlements” (ibid.:3).

2 Hope is conceptualised in this paper as all the measures and strategies put in place to live as a citizen of the world irrespective of where one lives or comes from. It also enhances freedom and “respect for diversity and equality” (ibid.:11). Hope is virtually linked to the enlightenment of both citizens and cities as a whole.

a framework for organising cities[3] socially. On the other hand, it represents cosmopolitanism as the multiplicity of ways in which the city is created in different modernities (ibid.:27). In other words, it is a socio-cultural channel of societal transformation based on the principle of "world-openness" and inclusion (ibid.). Modernity, in this context, refers to the transformative conditions and strategies that can be called cosmopolitan due to their plural and interactive logics but not a global condition as such (Delanty 2006:38). These definitions of culture are relevant to this paper and will be discussed in the section concerning the inclusion of others and specifically the subsection concerning cultural inclusion.

In addition to the above definitions of culture, the ideas of the cosmopolitanism framework have their roots in an effort to perpetuate globalised peace and common interests for all humanity (Delanty 2006; Held (2002) and are perceived as a representation of "global culture," which addresses all these issues. However, the other side of the story has to do with how these ideas are understood and governed within the scope of nation-states and cities. In my view, the problems of translating global discourse and policy about sustainable urbanisation become complicated and challenging if they contradict national and urban understandings of what culture is or should be. In this line of thought, the analysis of culture and cultural policy within the cosmopolitanism context is rooted in modernities (Delanty 2006).

To conclude the introduction, this paper highlights the tensions within cosmopolitanism from different perspectives—mainly those of idealised, critical, liberal, justice and moral cosmopolitanism—and how these perspectives contribute to the construction/transformative agenda of twenty-first century alternative/imagined urban cities. Additionally, the cosmopolitan idea of justice is a cardinal point in this paper with regard to the tensions within cosmopolitanism, and this approach will be discussed in the following section from two perspectives, i.e. the justice of the relative distribution of goods and services and the justice of leaving no one behind. Lastly, this paper provides tools for approaching policy practices that go beyond cultural demarcation.

Close Reading of UNESCO's Document

The method used in this paper combines a close reading of policy reports and of research publications on the cosmopolitanism approach. The rationale of this method is to read the text carefully against its background and main principles, which can be reinterpreted as cosmopolitan. In addition, choosing the cosmopolitan theory and the central hypothesis for this particular close reading analysis serves as a basis for examining "the relationship that exists within the text" (De Castilla 2017:4).

3 Cities are places where large numbers of people live and work; they are hubs of government, commerce and transportation (UN 2016:1). In this paper, I follow the United Nation's definition of cities as the best possible environment for testing the ideas of cosmopolitanism. See the UN (2016) for a more detailed discussion.

This paper uses UNESCO's 2016 *Culture: Urban Futures* policy report as the primary data for analysis. The report includes the following sections: Part I focuses on the global context, presenting the current situation of culture and sustainable urban development based on the outcomes of a global survey by UNESCO in cooperation with nine regional partners. Part II emphasises thematic reflections on the role of culture to (1) promote a people-centred approach to sustainable urban development, (2) ensure a high-quality urban space for all and (3) foster integrated policymaking, building on the power of culture. The conclusions and recommendations contain a summary of the key recommendations drawn from the results of the regional and thematic parts of the report (UNESCO 2016:25). The main arguments within the report are divided into segments of cases, perspectives and articles, which are grouped into separate parts according to the themes.

The report is also intended as a policy framework document to support governments of nation-states in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, and, as such, it is a pivotal contribution to the shared United Nations' action within the framework of the New Urban Agenda, which seeks to leave no one behind. Furthermore, it is UNESCO's first report that investigates the role of culture for sustainable urban development. It seeks to examine the situation, trends, threats and existing opportunities in diverse regional contexts and to present a global overview of tangible and intangible urban heritage preservation and safeguarding, together with the promotion of cultural and creative industries as a foundation for sustainability and globalised urbanisation (UNESCO 2016:18).

As for the scope of this paper, specific perspectives in UNESCO's policy report have been selected and analysed in line with the objective of this paper as well as its reflection on the cosmopolitanism framework and ideas about the inclusion of others as well as the Habitat III commitment of "facilitating living together…" (UN-Habitat 2016:11). Moreover, a list of the selected perspectives used in this paper is stated on page 15 of UNESCO's main report, which was used as a reference in this particular close reading. In my view, these perspectives outline a global overview of the cosmopolitan ideas of the "city we need" (ibid.) as well as the processes of constructing an alternative society in the context of cultural policy and globalisation.

An Overview: Cosmopolitanism

In contemporary times, the concept of cosmopolitanism has become a contested discourse in academic and political debates (Beck and Sznaider 2006:2). Thus, despite the increasing volumes of literature on the concept, the meaning of cosmopolitanism varies depending on the discipline or the context. However, the concept of cosmopolitanism was first used by the Stoics. They were the first to call themselves cosmopolitan, meaning "citizens of the world." The goal of the Stoics in referring to themselves as cosmopolitan was to replace the central role of the polis with that of cosmos, in which everyone could live in harmony and solidarity (Horstmann 1976, cited in Held (2002). Additionally, the origin of cosmopolitanism lies in the fundamentally moral view of a person

having allegiances to the wider world, and it has gained political significance once linked to peoplehood (Delanty 2006:26).

The contemporary cosmopolitan idea derives from Immanuel Kant (Delanty 2006; Held (2002). Kant adopted the term pertaining to "globalisation and peace" (ibid.). He claims that cosmopolitanism has the symbolic feature of perpetuating global peace, where everyone enjoys the moral benefits of equality without discrimination (ibid.). Within this context, cosmopolitanism started to mean a world political community extending beyond the city in which an individual is born or lives (Delanty 2006). Cosmopolitanism thus became linked with the universalism of contemporary thought and with a political strategy aimed at global governance (ibid.). In this approach, cosmopolitanism represented a condition for a person to be "a citizen of the world," and the reason for this was to abandon the immediate given and closed world of particularistic attachments (ibid.). Unlike Delanty (2006), Appiah (2006) argues that twenty-first century cosmopolitanism serves as a platform for expressing global diversity—the "duty" to live with all kinds of people in this world—and as an "ethical" challenge that humanity should respond to and defend. Furthermore, in his defence of "rooted cosmopolitanism," Appiah claims that cosmopolitans are individual subjects who construct their lives from any cultural resources to which they find themselves attached (Appiah 2005). This kind of cosmopolitanism is opposite to "culture" as a particular way of life and thus refers to culture as a continuous process of societal construction, as mentioned above in the Introduction section.

In the above context of culture, as well as globalisation, cosmopolitanism signifies responsibility and duties attached to a "space" that is common to all, which goes beyond the geographical locality. Besides, space can be political, cultural, economic, environmental and even technological (online), provided it represents interests common to all. According to Held (2003), socio-cultural and political space serves as a term of reference for the equality and recognition of each individual and his/her existence, and the requirements for his/her freedom and well-being can be framed as cosmopolitanism. Following this, I will refer to cosmopolitanism as a multicultural-centred space for exchanging and living together towards the lived reality of a pluralistic society and globalisation. The next chapter discusses the tensions within cosmopolitanism and its connections to other societal discourses which are relevant to this study.

The Tension within Cosmopolitanism: Redefining Cosmopolitanism

The ideas of cosmopolitanism as a theoretical approach are gaining momentum and expanding fast, especially in the globalised and urbanised discourse of "justice and critical perspective" (Delanty 2006; Held 2002, 2010; McGrew 2004). The socio-cultural and political representation of the cosmopolitanism frame has perpetuated its moral signification as a "duty" that goes beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, community and ethnic group. Following this line of thought, I will start this section by highlighting the

connections between the idea of cosmopolitanism and some societal discourses before moving to the tensions within cosmopolitanism.

To begin with the connections, Habermas (1988) connects cosmopolitanism to enlightenment. He suggests that identity should be traced to the world and humanity instead of a nation-state or ethnicity. For Delanty (2006:31), in the Enlightenment notion of the universal citizen, the cosmopolitanism has always been formed within the context of "travel." In addition, Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann (1997) have pointed out that the existing political debate draws attention to the revival of the Kantian ideal, which is still a relevant argument in the present framework of globalisation, alleged crises of cities and nation-states as well as the need for global civil society. For Held (2002:3), cosmopolitanism is connected to social standards as well. He argues that social standards are a set of global requirements which all stakeholders, including cities, nation-states and economic, cultural and political agents, must uphold and sustain (ibid.). He further claims that these standards should, in principle, be applied to individuals, groups and communities either indirectly or directly, for they are equally worthy of concern and respect (ibid.). Rovisco and Nowicka (2011:10–11) also posit that the socio-cultural condition of cosmopolitanism enhances the celebration of diversity produced by globalisation, which serves as a symbolic feature for analysing the representations of people with different cultures and ideas in cities. It also contests the traditional discourses based on particularism, nationalism, ethnocentrism and tribalism related to urban cultures of the twenty-first century.

Additionally, the influence of international organisations on the cultures of nation-states promotes cosmopolitanism as a political project towards building a transnational institution (Pieri 2012:17). One example of such a connection is the policies and frameworks negotiated at the UN, AU, EU, etc., which go beyond the borders of a given nation-state. As a result of the influence of transnational organisations (such as UNESCO) on cities and nation-states at large, many rights can be claimed on the basis of human rights internationally, and thus, it is now more difficult for governments and city councils to limit rights to nationality and citizenship (Delanty 2006:30). In other words, membership rights are not entirely defined in terms of the community or city of residence (ibid.). Additionally, the above influences of transnational organisations lead to cosmopolitan citizenship. For "cosmopolitan citizenship," the importance of territory and boundary that measure the place of one's birth is always decreased—in the definition of rights and citizenship as well as in the lesser salience on a fundamental collective identity (ibid.: 29). In this line of thought, Benhabib (2004:174–175) has pointed out that cosmopolitanism is fostered by such multiple, overlapping loyalties which are continuous across communities of language, ethnicity, religion and nationality. These developments have gained momentum as a result of the "cultural pluralisation" invoked by migration, multiculturalism, cultural diversity of all kinds and the increasing demands for the recognition of different lifestyles and choices (Delanty 2006:30).

The issue of multi-modernities has led to a new conception of cosmopolitanism that gives precise emphasis to post-universalism (ibid.: 35). Post-universalism, in this case, is critical and dialogic, involving the goal of alternative readings of the past and the recognition of plurality rather than the formation of a universal order such as a cosmopolis. Delanty (2006:35) has called this version of cosmopolitanism cultural. In this sense, cultural cosmopolitanism is a multiplicity of the cosmopolitan project by which the global and the local merge in several ways (ibid.). In this view, cosmopolitanism would be mostly typified in diasporas and transnational modes of belonging. Such a conception of cosmopolitanism can be related to what is often called cultural globalisation, that is, expressions of globality that are demonstrated in resistance to the culture of cities and manifested in creative assumptions and new cultural imaginaries which, unlike earlier cosmopolitan projects in popular cultures, exceed those in high culture (ibid.).

As mentioned above, Delanty (2006) claims that the post-universalistic conception of cosmopolitanism should rather be understood in relation to the tensions within modernity. He further contends that the tension within cosmopolitanism can be approached from two perspectives. Firstly, the tension between the local and the global, and secondly, the dimension of cosmopolitanism entails more in the creation and articulation of interactive strategies of world-openness in which societies and cities are transformed (ibid.). In this context, cosmopolitanism is one of the significant expressions of the tendency in modernity (thus, in today's Habitat III policy) towards self-problematisation (ibid.). In my view, the tensions within modernity activate hopes as well as cause fears in globalised urban cities. For instance, people from different cultures turn to love each other if similarities measure the focus of their interaction.

However, due to the limited space and the aim of this paper, in particular, I will limit the scope of the tensions within cosmopolitanism to how they problematise nationalism and particularism as well as promote tolerance and diversity as a strategy of world-openness and order. In this context, the focus of cosmopolitanism with regard to the tensions in the globalised century becomes critical when individual subjects and their interests exceed nationalist interests (ideology). In that case, all individuals and their lifestyles matter to policymakers and those entrusted with political power irrespective of their status in society. For instance, globalised cities characterised as cosmopolitan are those that highlight such a tension as part of their strategies towards world-openness as well as offer a vision of an alternative society that "leaves no one behind" such as the New Urban Agenda (UN-Habitat 2016).

Cosmopolitanism, in this way, is embedded in multiple strategies in which the local and the national is reconceptualised as an outcome of the interaction with the global. The outcome of that interaction varies depending on the context. For Robertson (1992), hybridisation and indigenisation may be the product of interactions in which the local appropriates the global or, in the case of "global diasporas," local residents are transformed into a new cosmopolitan global flow. Beck et al. (2000) also affirm the ideas mentioned

above: there is evidence of situations regarding the interaction between the local and the global where the global has magnificently imposed itself on the local. McDonaldization and McSociety are practical examples of such conditions (ibid.).

Also, with reference to the idea of critical cosmopolitanism, this category of the world is seen in terms of openness instead of a universal system (Delanty 2000:38). It is this openness that describes the cosmopolitan imagination and the transformative idea of an alternative society (ibid.). Besides, the internal challenges of cosmopolitanism include the developmental transformation of cultural representations arising from learning processes linked with modernity (ibid.:39).

In addition to the urbanised cultural policy described above, the tension could also be reviewed from the perspective of "justice." In the perspective of "justice" as well as "critical cosmopolitanism," Delanty (2006:39) has noted that the cosmopolitan idea is not identifiable with the mere condition of pluralism and attachment of individuals. Instead, it is more concerned with openness and societal transformative strategies (ibid.). In other words, this tension within the scope of this paper emphasises the call to reject the central idea of nationalism and particularism which acts as a barrier against the implementation of cosmopolitan strategies that encourage openness, recognition and living together without ethnic and national limitation. Moreover, it must guarantee the broader vision of an alternative society outlined, for example, in the goals of Habitat III (the New Urban Agenda) and UNESCO's *Culture: Urban Futures* etc.

At this stage, I will move on to discuss in detail the idea of justice with regard to the tensions. In this regard, the ideas of cosmopolitanism focus on two principles of justice that are relevant to my study. Firstly, there is cosmopolitan justice concerning "the relative distribution of goods and services" (Beitz 2005; Held 2002; McGrew 2004). This type of justice has less impact on the central matter of this chapter. In other words, when it comes to the distribution of resources, the argument about justice presented here is based on individualism instead of nationalism, or group or ethnic alliance (particularism). For example, this cosmopolitan idea supports fair and equal sharing of resources (either goods or services) among natives and strangers without binding or affiliating them to a specific group or ethnic identity.

The second idea of cosmopolitanism focuses on the principle of justice concerning "leaving no one behind," public welfare, happiness and identities. This type of justice goes beyond the distribution of resources as a means of being just and emphasises the content of the culture of nation-states or cities (Papastergiadis 2012) with regard to openness and inclusion. This type of cosmopolitan justice is more related to the subject matter of this chapter and is central to my research focus. With respect to culture, the content of this cosmopolitan principle of justice concentrates on how the patterns and expressions of people of equal worth and concern (native or others) can exist together with dignity in a way that encourages and respects affiliation to others and the transformative agenda of

an open and alternative society. Also, this must align with the hope and aim of achieving sustainable urbanisation for all.

Cosmopolitan Justice and Cultural and Public Policy

According to De Beukelaer (2017:9), in this context of cosmopolitanism and justice, cultural policy defines the extent to and the approach with which a nation-state engages in the cultural life of individuals since this policy is a governmental action that describes what the government plans to do and not to do (ibid.). Within the framework of Habitat III, the goal of cultural policy is to leave no one behind, whether "strangers" or "others." This bears a resemblance to Isar's (2009:53) and De Beukelaer's (2017:9) claim that, "at face value," the purpose of cultural policy has been to ensure access to and excellence of cultural life which eliminates barriers and factors that limit people's recognition as subjects in a pluralistic and open society. For Delanty (2000:39), the diversity of culture in a cosmopolitan way should be seen in terms of cultures being related rather than different. In this sense, cultural policy also enhances the interactions of all towards societal representations and transformation. Within the scope of this study, the ultimate concern of transnational policymaking is to combat the fear that comes with particularism and to enhance hope for those who have lost their sense of belonging and essence of existence. In that capacity, the cosmopolitan ideas of justice cannot be limited only to the global distribution of resources. They must go beyond that through emphasising the cultural content of justice in that sense. Benhabib (2004:3) claims that the cosmopolitan framework of justice cannot be restricted to schemes of just distribution on a global scale but should include a vision of "just membership."

Another aspect of tension in cosmopolitan justice and cultural policy has to do with a newly created identity. According to Papastergiadis (2012:71), if the traditional state identity is rejected and replaced with a more diversified identity, it is a way of creating a space that differs from the void in which only strangers can roam. In this context, the creation of this type of urban identity highlights the tension within cosmopolitanism. In this case, individuals (both native and those affiliated to cities) realise their capability and potential through the process of gaining representation in laws and policies which emphasise the cultural content of cosmopolitan justice (Papastergiadis 2012:71) or becoming ethically ethnic (Pyykkönen 2015) and attaining a status of living in terms of global openness and inclusion as urban subjects without differences. Nevertheless, the state and urban authorities still have the power to decide who is a subject (a legally accepted citizen) through their legislative instruments. However, the cosmopolitan ideas of recognising everyone as a potential urban subject can be integrated through urban cultural policy as an alternative that aims to minimise urban problems related to particularism and gives hope to others, promoting safer and attractive cities in an idealised vision. This is also in line with Cicero's (cited in Nussbaum 1997:7) claim that nature orders that every subject should promote the good of others just because they are human, and if that becomes a reality, then "we are bound not to harm others."

With respect to the minimisation of urban tragedy and exclusion, the concepts of hope and fear must be visualised in globalised and urban cultural policy related to cosmopolitanism. The focus of this policy has always been people-to-people instead of national binding. According to Appadurai (2006), "the voices of minorities have generated fears across the world as they highlight tensions resulting from cultural changes through migration and globalisation." Moreover, while they cannot and should not be ignored, these fears and tensions have created a context in which the problem has increasingly been framed as "cultural" (Beck 2004:432). In this case, I argue, cultural strategies and policies should be strengthened to handle the above problematisation by Beck.

To conclude this section, the above cosmopolitan ideas and positions challenge the traditional doctrine of nationalism and group affiliation as well as highlight tensions within modernities. For Beitz (2005:17), cosmopolitanism stands opposed to any view that limits the scope of justification to particularism, whether based on shared political values, shared histories, ethnic characteristics or state. The next section discusses how cosmopolitan ideas lead to the inclusion of others through the cultural policy of states and urban cities.

Cosmopolitanism and Inclusion of Others

> There will be no urban future—less so sustainable urban development—without a full understanding of the power of culture in addressing the social needs of city dwellers and their aspirations to a better quality of life. (UNESCO 2016:17)

As was noted above, the re-emergence of cosmopolitanism in the twenty-first century has represented it as an approach toward "a just society" and "a duty to live and tolerate others" (Appiah 2006). The question and power to include others lie within the structures and policies of nation-states and urban authorities irrespective of the international influences. According to Held (2002:9), cosmopolitanism has always been and is already included in laws and institutions, which has changed the nation-state's roles in many ways, including recognition of and openness to patterns and expressions. Held's account shows how cosmopolitan ideas have led to an increasing policy attachment of the nation-state, and how it results in transformations that are already taking place in the public domain/areas as well as attainment of the transformative agenda of an alternative society. In addition, it contributes to the effort of ensuring hope for all and overcoming fears of exclusion and marginalisation in relation to particularism. Cosmopolitan ideas have also been embedded in the policy frameworks of global organisations. An example of such a recognition is the UN declaration of all people as persons with "equal and inalienable rights" and as "the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" (UDHR, preamble). This formal recognition signifies a new turning point towards the implementation of the ideas of cosmopolitanism regarding the recognition of individuals in a pluralistic society.

Social Inclusion

Interestingly, the cosmopolitan idea of hope towards the future has to do with how contemporary *cities* formulate a transformative policy which tackles the fears related to the inclusion of others. In this context, the effort of living together with hope within a complex scope of diversity in cities will only be sustainable without fear if

> Scientists, planners, politicians etc. should seek to understand better how current processes of migration and population diversification are linked to shifting inequalities and possible unrest, as well as to inventive and resourceful ways that people are learning to live together. (Steven Vertovec, in UNESCO 2016:141)

With regard to the above perspective on migration and diversity, cultural pluralism is one of the tendencies of cosmopolitanism relating to social inclusion. As a result, understanding such contemporary processes enables researchers and policymakers to analyse society as a continuous process of transformation and construction where individual subjects become ethically ethnic in a cosmopolitan way that involves openness and inclusion of others. The above quotation— "... people are learning to live together" (ibid.)—invokes the tension within modernities since people with different culture turn to love each other as a result of their interaction. Also, in the context of the above perspective, the diversity of the population in a cosmopolitan way can be approached in terms of cultures being related rather than different. In this sense, the element of hope that comes with the creation of an alternative society of openness and inclusion is fostered via a socio-cultural policy that improves the interactions of all irrespective of their city of birth or residence towards societal representations and transformation without prejudice and segregation. Therefore, I argue, the social inclusion of cosmopolitan ideas in urban cultural policy might enhance their public acceptance both in ideological transfer and institution building for the cultural and public-policy sector. In this context, Glick Schiller (2010:417) claims that society and cities need a concept of cosmopolitanism that deploys a critique of methodological nationalism to research and theorise situations within which individuals come to identify injustice and its causes and build on situated subaltern difference to openness to all struggles against oppression.

Battaini-Dragoni, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe, has pointed out that

> The challenge of living together in a diverse society could only be met if we can live together as equals in dignity. (Council of Europe, in UNESCO 2016:144)

Within the context of the above perspective, the inclusion of others in cultural policy through cosmopolitanism will ensure mutual respect among urban subjects and minimise segregation and discrimination against people labelled as threats and others. As

mentioned in the previous section, plurality does not define the boundaries of cosmopolitanism or of living together, and if that becomes the strategy of cities, then the goal is shifted to "multiculturalism" instead of cosmopolitanism. In this context, cosmopolitanism is not about diversity in terms of numbers, but that which fosters such diversity, peace, tolerance and co-existence among the diverse groups learning to live as global citizens in a multicultural-centred space without differences. In doing so, it becomes a strategy for ensuring sustainable development in line with global openness and inclusion. For instance, globalised cities identified as cosmopolitan are cities that highlight such pluralistic tension with regard to "equality and dignity" as part of their strategies towards ensuring universal openness as well as representing a vision of an alternative society that "leaves no one behind" (UN-Habitat 2016). Cosmopolitanism, in this case, is rooted in multiple modernities as urban strategies where the local residents and the national are transformed as a result of their interaction with the global. The outcome of this interaction ensures the dignity and respect of living together in a diverse urban centre. In addition, this interaction enables the creation of world citizens who are ethically ethnic.

In this regard, the cosmopolitanism framework has become an antidote for approaching the urban complexity of patterns and expressions among different subjects in the same location. Therefore, the fight against racism and segregation, which threaten the urban inclusion of others and universal openness, will be won if policymakers change their methodological ways of framing policy and accept strategies *that recognise the rights and freedom of others as people* with equal worth and concern notwithstanding their affiliation to their city of birth or residence. The elements of generality, universality and individuality of cosmopolitanism signify that hope stands against stereotypes and divisions among urban subjects and their social representation as members with equal rights and freedom beyond national or ethnic territory. In that context, UNESCO (2016) points out:

> whether fighting stereotypes about migrants and refugees, increasing participation in community meetings and events, giving voice to citizens in urbanism projects by using different forms of artistic expression, or developing new ideas for local economic development—arts and culture help to reach out farther, break barriers and build cohesive and vibrant communities. (ibid.)

From the above perspective and considering the influence of transnational organisations such as UNESCO on the migration and refugee policy of cities, it seems that it is complicated for policymakers, governments and city councils to restrict the rights and freedom of expression needed for recognition and citizenship to particularism and nationalism. The reason for this complexity regarding the rights required to fight stereotypes and racism is that people labelled as others (migrants and refugee, etc.) can claim many rights based on international human rights. This assertion, as mentioned in the previous section, reaffirms Delanty's (2006:30) stands concerning the transnational organisations

and how they contribute to the creation of an alternative society of openness and recognition. From a critical point of view, membership rights regarding the representation of refugees and others are not completely defined in terms of the laws of the city of residence (ibid.). Likewise, these influences create cosmopolitan citizenship. In this sense, the status of the boundaries that measure the location of people's birth and thus assign rights, privileges and citizenship for its residents has diminished in importance.

Lastly, Glick Schiller's call on cities to shift towards cosmopolitan thinking in their policies is a sign of resistance towards the fear of inclusion of others as well as of a victory in the fight against stereotypes and particularism in urban centres. In my view, the transformative agenda of an alternative society without stereotypes and racism against people labelled as outsiders is attainable if openness, equality and recognition are embedded in the socio-cultural policies of cities. In this case, I follow these perspectives in a way that represents and perceives others as resources instead of a threat to society.

Cultural Inclusion

As stated in the Introduction section, culture is understood in this paper as a continuous process of societal construction and transformation as opposed to a specific lifestyle. However, in the context of UNESCO and the New Urban Agenda policy framework, *culture* is understood broadly as a way of life for cities and narrowly as a creative base for sustainable urban development. In this approach, the interpretation of the above definitions of culture creates tension in cities as it highlights the cultural patterns and expression in multi-modernities learning to live together. According to UN Habitat (2016), urban centres should leave no one behind in relation to the lifestyle and welfare of their people. In this context, cultural policy can be approached from the perspective of particularism and nationalism, and the cosmopolitan perspective. However, this paper concentrates on the cosmopolitanism perspective. Furthermore, these tensions are rooted in the clash between modernities in a multicultural-centred space. In this regard, cultural inclusion is discussed in this section through three contexts that integrate the above definitions of culture with regard to globalised urbanisation. These contexts include cosmopolitan self and identity, open and public space and creativity.

Cosmopolitan Self and Identity

To start with the construction of a cosmopolitan self and identity, Pieri (2012) argues that one of the main reasons why people choose to become cosmopolitan is their passion for foreign places as well as their consumption of aesthetic taste. This is connected to Held's (2002) argument and the Kantian idea of universal citizens as a form of urban identity discussed above in this paper. Following Held's argument, cosmopolitanism is a space where the representation and rights of people are centred on openness and equality in terms of access to socio-cultural and political recognition for all. In one way or another, this cosmopolitan idea triggers the well-being and freedom of patterns and

expressions for all regarding the construction of a universal identity or self as opposed to a particularist identity. In this capacity, the promotion of artistic or cultural goods of places becomes a means for creating an individual self-identity that positively activates individual openness to diversity and respect for other cultures. In my view, and based on the above, global cities with a cosmopolitan approach must be organised in a way that portrays these rationalities.

Additionally, the cultural policies of states and cities adopt this approach through international trade and the exchange of cultural and scholarly ideas (Singh 2015). Aesthetic and cultural cosmopolitanism is not limited to public space but can take place in private spaces, too, embedded in other forms of cultural consumption. These kinds of cosmopolitan ideas promote the artist industry as a creative base for making cities sustainable and put culture at the centre of the economy. For UNESCO,

> [s]uch an approach to development that places people, their choices and their freedoms at its heart is particularly needed in our cities, now home to the majority of the world's population. (UNESCO 2016:130)

In addition, the construction of a cosmopolitan self-promotes aesthetic freedom, which is used as an instrument for governing a free society as well as including people labelled as others. Such an approach also enables individuals to create themselves according to the aesthetic taste of their choice, which makes them more cosmopolitan even at a distance, since diversity and mobility are not limited to people alone but involve the ways cultural ideas, goods and products are transported from one place to another (Pieri 2012:34). Additionally, the exchange of these cultural goods and services becomes visible in a free and open society which creates a cosmopolitan self, identity and image for such cities (ibid.).

De Beukelaer (2017:11) claims that the promotion of methodological cosmopolitanism through cultural policy will ensure the sustainability of national identity as well as the affiliation to people regarded as others or strangers. This methodological approach towards cosmopolitanism also constructs an outlook for cities in combating the fears of inclusion of others that come with globalisation and sustainable urbanisation. For this reason, the methodological cosmopolitanism in urban cultural policy "would allow national traditions to continue in due dialogue with the ideas and cultures of strangers" (ibid.). It is this dialogue between cultures that fosters the tension within modernities and creates an urban identity for the city in context. In my view, the urban identity can be created in either a particularistic or a cosmopolitan way since such urban identity depends on the cultural policy of the state or city. However, the approach of including others in the policy settings of cities and nation-states enhances hope for both citizens and others, as discussed above in the section about the tension within cosmopolitanism. This approach explores the steps through which we can recognise and manage the reality of living together without division (ibid.).

Open/Public Space

At this point, I will discuss the notion of *open/public space* as a fundamental element of cultural inclusion. In the context of urban culture and urbanisation, Richard Stephens argues that "great places tell great stories" (UNESCO 2016:187). Based on this argument, open and public space represents one of the important cultural symbols of cosmopolitanism with regard to the inclusion of others as it serves as the interactive medium that connects people with different cultures learning to live together in dignity without prejudice. Thus, cosmopolitanism establishes a space which is common to all irrespective of one's national or ethnic affiliations. It is stated in the UNESCO report: [t]he renovation of public spaces has become a key component of urban regeneration strategies (UNESCO 2016:121).

These public spaces are strategic venues for organising cultural events, "contributing to the emergence of a new urban culture" (ibid.) of leaving no one behind. The rationality behind governance that includes others through open and public space is to foster interaction and increase participation among urban subjects as a strategy for the construction of an alternative society open to all. The participation of all people without limitation in issues and events affects their welfare and also serves as a means to reconcile the cultural differences and misrepresentations regarding multiple modernities. Such an approach to globalised urbanisation in the twenty-first century combats fears of threats and tensions and strengthens the urban diversity of patterns and expressions that leaves no one behind towards universal openness and identity. For instance, the inclusion of Chinatowns in Sydney, Australia, is a practical example of the significance of open space to urban inclusion. Even though this inclusion seems like particularism, mixing the Chinese with the "natives" or other inhabitants of the city could work as an example of cosmopolitanism. According to Ien Ang,

> These areas functioned as safe havens for generations of Chinese, where they could socialize with friends and family, maintain some of their cultural traditions, and feel a sense of belonging. (UNESCO 2016:146)
>
> It exemplifies an urban development strategy which simultaneously leverages cultural heritage to celebrate the city's contemporary cultural diversity, while enhancing the quality of public space. (ibid.)

In addition, in his account of "waiting for the barbarians," Papastergiadis (2015:1) argues that "we needed them (barbarians, others, strangers) in order to see ourselves […] [e]ven though the strangers did not arrive." However, they transform cities, enhance unity and foster openness (ibid.). Besides, twenty-first century cosmopolitan cities have been dependent on globalisation either through international trade or on humanitarian grounds. This invokes the question of what will become of cities without globalisation. At least, we need these policies and ideas to make life in cities much more comfortable than now. According to Naima Lahbil Tagemouati,

Culture transforms cities into something other than an accumulation of "anti-social," self-absorbed individuals; culture thus elevates people towards something greater: an identity. (UNESCO 2016:185)

Therefore, in this approach, urban cultural policy is seen as a driving force for the inclusion of others because the policymakers in cities are responsible (in terms of methodology) for translating the cosmopolitan ideas of the world into the future—making them a reality. In this context, cosmopolitan ideas should not be perceived as a one-time show but as a continuous process towards transforming individuals and society at large through legislative instruments and policies. In my view, open/public space is an example of such governmental actions with the potential of turning the cosmopolitan vision of leaving no one behind into a reality, even though some degree of inclusion of others might be seen to produce "ethnic enclaves" within cities (e.g. Chinatowns), which align with particularism. Notwithstanding the particularistic flavour that accompanies some open spaces, still, these spaces also enhance diversity, respect and dignity and serve as an avenue for learning about different cultures and meeting people outside one's own cultural group, which are core principles of moral (Nussbaum 1997) and critical cosmopolitanism.

Creativity

At this stage, I will move on to discuss culture and cosmopolitanism in the context of *creativity.* Creativity acts as a cultural engine in constructing a transformative vision of an alternative society as well as in implementing twenty-first century sustainable urban development (Habitat III). From the perspective of critical cosmopolitanism, creativity is one of the cultural factors that shift the internal developmental processes within cities. In this context, UNESCO argues

> Creativity is a primary driver of economic growth and is integral to dynamic, vibrant and stimulating cities. It plays a role in attracting talent and investment, spurring innovation and improving the overall quality of life. (UNESCO 2016:23)

Richard Stephens also claims that "urban planners and designers must be great storytellers, and they must do so with art and culture" (UNESCO 2016:187). Following the above perspective, cities in the twenty-first century must be creative in a way that produces a universalistic outlook of leaving no one behind and creates an enabling environment that allows people to become "world citizens" in terms of openness to and recognition of others. In this capacity, creativity produces meanings and attaches relevance to places and buildings. Thus, people attach themselves to cities because of their creative outlook even from a distance. Such cosmopolitan thinking includes others through the creative rationality of cities since people's choice of a city is influenced by the meanings attached to the city and their sense of belonging. As explained earlier in this paper, Kant links cosmopolitanism with enlightenment and perpetual peace. In this sense, I argue that

enlightenment comes with the creativity and beauty in the "city we need" (UN-Habitat 2016), which creates meanings and a sense of belonging for the city and people regarded as strangers in their city of residence. Nussbaum (1997) posits that "prospects of enlightenment [...] would give new substance to the hope for cosmopolitanism."

Additionally, cities invest in creativity to enlighten and attract subjects, and this also brings beauty and makes cities more attractive and safer than before. Nussbaum (1997:20) notes that "the Stoics hold out the hope that the society they live in [...] can itself become an enlightened one" through the creativity and labour of individuals. I consider an enlightened society to be one with a creative mind and body. Thus, when urban subjects become creative and enlightened through the current trend of globalisation, they are able to give positive meanings to their socio-cultural environment, similarly to the claim presented in UNESCO's (2016:138) report: the buildings and structures are not enough but "also the mode of social and cultural practices that weave them together and produce meanings." In this regard, bringing beauty to cities also makes them very attractive to others, which gives hope to their subjects as well as enhances openness. From this perspective, Renzo Piano argues:

> Just as beauty—which has to do with discovery, knowledge, learning and curiosity—makes people better, buildings that convey such beauty —museums, schools, universities, concert halls, libraries—make cities better. (UNESCO 2016:169)

Deducing from the above, hope serves as the basis for removing anger and fear in cities (UN-Habitat 2016:3). Beauty also brings hope, which fosters interaction and openness between the local and the global. Urban space and buildings that contain such beauty and creativity ensure a proper way to view others "not as objects of fear and hate, but as members of one common body with one set of purpose" (Nussbaum 1997:20). This comes close to De Beukelaer's (2017) claim that others should be viewed as those with whom we are sharing and negotiating our identity.

In my view, the cosmopolitan vision achieved through creativity can be an enabler of economic development in our cities. Thus, creativity builds on the potential of artists, especially the most defenceless ones. Urban creativity can be seen as a capacity-building tool that enhances the participation of others in urban development, fosters interaction among stakeholders and exchange between cultures and ensures civil equality and dignity among urban subjects, which is an integral part of critical cosmopolitanism. In this context, UNESCO argues that "co-producing the cities through cultural policy ensures that the 'potential and creativity' of people are engaged and developed" (UNESCO 2016). Moreover, *creative education* supports such development. Through creative education, people define themselves in terms of their reason and character rather than their ethnic and national affiliation (Nussbaum 1997:22). Nussbaum also claims that creative education serves as a means for getting children to view others in the "Stoic cosmopolitan way" (ibid.).

The above arguments show that the inclusion of culture in urban development plans gives hope to those who have lost their sense of belonging in cities. In this regard, Paulo Alexandre Barbosa, Mayor of Santos, argues that the inclusion of film integrates urban subjects in many ways. For instance:

> The Creative Vilas are not only venues for training and production of cultural goods but provide safe spaces for people to interact with one another and enjoy culture. (UNESCO 2016:158)

As mentioned above in the previous section, the tension within cosmopolitanism is rooted in multi-modernities. Moreover, Creative Vilas, as noted in the above quotation, provide an example of urban space that improves the internal developmental agenda concerning participation and the interaction between the local and the global that facilitate living together. Also, this creative or transformative agenda fosters openness towards others, which stands against particularistic ideas of perceiving people as subjects of fear and threat in cities. Therefore, I argue that in urban settings, a culture of creativity can be a potential tool for leaving no one behind in twenty-first century globalised urbanisation as well as for creating a transformative vision of an alternative society. Cultural policies following this approach make cities safer and more attractive without prejudice and segregation.

Conclusion

In this article, the emphasis was to discuss and interpret the policy report of an international organisation from the perspective of cosmopolitanism. A close reading of UNESCO's (2016) urban future report reveals that the report highlights the tension in cosmopolitanism as well as acknowledges the Habitat III principle of leaving no one behind. This paper concludes that cosmopolitanism is not limited to a universal space or to post-national phenomena that have nowadays become reality as an outcome of urbanisation and globalisation. Precisely, the argument discussed in this paper is that cosmopolitanism exists in socio-cultural processes and dynamics applicable in any city at any moment in history where world-openness is firmly recognised.

Additionally, cosmopolitanism, as discussed above, focuses on the processes of development regarding the self and the city in which new cultural policies and strategies take shape and create an enabling environment for participation and discussions that lead to a transformation in cities regarding the 2030 sustainability agenda of living together. The discussions in the previous sections pertaining to the tensions from the perspective of critical cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan justice recapture the transformative periods, the interactive patterns between cities and modernities and the internal developmental process towards openness, recognition and respect for all without a particularistic attachment to a city of birth or residence in terms of societal representation. Based on the evidence stated in this paper, I argue that cosmopolitan ideas, implement-

ed through the cultural policy of a state will promote the inclusion of others by making sure that both sides become ethically ethnic, which gives hope to both the current and future generations.

Lastly, it has not been my intention to write a new version of cosmopolitanism but to carefully read the data (UNESCO's report & Habitat III) and find out if it can be discussed and interpreted through the ideas of cosmopolitanism. I hold the view that cosmopolitanism is indeed a potential solution to globalised urbanisation, and this article has presented an analytical lens of such a perspective that goes beyond cultural demarcation as well as an open debate for future discussion.

Data

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III

RE-THINKING THE GLOBAL COSMOPOLIS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE UN-HABITAT "CITY WE NEED" POLICIES IN HELSINKI AND SYDNEY

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Re-Thinking the global cosmopolis: an analysis of the un-habitat "city we need" policies in Helsinki And Sydney

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Abstract: This paper contributes to the sustainability debates concerning the UN Habitat III agenda for 2030 of "leaving no one behind." I mainly focus on how the ideas of the classical cosmopolis are manifested in contemporary urban policies and strategies. I seek to discuss the similarities between the ancient Greek Cynics' and Stoics' concept of cosmopolis and the one more or less explicitly expressed in the UN-Habitat manifesto *The City We Need 2.0: Towards a New Urban Paradigm*, for explaining/showing/understanding. I do so by examining specific case examples based on the UN-Habitat manifesto: the City of Sydney (*A City for All: Towards a Socially Just and Resilient Sydney*) and the City of Helsinki. Finally, by using the close reading method, I analyze how these local level goals are related to the broader Habitat III goals and, on the other hand, to the classical definitions of cosmopolitan political practices.

Subjects: Urban Studies; Cities & Infrastructure; Urban Studies; Urban Cultures; Urban Policy; Urban Politics; Classical Studies; Philosophy

Keywords: cosmopolis; cosmopolitanism; cities; diversity; urbanization; inclusion; participation

1. Introduction

Cosmopolitanism is an old ideal introduced by the ancient Cynics and Stoics. It has travelled a long way and still holds relevance in many ways. One context in which it is currently deployed is the United Nations' (UN) policies on human rights, social inclusion, cultural diversity, and global peace (Gilmore, 2015; Kant, 1795). This paper focuses on the relationship between the classical concept of cosmopolis and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme's (UN-Habitat) agenda of

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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The article contributes to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal number 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities. The study focuses particularly on UN-Habitat's efforts to create cities that are more inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. In this article, the ideas of cosmopolis, inclusion, and citizen participation are examined to better understand how theoretical concepts of good cities are related to the strategies and policies of two modern cities—Sydney and Helsinki. In this context, the concept of cosmopolis can be viewed as a strategy and model for ensuring the inclusion and participation of all inhabitants, regardless of nationality, gender, and race.

"the city we need."More precisely, the focus is on the first principle of the *New Urban Agenda*: "to leave no one behind" (UN-Habitat, 2016a, 7). This agenda was adopted at the UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in 2016. In this regard, this paper seeks to investigate: (a) how the principle resonates with the classical understanding of cosmopolis, and (b) how it is expressed at local level. The aim of this comparison is to contribute to the urban sustainability debates of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. According to Douglass (2016, 1), the reference to the term cosmopolis in contemporary urban planning is a strategy to "make cities responsive to the diverse aspirations of their people"—towards inclusive and participatory city-making. In addition, its mobilization is an essential characteristic of what UN-Habitat has termed "the city we need": it is the conditions under which new forms of socio-cultural diversity can be fostered and perpetuated. Lefebvre, 1968, 140) has posited that policymakers' ability to realize old ideals is what gives meaning to the science of sociocultural reality in cities. This study examines not only explanations supporting the concept of cosmopolis, but also various arguments against it. However, the idea of cosmopolis is the conceptual tool used to analyze and frame the empirical data of this paper.

The urban policies of the Cities of Helsinki and Sydney were chosen for closer scrutiny here because, firstly, both cities have explicitly adopted classical conceptions of the city as guiding models in their plans and strategies for sustainable urbanization, even though their main focus differs. For instance, it is stated that Sydney is a "cosmopolitan city" (City of Sydney, 2016a, 9), and that Helsinki is "for a good life" (City of Helsinki, 2017, 9). From the classical point of view, "good life" means that residents live in harmony with their surroundings, and that each person has the chance to participate in the socio-cultural life of the city. Along similar lines, Aristotle contended that the purpose of the existence of cities is to enhance good life (City of Helsinki, 2017, 4). Secondly, an analysis of the UN-Habitat agenda of "the city we need" against two big cities that differ in terms of geographical location, governance structure, and culture provides more information than an examination of only one city or two similar cities. Analysis of these two cities and the UN-Habitat agenda not only reveals similarities cutting across the field of the classical conception of the city, but also suggests specific and geographical differences.

I begin the article by introducing the analysis method (close reading) and the empirical context of the selected policies. I will then provide a more detailed historical overview of the concept of cosmopolis, from the classical beginnings to modern cosmopolis and its inclusivity and exclusivity. Under the historical overview, I will also introduce a subsection that discusses the theoretical relationship and tension between diversity and cosmopolis/tanism. This will be followed by the empirical section, which mainly focuses on urban diversity in the context of cosmopolis. This empirical section includes two subsections, which deal with participation and inclusion. The final section will describe and discuss the key findings.

2. Close reading of the empirical documents

The method used in this study combines a close reading of policy documents and of research publications on the classical notions of cosmopolis and cosmopolitanism. The purpose of this approach is to read the texts carefully against their background and main principles, which can be reinterpreted as cosmopolitan ideas. This method also aims to understand what elements of the classical understanding are manifested in modern practical policy speech and why. Furthermore, the use of close reading analysis for this particular study serves as a basis for analyzing "the relationship that exists within the text" (De Castilla, 2017, 4). In this paper, the notion of cosmopolis is the theoretical basis for the close reading analysis.

2.1. The empirical context

The primary data used in the close reading analysis in this paper consists of the following documents: UN-Habitat's *The City We Need 2.0: Towards a New Urban Paradigm*, the City of Helsinki's urban policy *The Most Functional City in The World: Helsinki City Strategy 2017–2021*,

and the City of Sydney's urban policy *A City for All: Towards a Socially Just and Resilient Sydney* (*Discussion paper. March 2016* and *Social Sustainability Policy. July 2016*).

UN-Habitat's 2016 document *The City We Need 2.0* (TCWN) is a manifesto of ten principles suggesting solid strategies on how to achieve urban sustainability in cities across the globe. It was written based on contributions from more than 7,701 individuals from 113 countries and 1,600 institutions that represent fourteen constituent groups: local and subnational authorities, research and scholars, civil societies, grassroots groups, women, legislators, minors and youth, business and industries, foundations and philanthropies, experts, labor unions and workers, farmers, indigenous groups, and the media (UN-Habitat, 2016b, 1). The local representation and networks across the globe that co-authored the UN-Habitat document evidently show how local urban policies influence and represent the UN-Habitat general perspective.

The urban policy of Sydney sets out the aspirations for a socially sustainable City of Sydney. It was written in response to the critical challenges and opportunities facing the community as the city experiences a period of major urban transformation (City of Sydney, 2016b, 1). It is stated in the document that the imperative is "to seek to strengthen society in the face of change" through deliberate policies and strategies (ibid.). It also outlines the vision, guiding principles, and roles of Sydney in strengthening the well-being and resilience of the community—the people who work, live, and study in and visit the City of Sydney local area (ibid.). The City of Sydney's social sustainability discussion paper also suggests strategies that can be used to implement the commitments of this policy to ensure Sydney is a city for all (City of Sydney, 2016a).

The City of Helsinki's urban policy draws its aspiration from the Greek philosopher Aristotle's vision that cities exist for the sake of good life (City of Helsinki, 2017, 4). Helsinki follows that vision by seeking to create the best possible conditions for urban life and thus to be the most functional city in the world (ibid.). Helsinki's functionality is also rooted in the Nordic perspective of high-quality urban services, transparent governance and almost zero corruption (ibid.). In addition, good life in the City of Helsinki requires more action. The policy document outlines strategies, plans, programs, conditions, and evidence needed to achieve a sustainable and functional city that works for all its residents.

3. Cosmopolis: a historical overview

3.1. From the classical beginning to the contemporary cosmopolis

The debate about the concept of cosmopolis has an extended history. From the political writings idealized by Aristotle (1984), the purpose of the existence of the *polis* or city is to enhance good life. He further defined the polis as a place where all people could participate in what is regarded as good (ibid.). Plato's and Aristotle's political idea of the polis was not related to cosmopolitanism (Kleingeld & Brown, 2019). In their thinking, a person first identifies themselves as a citizen of a particular polis and then pays allegiance to the institutions and people in that polis (ibid.). Their responsibility is to defend the polis from assaults, support its justice systems, and contribute to the common good of that polis (ibid.). In this sense, allegiance to and responsibility for the polis and other citizens explain what is termed as a good life (ibid.). In this context, the common good or good life does not extend to slaves and strangers living outside the boundaries of the polis (ibid.). Furthermore, in those eras, cities were also based on human relationships within the polis (Lilley, 2004a, 2004b).

The fourth-century BCE Cynic Diogenes was the first in Western philosophy to give a perfect and explicit expression to the term cosmopolitanism (Nussbaum, 2019). Thus, "when he was asked where he came from, he replied, 'I am a citizen of the world [kosmopolitês]'" (Diogenes Laertius VI 63). This new understanding of cosmopolis differs from Plato's and Aristotle's earlier understandings. In the case of Plato and Aristotle, citizenship was strictly tied to allegiance to the polis. While Diogenes considered himself to be a citizen of the cosmos and not a citizen of Sinope, he refused

to admit that he owed allegiance to Sinope and the Sinopeans (Kleingeld & Brown, 2019). From Diogenes' and the Cynic perspective, cosmopolitans live in agreement with nature and denounce the conventional ties to the polis (ibid). According to Cynic philosophers, this was an essential way of living in the polis at that time, and it also allowed the creation of a space for criticism of inequality within the polis (Turner, 2015). For Paone (2018, 1), Diogenes' Cynicism was a classical example of cosmopolitanism, which is philanthropic, minimalistic, utopian, and experimental. For Kleingeld and Brown (2019), the Cynics offered an example of high-minded virtue towards all others irrespective of their city of birth or allegiance.

The Cynic-influenced Stoics expanded the ideal of cosmopolitanism philosophically in the third century CE. For the Stoics, the cosmos is, as it was, a polis because the cosmos is perfectly put in order by law, which is right reason (Nussbaum, 1997). According to Brown (2010), the Stoics' right reason refers to the standard of right/wrong, suggesting to naturally political subjects the things that must be done and those that must not. The Stoics maintained that law represents right reason (ibid.). In this context, all people are considered to have the right and opportunity to improve themselves—their lives. The Stoics posited that the good or good life requires helping other people as the best one can—through *political engagement* (Kleingeld & Brown, 2019). They admitted that political engagement is not possible for all (the polis politically excludes the most vulnerable of its residents—slaves, women, the poor, etc.), and serving as a private teacher of virtue is an alternative or supplement to political engagement in terms of goodness towards vulnerable others (ibid.). In this context, the Stoics provided a clear and practical content to the word cosmopolis: *"a cosmopolitan considers moving away in order to serve, whereas a non-cosmopolitan does not"* (ibid.). Tsolis (2000) maintains that the Stoics had a broader perspective when it came to what they called the cosmopolis. For Brown (2010, 2), living as a citizen of the cosmopolis is a metaphor for living according to the right reason that pervades the natural surroundings.

Cosmopolitanism was also less demanding for the Stoics at Rome than for those in Greece. For instance, Chrysippus limited the notion of citizenship in the cosmos to those who live in accordance with the cosmos and its law, while the Roman Stoics extended this citizenship to all humans by virtue of their rationality. Cicero (44 BCE) claimed that the vision of cosmopolis is to expand the boundaries of traditional societies so that a society may emerge that has natural rather than traditional unifying bonds and that is thus destined for the whole human race without segregation. In this perspective, the city belongs to all, which deepens urban diversity among residents and goes beyond the city borders. This context of cosmopolis focuses on the equality and diversity of human nature, which enhance socio-cultural connectedness beyond the boundaries of allegiance and recognition. The Stoics claimed that citizens of both the polis and the cosmopolis have the same responsibility—both aim to enhance the lives of citizens. Additionally, the concept of cosmopolis prevailed in Christian philosophy and theology in Europe before 1600 and was regarded as a moral map of the city that served as a foundation of progress for drawing socio-cultural borders (Lilley, 2004a, 686). In this context, the city was imagined to be a "cosmos" and the cosmos to be a "city" (ibid., 683). Both were ordered in God's image, each a map of the other.

3.2. The transition to a modern cosmopolis

In the humanist era, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1521) used ancient cosmopolitanism as the basis for advocating the idea of worldwide peace. He pointed out the unity of humanity over its division into different peoples and states by arguing that human beings are destined by nature to interact and live in harmony (ibid.). In addition, in the eighteenth century, some scholars of cosmopolitanism drew on Stoic philosophy, implying the constructive moral ideal of a universal human society. For instance, Kant (1795) argued that all rational human beings are members of one moral community. In a political sense, they are similar to citizens in that they share the attributes of freedom, independence, and equality, and that they live under their independent laws (ibid.). The laws that unite them are the laws of morality, rooted in reason (ibid.). Kant also introduced the notion of

cosmopolitan law according to which people have these rights as citizens of the earth instead of citizens of specific states.

Lastly, as Stephen Toulmin (1992) has described, the cosmopolis has re-emerged in contemporary urbanization. He argues that the idea of cosmopolis is that human society should, in some way, reflect the structure of the universe since "nature" and "society" are understood as images of one another. Thus, the order of society and nature is governed by a similar set of laws (Toulmin, 1992, 127). Additionally, he claims that cosmopolitanism is still strongly visible in Western philosophy, science, and cities. While the concept of cosmopolis changed into an image of a rational, predictable, and governable structure during the Scientific Revolution, it also incorporated the idea of progress and finally resulted in the emergence of the cities of the Industrial Revolution.

3.3. Inclusion and exclusion in the classical cosmopolis

The classical concept of cosmopolis may have had a metaphorical dimension, but there were factors that determined who was included and excluded from the cultural and political affairs of the actual city-state of that time. Therefore, in the Greek polis Athens, people who were *xenoi* (foreigners) or *metokoi* (metics, resident aliens), vulnerable, day laborers or fishermen because they had lost everything, or women confined in the home of their spouse were not recognized as full citizens and were denied basic rights such as *isonomia*—equality before the law—and freedom of speech (Turner, 2015, 3). In this context, the term cosmopolis, the universe, as the entirety of space, and the polis, as the place of residence, were combined into one symbolic space (Jain, 2016, 3). In other words, in its metaphorical sense, the cosmos was originally nothing more than an order, a harmony that encompasses all matter and all beings (ibid).

Furthermore, ancient Greek city-states were in some ways similar to the classical idea of cosmos. As portrayed, it is an orderly space where each individual has a particular place, and, ideally, it is a political community characterized by a common ethos and a spirit of unity (ibid.). At the beginning, however, cosmopolitanism was not a mainstream ideology; rather, it was the worldview of outsiders such as the Cynic Diogenes (Nussbaum, 2019). It is clear that unlike Diogenes, citizens in his era were proud of their nation of origin because citizenship was not only a source of patriotic pride but also a political right (ibid.).

In this context, the Greek polis demonstrated that the unity of the cosmopolis was an ideological construction, and the real conditions of social unity were very limited (ibid., 4). Slavery and patriarchy dominated the social, cultural, and economic system (Turner, 2015, 44). Hence, to maintain the illusion of unity and equality, a sharp distinction was drawn between those who were considered fully capable of becoming citizens (the natives and wealthy males) and the rest of the population (ibid.). For example, in his Political Works (III–12), Aristotle (1984) observes that the noble, or free-born, or rich, may with good reason claim office: in that capacity, they must be free men and taxpayers because a state cannot be overwhelmingly composed of slaves or the poor. As a result, participation in the polis was based on inequality—the patriarchal rule of men over women, the paternal rule of fathers over children, and the rule of masters over slaves (Rosivach & Manville, 1992). In the Greek polis, the slaves were classified as somewhere between the free men and domesticated animals (ibid.). These facts indicate that the Greek cosmopolis as a participatory or inclusive urban center was idealized metaphor/metonym and rhetoric for the utopian thinking or at least thinking for a better (more virtuous) future (Jain, 2016, 4).

Lastly, the classical polis was a special kind of civil society in which any individual not associated with the bourgeois community was excluded from political participation (Jain, 2016, 8; Lefebvre, 1968; 8). This is a society which exists simultaneously with the global society of the global class as well as the local societies of the excluded working class and the service class (Jain, 2016, 8). For example, in this polis, the Cynics were thought of as advocating a radical transformation of society that would end all privileges of class, gender, and race and establish a universal human community not only to realize equality, but also to implement it (Hill, 2010; Turner, 2015). In this regard,

cosmopolitanism can be seen as an ideology that conceals global inequality—a contradiction that enables the cosmopolitan cosmopolis to be viewed as a non-place and as an alternative vision for creating the city of the future (Jain, 2016, 8).

3.4. The tension/relationship between diversity and cosmopolis/tanism: Towards redefining the global city

Bohman (2006, 104) suggests that in the context of cosmopolitanism, the global city is a vibrant place of interconnection and interaction for socio-cultural transformation and possible utopian aspirations. In this context, cities are now becoming the leading sites for the lived reality of diversity because globalization creates cities of differences along with other issues (Sandercock & Lyssiotis, 2003). In addition, urban policy leads to a process of change based on a shared agenda to reconstruct the built environment in a context that reflects the global cultural diversity and a subjective sense of belonging for all (ibid., 151) without discrimination.

The concept of urban diversity has become complex, resulting in the formulation of new terminologies linked to the concept and the degree to which the population is changing in cities (see, Vertovec, 2007, 1024; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, 6). Diversity, as defined by Vertovec (2007, 1024), is a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small, and dispersed, multiple-origin, transnationally linked, socioeconomically differentiated, and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade. This urban diversity is what Vertovec refers to as "super-diversity". Tasan-Kok et al. (2013, 6) also see urban diversity as an intense diversification of subjects, not only in socio-economic, socio-demographic, and ethnic relationships, but also concerning lifestyles, attitudes, and activities. In other words, they frame this type of urban diversity as hyper-diversity. Their explanation of diversity is significant for this paper since it highlights the extent to which socio-cultural patterns and expressions in cities should be examined. For Skovgaard et al. (2016 , 11), diversity in an urban context means the presence or co-existence of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a specified spatial entity such as a city or a neighborhood. Douglass (2009, 23) contends that diversity is increasing in multiple ways in the social context of cities. In the context of diversity, the concept of cosmopolis is about reconstructing the city as an extension of welcome and providing rights to people who escape unbearable situations, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and those in search of alternative livelihoods (Conley, 2002). Along similar lines, Kristeva (1993) posits that cosmopolitan culture in cities will result in generating tolerance among people who broadly accept the concept of citizenship beyond that of a narrowly defined nation-state, similarly to the Cynics and Stoics.

The concept of urban diversity is crucial for cosmopolitanism as well as connected to the idea of the cosmopolis and the "city we need" paradigm, which enhances the natural "duty to live with all kinds of people" (Appiah, 2006) in urban areas. According to Nussbaum (1997), urban policymakers and populations have the obligation to promote the happiness of others, which also entails their constructive engagement in the political and cultural life to promote their societal representation in terms of laws and policies. However, this situation has made questions of governance increasingly complex, and governments are looking for strategies to enhance the internal dynamics of urban development that tackles the growing divisions between the shrinking institutional capacities and the rising differences between increasingly diverse subjects' needs (Nielsen et al. 2016, 15).

The above perspective of diversity is in line with the classical ideal of cosmopolis as a perfect place where residents live in harmony with each other and their surroundings without segregation —a participatory city for all (Beumer, 2017; Lilley, 2004a; Sandercock, 1998; Toulmin, 1992; Tsolis, 2000). In this context, Beumer (2017, 2) posits that the classical ways of conceptualizing the city are still meaningful when seeking to understand the role that contemporary cities can play in global urban sustainability and human well-being. Similarly to the classical times, the focus of modern cities is geared towards strengthening the urban-nature relationship and the role of their

people (ibid.). This affirms Plato's claim that "this city is what it is because our citizens are what they are" (Beumer, 2017, 10).

The concept of cosmopolis re-emerges as a strategy for planning and negotiating differences in contemporary societies. As Sandercock (1998) claims, paying attention to the voices of differences in cities helps achieve social justice and respect for urban cultural diversity. She argues that the realization of cosmopolitanism will be visible in cities if their policymakers abandon the "pillar of modernist planning and wisdom—rationality, comprehensiveness, scientific objectivity, and the project of interest" and replace it with "new concepts of social justice, citizenship, community and multiple publics" (ibid.). Additionally, Sandercock (1998, 111) claims that cosmopolitanism builds on the voices of people who dwell in cultures with a long history of discrimination, who have been segregated for a century, but who are now insurgent and turning their very marginalization into a creative space for theorizing, which resembles the recognition of indigenous rights in recent history (Howard-Wagner et al., 2018; United Nations General Assembly, 2007).

In this context, a sustainable city becomes a widely embraced model of twenty-first-century urban development, which integrates the global/urban features similarly to what Conley (2002) defines as a cosmopolis—*a recreation of the city as an extension of welcome that provides rights and privileges to people who escape intolerable circumstances*. In my view, the extension of welcome in the contemporary cosmopolitan perspective includes people in search of better and alternative lifestyles. I will now move on to the next section that presents the empirical discussion.

4. Urban diversity and cosmopolis

When analyzing the selected current urban policies, documents, and their messages in the light of the theoretical concepts, it might be said that similarities such as inclusion and participation arise in the context of diversity.

In the context of diversity, Conley (2002) sees cosmopolitan cities as an extension of welcome to others grounded in right reason, which enables subjects and authorities to reconstruct themselves both culturally and socially beyond the ethnic borders and national allegiances. Similarly to what Harvey (2003) has argued, it means the right to remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality and entails a reflexive attitude towards urban development for all. Brown (2010, 6) claims that in this context, public policy is set to guide "Cynic/Stoic life"—living in agreement with nature or the surroundings. In addition, in this paper, urban diversity is understood in a way that recognizes that every person irrespective of their identity or city of birth should be able to realize their potential, interact with others, and share the profits of progress and increased success in the city. In this respect, the aspiration for a cosmopolis can be achieved and realized through enhancing openness and the virtue of welcoming and helping others without ethnic limitation. In this regard, UN-Habitat (2016) describes "the city we need" in the twenty-first century as follows:

> . . . it embraces cultural diversity, including differences of belief and language, and encourages social integration of migrants and refugees. It encourages all segments and age groups of the population to partake in social and cultural life (UN-Habitat, 2016b, 4).

In line with the above quotation, strategies and policies of urban diversity must be geared towards recognizing and integrating people's socio-cultural identities without referring to their city of birth or nationality. The above quotation is also silent on the attachment or allegiance of people regarded as refugees or others to their previous city or polis. This brings to mind the above reference to Diogenes when he arrived in Athens after being banished from Sinope. He philosophically refused to be recognized as Sinopean, but neither did he pay total allegiance to the current city—instead he paid it to humanity in general. The above aspiration is also somewhat similar to what Kant (1795) describes as universal hospitality. For Kant, those who are welcome should arrive in peace, and the current place should be open to all persons as a shared universal right or as

a right to a city, as described by Henri Lefebvre, 1968). Therefore, both the classical conception of a city and the current UN-Habitat's manifesto of the city we need metaphorically support the claim that all humans, whether native or refugees, are equal members of the shared universal place, and this includes communities where they are welcome as outsiders. This is in line with what the ancient Greek and Roman Stoics described as the virtue of helping others, even though the included quotation did not mention their political engagement in their new polis. In addition, UN-Habitat's *New Urban Agenda* for sustainable cities also seeks to promote this kind of cosmopolitan approach in the coming years to create cities that provide everyone with an equal chance in life as a way of welcoming and providing Kantian universal hospitality to all and ensuring the happiness of others. According to UN-Habitat:

> The City We Need fosters a culture of peace. It does so by working together with all stakeholder groups in organizing inter-generational, inter-cultural dialogue and events to promote understanding, tolerance and communications (UN-Habitat, 2016b, 12).

Based on the classical and modern perspectives on cosmopolis, urban spaces also serve as an extension of welcome to all kinds of marginalized people, which can be enhanced in line with UN-Habitat's principles if existing residents or citizens regard themselves as negotiating their culture and identity with others. This approach is evident in the City of Sydney policy, which states that "our strengths include our rich social and cultural diversity" (City of Sydney, 2016a, 9). In their policies, both Sidney and Helsinki are committed to taking decisive action on critical issues such as differences and marginalization. In my view, these statements are exactly in line with the Habitat III agenda of leaving no one behind, as well as the classical notion of cosmopolis, which rejects national attachments and particular allegiances. Along similar lines, the City of Helsinki's strategy (City of Helsinki, 2017, 12) posits that "true, vivid bilingualism is a great asset to Helsinki." In relation to this, the new models of sharing economy that are being created by residents and companies make the city more diverse inclusively and economically (ibid.). In my view, Helsinki's aspiration is more Platonic, and Aristotelian in disguise: the model here is to enable residents, including citizens and migrants, to participate in the good life that the city has to offer them, the people. However, in the classical era, the good life was limited to minority groups with citizenship rights. In parallel with the political ideas of Plato and Aristotle mentioned in the theoretical section, these benefits of sharing Helsinki's economy do not go beyond the borders of the city even though it is inclusive and attractive. In this context, Helsinki's good life is dependent on an individual's residency status (e.g., the type of visa or permit). This is similar to the classical concept of a city-state. Some scholars describe these political ideas of the classical era as "uncosmopolitan" though welcoming (Kleingeld & Brown, 2019).

Another concept which recurs in the UN documents is participation, which is an element of diversity. In what follows, I will discuss in more detail the recognition of and openness to others from the cosmopolitan point of view, focusing on the issue of participation.

4.1. Participation

In global cities, planning for diversity aims at providing a code of communication that is common to all and transforming the interaction between people in a way that ensures openness to others in society, similarly to what Tsolis (2000) and Brown (2010, 3) claim. From an ideological standpoint, as mentioned in the previous section, living in a cosmopolis means taking part in governance and ordinary politics as a means of influencing matters that directly affect one's well-being. In my view, active participation in politics and socio-cultural events ensures a mutual sense of belonging and trust that forms shared urban identities and cultures. For UN-Habitat:

> The City We Need is participatory. It promotes effective partnerships and active engagement by all members of society and partners (public, private and civil society). It safeguards local democracy by encouraging participation, transparency and accountability (UN-Habitat, 2016b, 7).

The above principle is reflected in the Helsinki strategy (City of Helsinki, 2017, 16): "a healthy, mutually respectful pride of one's own neighbourhood is part of the city's identity." The City of Sydney (2016b, 4) argues that "people's views are genuinely considered, and they can see and understand the impact of their participation." Deducing from the above quotations, I consider that living as a citizen of a contemporary cosmopolis, one should be able to celebrate one's own socio-cultural life and participate in that of others by virtue of one's rationality. In the theoretical section, it is suggested that for the Stoics, good life is about helping other people fully, which may at times necessitate active political engagement, even when such participation excludes those who are most vulnerable. The above aspirations of the Cities of Helsinki and Sydney are literally in line with Stoicism and reaffirm Stephen Toulmin's (1992) claim concerning the visibility of the classical cosmopolis in contemporary cities. The actualization of these statements, however, depends on who is entitled to participate in culture and social life. The issue of participation is related to issues of immigration and citizenship (including those with a legal residence permit and visa), which are beyond the jurisdiction of the above cities. The type of residence permit and visa that a person with a non-citizen status holds determines their rights and obligations in a city or country and poses a barrier to the realization of participation.

Notwithstanding the limitations that affect its achievability, this context of diversity contributes to the formation of a shared universal culture of the city, which generates tolerance among residents, who respect and recognize differences, which is similar to what Kristeva (1993) refers to as "cosmopolitan culture" in cities. I see this principle as an attempt towards enhancing participatory city-making in the interest of all residents as part of sustainable urban development. The realization of the cosmopolitan vision will create the best conditions that enable urban subjects to act in accordance with the cosmos, which boosts the relationship between people and the city. It is a strategy towards living together with dignity and peace in a multicultural-centered space perfectly put in order by law. The above principle is also evident in Sydney's policy: "ensuring Sydney is a city for all—is a shared responsibility for government, business, community organizations and individuals" (City of Sydney, 2016a, 9). In this perspective, the global cosmopolis reaffirms the vision of achieving participatory city-making, which promotes a shared sense of belonging for all. For the City of Helsinki:

> It seeks to create the best conditions possible for urban life for its residents and for visitors . . . . The city's strategic intent is to do things a little bit better every time, in order to make the life of Helsinki's residents easier and more pleasant (City of Helsinki, 2017, 9).

In addition, these actions ensure openness to socio-cultural patterns and expressions, which connects urban subjects to those responsible for policymaking, as well as to people around them. In this context, the ownership of cities becomes open to all, and each subject contributes to the reconstruction of the cosmopolis and making it liveable and attractive. However, Helsinki and Sydney differ from a classical city-state in many respects: for example, citizenship and ownership have been extended to include women, foreigners, and children, and slavery has been abolished. Irrespective of that, this period has its own set of problems that create roadblocks to the policies, as opposed to the classical period. In addition, the realization of participation in cities can be a virtue of helping others. An example of similar action that organizes the city, notably its public and open spaces, is offered by Helsinki's strategy, in which participation is connected to the equality of all subjects irrespective of their city of birth or nationality. The City of Helsinki posits that

> Each resident of Helsinki has the right to feel they are a true Helsinki citizen and do something significant for their community . . . . In Helsinki, it is easy to be of help to others. The city strives to maintain the trust of residents and companies, to strengthen their real influence and to improve equality, service standards and mutual understanding between population groups through modern models of inclusion (City of Helsinki, 2017, 16).

In this context, I see participation as a tool to achieve the perfect place grounded in the classical right reason, or in Lefebvre's, 1968) contemporary *right to the city*, which provides inhabitants as well as visitors with access and pathways to progress, regardless of their ethnic and national affiliation. An example of participation as right reason put in order by law that organizes the spaces of interaction is reflected in Sydney as follows: "People's fundamental human rights and dignity are respected and protected … . Equitable access to our city's resources and opportunities means that everyone can enjoy a great quality of life and reach their full potential" (City of Sydney, 2016b, 3). In my view, in cities, natural equality and rights constitute what is meant by living as citizens of a free cosmopolis that defines the rights to a city, which is the same as offering people the chance to live as world citizens envisaged by the classical/modern scholars of cosmopolitanism. In this regard, the agenda of contemporary cities' socio-cultural urban policy is linked to an endless course of creating order—the alternative society of welcoming and providing rights to those who have suffered unbearable conditions as revealed above in the policies of Helsinki and Sydney. Cosmopolitan rights are thus seen naturally as a virtue of helping other humans because they are fellow humans. However, the realism of these policy statements is hindered by economic, administrative, and bureaucratic procedures which are beyond the jurisdiction of these cities.

In the section that follows, I will discuss inclusion as another dimension of urban diversity from the cosmopolitan point of view.

4.2. Inclusion

According to Douglass (2016, 1), the concept of cosmopolis means inclusive governance to make cities responsive to the different hopes of their subjects. In Douglass's terms, inclusiveness enhances openness, which leads to the construction of a safer urban space with a high level of trust and sense of belonging. This is also in line with Lefebvre's, 1968) idea of the right to the city and the notion of the city as an extension of welcome and a place that integrates migrants seeking a better and alternative way of life. In the cosmopolitan perspective, the principle that residents live in agreement with the city is critical for inclusive urban development. Inclusiveness in the city brings opportunities for creative and cultural expression, which enable urban subjects to share their experiences, negotiate their differences, and live together in a multicultural-centered space that opposes particularistic ideologies (Mohammed 2019). In this context, the City of Sydney posits that

> The City aims to develop a new city centre inclusive, play space, providing a play-friendly environment in the heart of our city … . It would provide extended recreation and play opportunities in a convenient location, subject to finding a site supported by city residents and businesses (City of Sydney, 2016a, 51).

I would argue that these inclusive strategies concentrate on internal processes that enhance diversity and a shared sense of belonging for all instead of creating a universal order to accommodate everyone similarly to Plato's and Aristotle's political idea of good life. This is in line with what Delanty (2006) and Douglass (2016) posit as participatory city-making.

The cosmopolis is built in a way that considers the different users of the city and people's relationships. Here the focus is geared towards strengthening the socio-cultural bond that connects people even more than their next-of-kin relationships. The above is similar to how the Roman Stoics conceptualized cosmopolitanism: they extended nationality and rights to all people by virtue of their rationality. In this regard, diversity is about the recognition and equalization of differences in the city, which is also included in the city's cultural planning. In the new cosmopolis (the city we need), urban subjects need to acknowledge that the bond that connects people to one another in general is equally close to the bond that connects subjects to their relatives.

According to UN-Habitat:

> The City We Need promotes the right to the city for all. This entails the right to a dignified and secure existence with access to decent housing, public goods and services and a voice in decision-making (UN-Habitat, 2016b, 4).

The above statement highlights the connection between people, as well as that between people and the city, especially their access to socio-cultural spaces and facilities. In my view, inclusiveness is one of the primary mechanisms for strengthening interaction and sociability in cities. As a result, contemporary policymakers must re-strategize their actions towards achieving a global city or a cosmopolis as described above. Furthermore, through connecting people to the city or enabling them to live in harmony with the spaces within the city, it is possible to create a safer and healthy society that is accessible to both strong and weak urban subjects. In this regard, UN-Habitat (2016b, 12) argues:

> The City We Need is free from violence, conflict and crime. It is welcoming night and day, inviting all people to use its streets, parks, and transit without fear. It guarantees the safety of women and girls and the elderly in both public and workplaces.

In this context, how do individuals, especially the vulnerable ones, access and integrate into cities? Inclusiveness serves as an opportunity to reduce urban stress and enhance the free movement of people within cities. However, is such an opportunity available to all? Can the vulnerable ones afford it? For instance, the City of Sydney posits that "a safe, accessible Sydney enables everyone in our community to lead enriched, fulfilling and contributing lives" (City of Sydney, 2016b, 4). In this context, the immediate solution to inclusion in terms of affordability is how urban planners strive to transport people and creativity closer to each other to make the city sustainable in a cosmopolitan way. Similarly, the City of Helsinki argues that "Helsinki furthers tolerance and pluralism, becomes more international and provides conditions for the creation of interesting destinations and events" (City of Helsinki, 2017, 12).

Lastly, the virtue of helping others can be considered another way of living in agreement with the city. In this context, the effort of the city is to create attractive spaces that foster interaction between urban subjects concerning economic and socio-cultural matters. This effort of bringing people closer to the city, especially the creative spaces, also serves as an approach to promote cultural tourism that promotes Kantian universal hospitality and cosmopolitanism. In the cosmopolis, in both the classical and contemporary sense, inclusion encourages policymakers and urban subjects to develop innovative ideas together that make the city more attractive, cheaper, and safer and promote the principle of leaving no one behind in such spaces. The purpose of these rationalities regarding urban diversity and inclusion is to offer opportunities for different people and communities to meet and socialize even at a distance through a range of broad-based social and creative programs. In this way, the city becomes a platform for replicating the classical conception of good life, creativity, and a shared sense of belonging that can be called a cosmopolis in the twenty-first century. Despite the nice policy statements above, their implementation is hampered by both external and internal factors that make living in large cities very expensive for the most vulnerable. The socio-economic factors include high living costs, unemployment (the lack of a decent job), residence status, and the lack of affordable housing, as well as the effects of globalization (such as the UN) and regionalization (such as the EU) especially when it comes to socio-economic directives that grant certain rights and privileges to specific groups of people based on their nationality. All these external factors are outside the jurisdiction of the cities and therefore have a direct or indirect impact on the inclusive policy.

5. Conclusion

This paper has discussed and interpreted the urban policy documents of the Cities of Helsinki and Sydney along with UN-Habitat's 2016 manifesto *The City We Need 2.0* from the perspective of the

classical idea of cosmopolis. A close reading of the empirical data revealed similarities between the texts primarily in issues related to urban diversity, and especially participation and inclusion. It also provided a historical overview of the concept of cosmopolis and its exclusiveness and inclusiveness in the classical era and highlighted the tension and relationship between the concepts of diversity and cosmopolis/tanism. The discussion was geared towards contributing to the sustainability debates regarding the Habitat III goal for 2030 of leaving no one behind.

In my analysis I found that the concept of cosmopolis is not limited to the creation of a universal order perfect for accommodating the whole human race; instead, it has shifted the focus of the debate to the internal processes of socio-cultural city-making and positions urban space or the city as an extension of welcome to people regarded as outsiders without referring to their city of birth, allegiance, or nationality. Furthermore, the classical notion and definitions of cosmopolis resonate with the modern practical policy speech of Helsinki and Sydney only in the context that describes the virtue of helping and welcoming others with a legal residence status—permanent residents and visitors—within the territory of the cities. This virtue of helping and welcoming others does not extend to foreigners (residents) living outside the city. I posit that the cosmopolitan vision of "the city we need" is a realistic response to the demand for openness to and recognition of people and their natural freedom and sociability. In addition, the idea of cosmopolis, as discussed above, concentrates on (local, national, and international) processes of transformation concerning individuals and the city, in which new socio-cultural policies and strategies are manifested and create an enabling shared cultural space for interacting and socializing. Meanwhile, as is evident from the study, the metaphor of the classical cosmopolis as a participatory or inclusive urban center is a myth that existed in the minds of political philosophers, whereas political participation in the Greek polis was a privilege enjoyed by the minority based on citizenship rights. In my view, the metaphorical conceptualization of the city provides a strategy for understanding the changing population, a strategy in which residents realize the benefit of learning and living together in a way that improves people's participation in the common good.

These similarities lead again to ideas about a more cosmopolitan city, a city in which policymakers contribute to broader social and cultural sustainability, and people learn to live with each other through the processes of urban governance and spaces for celebrating diversity and acknowledging differences. The welcoming and accommodation of multiple cultures call for policymakers to assist in negotiating the terms of urban identity and culture among different people. This strategy contributes to the creation of an alternative society, such as the new cosmopolis or "the city we need" (UN-Habitat, 2016b), which is centered on natural acceptance, connection, and respect for cultural spaces and people regarded as others with the possibility of working together for a shared future. Although UN-Habitat and cities make virtuous statements and slogans, it does not mean that they describe the reality. Factors such as prices of goods and services, high living costs, immigration laws, and other bureaucratic complexities practically prevent these ideals from becoming a reality in these cities.

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IV

LIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY AND URBAN CULTURE: GOVERNING DIFFERENCES AND DIVERSITY IN THE POLICIES OF HELSINKI AND SYDNEY

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Liberal Governmentality and Urban Culture: Governing Differences and Diversity in the Policies of Helsinki and Sydney

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Abstract

This article uses Michel Foucault's understanding of police and liberalism to discuss the governance of diversity and differences, and how they appear as a regulatory form of power in urban cultural policy. The data consists of interviews conducted with policymakers in Helsinki and Sydney. The article asserts that the policing of cultural spaces of encounter at the city level is not limited to the regulatory practices and controls that produce a sense of safety and order for citizens in the city. This governance has great significance for representing excluded people and the socioeconomic identity of their neighborhoods. Finally, the use of language as a means of communication in cultural policy practices in Helsinki and Sydney is identified as a powerful resource that facilitates community entry, contact, and interaction with others within cultural spaces and the city.

Keywords
diversity, differences, governmentality, urban cultural policy, Helsinki, Sydney

Introduction

In recent years, there has been an interest in developing governance theories and concepts that address the differences within and between people learning to live together (Skovgaard Nielsen et al. 2016; Fincher et al. 2014). Cities, their administrative sectors, and councils play a crucial role in advancing the new urban governmentality and governmental rationality (Appadurai 2001: 25). According to Skovgaard Nielsen et al. (2016), "diversity" means the coexistence of various socioeconomic, demographic, ethnic, and cultural groups within a certain space such as a city or neighborhood (Skovgaard Nielsen et al. 2016: 11). This article adopts Huttunen et al.'s (2022) way of thinking about "diversity and difference" as its analytical frame. Huttunen et al. (2022: 1) view diversity as a positive force within a state or city that deserves to be protected and preserved, whereas "difference" is considered to be a negative phenomenon between states, cities, or neighborhoods. In this article, I define dif-

ference as an unfavorable factor in a city that tends to directly or indirectly limit people's communication and participation in what can be called normal everyday life.

In this context, Richard Sennett (1991: 133–141) has noted how difficult it could be to see how different groups of people — strangers or others — could interact, socialize with locals, and participate in the sociocultural and political affairs of a city. However, Sennett does not make a reasonable effort to grasp the problems involved in managing urban diversity so that a typically *urban culture of difference* can be governed (Kraus 2016: 17). To address this issue, this article discusses Foucault's notion of police and liberal governmentality in governing urban diversity and differences. Specifically, this study aims to clarify the following research question: How does the city government represent "police" culturally if approached from the Foucauldian perspective? Foucault's notion thus provides an analytical perspective on how urban diversity and differences can be governed within the context of governable spaces of encounter, such as Chinatowns.

To answer the research question, I conducted in-depth interviews with policymakers from the cultural departments or units of the cities of Sydney and Helsinki, which were analyzed against the first principle of UN-Habitat's New Urban Agenda: leaving no one behind (UN-Habitat 2016). The New Urban Agenda (Habitat III) is an action-oriented document adopted by the United Nations in Quito, Ecuador, at its 2016 Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development. It represents a paradigm shift based on the science of cities and provides guidelines, standards, and principles for planning, building, developing, governing, and improving urban spaces (ibid.). In this article, the section titled "Case Study" describes in detail how this empirical analysis was conducted, which methodological tools were utilized, and why these particular cities were selected.

The term "governable spaces of encounter" is used in this article as a manifestation of diversity and differences. It describes public, open spaces in cities in which residents and visitors can interact socially, culturally, and economically, but which require — and are a product of — a certain kind of government. This article turns to the notion of a "Chinatown" as an empirical example of such a space. For Ahponen (2009: 92), the establishment of such spaces of encounter makes it easier for people to create movable identities and achieve full citizenship, which values and acknowledges the diversity of cities and neighborhoods. According to Järvelä (2009: 163), such spaces only become culturally significant and governable when people use them, which creates and reproduces spatial and sociocultural forms that promote communication between individuals learning to live together, as stipulated in Habitat III's new urban agenda (UN-Habitat 2016). As a result, as this reproduction intensifies and more people move to cities, urban culture and cultural policy become increasingly entwined, resulting in a city of differences that has a significant impact on who should be governed and how (Järvelä 2009: 163).

In this context, policy is often conceived as a process of "governmentality," or the process by which the state comes to govern individuals and space (Foucault 1991: 87–90; Mulcahy 2006: 320; cf. Rose 1999). Dean (2002) asserts that the governmentality approach to the governance of urban cultures in cities adheres to a liberal interpretation of the task of government itself. In this article, Foucauldian liberalism is introduced as a technique for understanding both explicit and implicit cultural policy practices (cf. Ahearne 2009) of city government. However, in light of the data and objectives of this article, cultural policy is addressed particularly from the perspective of implicit or effective cultural policy (ibid.). According to Ahearne (2009: 143), "implicit cultural policy" refers to any political strategy that more or less directly influences the culture(s) of the territory or space (e.g., city, region, neighborhood, etc.) over which it has authority.

It is also critical for this article to distinguish between policy and police. According to Palonen (2003), policy is the regularizing aspect of politics. In this regard, Pyykkönen et al. (2009: 11) posit policy as the result of government actions that depend on the coordination, measurement, and regulation of activities that people engage in or do not engage in in their daily lives, and the spaces around them. In contrast, the concept of *police* was developed in Germany to better understand and control the socially diverse city-states and their ways of life (Pasquino 1978). As such, police, or liberal police—a concept which I approach through the notion of *cultural police* — is a form of governmentality that refers to the process through which the strength and power of a state or city are enhanced (Knemeyer 1980: 181). Given this, I approach police (cultural police) as a political technology of governing urban spaces and the individual (cf. Dean 2002).

The following section discusses the concepts of diversity, space, and language in relation to urban culture and the main objective of this study. It is followed by a theoretical discussion of liberal governmentality, liberalism and police. The Foucauldian understanding of liberalism and police provides a valuable basis for analyzing my data, as it offers a way to assess the governance of diversity and differences in a way that leads to meaningful conclusions. After the theoretical section, I describe the research methods, namely case study and thematic analysis, and the data and its analysis in this study. In the empirical section of the article, I then discuss the cases of Sydney and Helsinki under the theme of cultural spaces of encounter and communication. Finally, in the conclusion, I summarize my key findings.

Redefining Diversity, Space, and Language

Nowadays, diversity has also become a norm in the official urban and global discourse and policy discussion. In the United Nations' New Urban Agenda (Habitat III), it is claimed that "we further commit ourselves to promoting culture and respect for diversity and equality as key elements in the humanization of our cities and human settlements" (UN-Habitat 2016: 11). Fincher et al. (2014: 5) argue that the increasing ethnic and racial diversity and differences in contemporary cities present a challenge for urban planners and policymakers to guide urban areas to achieve harmonious social and cultural interactions. Essentially, their discourses and strategies are shaped by the residents' conceptions of the diversities, which vary significantly from country to country (Castle & Niller 2009). This diversity affects how residents and visitors interact, and how these spaces of encounter are represented and constructed (ibid.). In this context, difference becomes the responsibility of the state or city, while diversity becomes the responsibility of the people (cf. Huttunen et al. 2022).

Western cities have traditionally been distinguished by their cultural identity with respect to the nations they claim to represent (Kraus 2016: 19–21). Kraus (2016) argues that larger cities are associated with the history of their national identity because their inhabitants speak the same language and exhibit a similar way of life. Yet, since the 1800s, Western cities have faced a remarkable diversification of ethnicities, cultures, and languages (Wahlbeck 2022; UNESCO 2009). In this article, urban spaces, serving as examples of diversity and difference, are described as places where people can meet and interact in a way that can be controlled. One example of this development are the "Chinatowns" in the major capitals of the Western world. This is the reason why the notion of Chinatowns was selected as one of the focal points of this article. Here, the concept of Chinatown, however, refers to a larger phenomenon than merely Chinese residents in a specific location. According to Ang (2015: 4), Chinatowns in Western countries, including Australia, are pre-eminent spaces where the Chinese diaspora has established a sense of belonging and societal representation.

Kraus (2016: 38) posits that the recognition and inclusion of others in the above context may be a suitable technique for governing such multilingual and multidimensional spaces in cities. According to Wahlbeck (2022: 170), this technique can create communicative resources that enable residents and visitors to act independently and tolerate each other locally and internationally.

In the context of learning to live together as governable subjects, language as a means of communication is one of the most important factors in understanding diversity and differences, interaction and wellbeing, trade and commerce, contacts, and socialization in urban contexts (Deltas & Evenett 2020: 1–2). Therefore, it is necessary to recognize the symbolic significance of language differences for individuals' and cultures' formation of identities (ibid.). Furthermore, Hodler et al. (2017) suggest that using a common language in urban interactions and contacts in shared urban spaces would help reduce bitter personal feelings towards people regarded as others in society. Robinson (2020) argues that such an approach would promote peaceful coexistence and diversity in cities, thereby ultimately increasing trust between ethnicities and cultures.

Liberal Governmentality

In urban studies, a practical way of thinking about liberalism as a government strategy is related to the multiple ways local councils (city governments) operate and attempt to reconstruct a world of openness for self-governing and self-determining individuals (Rose et al. 2006: 101). For modern and liberal urban governance to function, the subject (urban residents and visitors) must be shaped, guided, and transformed into a person capable of living freely through systems of liberal government, which involve people with their multiple desires, interests, capabilities, and so on (Dean 1999: 164–165).

In this context, governmentality is "understood in the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behavior—government of children, government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state, or of oneself" (Foucault 1997: 82). For Gordon (1991: 2), Foucault's definition of governmentality as "the conduct of conduct" or "arts of government" is a type of activity — of government — aimed at shaping, guiding, or affecting the conduct of oneself and others. It includes practices that make it possible for visitors and residents to be governed, interact, and shape cultural spaces that can be governed (Rose et al., 2006: 101).

Rose (2000) sees governance, in its broader scope, as a kind of action in which various stakeholders (not only governments) seek to produce and reproduce lifestyles and spaces that are safer for the city, its government, and its residents. In terms of governance, governmentality utilizes a variety of rationales or mentalities associated with the many approaches to government (Bacchi 2009: 26). According to Gordon (1991: 2–3), urban governance as an activity concerns relationships between individuals, private interpersonal relations that involve some form of control or guidance, relationships between cultural institutions and communities, and concerns related to political influence. Nielsen et al. (2016: 3) define this type of governance as partnerships implemented at different policy and spatial levels to achieve a particular result.

In Foucault's theory, governance is viewed as an activity, and the arts of government are ways to comprehend what that activity entails, and how it might be applied to governing differences and diversity (Gordon 1991). These concepts also enable the study of urban cultural policies, programs, and technology to destabilize taken-for-granted notions about how cultural politics should be conducted and thought about (Bacchi & Goodwin 2016:

43). The rationality of governance is described here as the capacity to make some form of government activity (who is governed, what constitutes governing, what is governed, and in what ways) both thinkable and practical, both for those practicing it and for those on whom it is performed (ibid.). As Dean (1999: 89) notes, the internal practices and rationale of this type of government activity can be described as "policing."

Liberalism

Foucauldian scholars like Dean (2002: 41) view liberalism as a general philosophy of rule that governs governmental organizations and is followed throughout the world. The fundamental principles of this perspective are a commitment to personal liberty and limited and accountable government (ibid.). Dean's argument (2010: 228) should be considered when contemplating these new types of urban spaces that aim to leave no one behind in cities as described in the United Nations' New Urban Agenda. He argues that today's cities and states are limited in their ability to act due to the complexity of urban space and the population of those cities.

For Foucault, the study of liberalism entails the examination of the governmental reason and the political rationality of government as an activity instead of an institution (Burchell 1996: 21). Today, urban space represents one of the most important contexts for exploring this activity in the form of enabling government through sense-making concerning the intersection of diversity, difference, and cultures in urban areas (Geertz 1973: 5; Wirth 1940: 743). In this regard, Borer (2006) describes culture as a process of finding a space where liberal governance can take shape. Urban cultural policies serve as vehicles for teaching people how to live together in urban environments (Gilberg et al. 2012; Williams 1958).

Lastly, drawing on Foucault's late remarks, liberalism is considered a technology of governmentality (Hunt 1996: 167). In this regard, Dean (1991: 13) maintains that a liberal form of government should be recognized as the result of multiple government interventions promoting and reproducing a specific way of life. Moreover, this lifestyle is based on the regulative notions of autonomy, rationality, and obligation. According to Gilberg et al. (2012), urban culture entails everyday activities, space, discursive discourses, ideology, and sociocultural policy. An example of this is how urban space governance affects city life, and how city life influences urban space governance (ibid.). For Hindess (1996: 65–66), the liberal form of government promotes a way of life suitable for a society composed of such independent individuals. Pyykkönen (2015: 10) argues that by using Foucauldian ideas of liberal governance and their premises of reasoning, one can understand how governance and freedom are intertwined in urban contexts. This idea is evocative of various strategies and directions designed to regulate and control the diversity and differences found in urban cultural policies and spaces. In this regard, liberalism views government as an evil to be minimized and the city or government as a means of promoting a particular way of living (Hindess 1996: 65–66).

Police

According to Dean (2002: 42), liberalism started as a critique of the theory and practice of rule that views police, security, and public order as conditions to be accomplished through a comprehensive set of regulations. Furthermore, this type of government practice is also based on a clear and thorough understanding of the culture, lifestyle, and livelihoods to be governed. Police attempt to ensure the security of the urban area, and this act of government is achieved by adopting a facilitating role (ibid.). In these circumstances, the police technology can be seen in the city council's role (local government), which functioned within state

frameworks and enabled governments to govern individuals in a way that was beneficial to the world (Foucault 2007: 410). The police carried out this operation under the assumption that a good place produces good citizens (Dušan & Dušan 2019). Due to this, the policing of cities has historically been based on their populations, requiring a great deal of consideration and effort in making urban policies (Pasquino 1978; Foucault 1988: 82–83).

According to Dean (1999: 95), the older version of police — ensuring security and public order —no longer serves as a model to be followed by government officials. This transformation describes the beginning of a new government technique (Dean 2002: 95). In Foucault's final analysis, police is seen as a political technology of the individual deployed by the liberal government (Jobe 2014). In this regard, the local or urban government utilizes this technology to cooperate with, contract out to, or enter into partnerships with agencies, groups, companies, communities, neighborhoods, bodies of civil society, and the private housing market within governed urban areas and spaces of encounter. These new spaces are what interest the police in the contemporary cultural context. According to Camponeschi (2010), utilizing public and open spaces is one way for the cultural police to experiment with new ways of interacting with people and gain a better understanding of urban subjects. In cities without these spaces, people with different backgrounds cannot interact with one another, and their understanding of one another is hampered by a lack of interaction, contacts, socializing, and dialogue (Neal et al. 2015).

For Foucault (2000: 412), the new version of police is concerned with the coexistence of people in a territory, their property relationships, what they produce, what is exchanged on the market, and so on. With this approach to diversity, the city government will gain a deeper understanding of contemporary public spaces, how they are shaped by differences, the way people live, and the diseases and accidents they may experience. In this regard, liberal governance is related to the claim to knowledge and the capability of the technology of police to accelerate the liberalistic notion of limited government that function through the understanding of cultural diversity and other processes outside of the formal political institutions of governing urban communities. It follows that the liberal fear of governing too much does not substantially exceed the fear that the population is being governed too much or wrongly, but that the state or city is doing too much of the governing to reinforce differences or celebrate diversity (Dean & Hindess 1998: 3–7). The section that follows will outline the methodological aspects of this study.

Case Study

This study includes in-depth examinations of cases of *diversity and differences* in urban governance to demonstrate how to promote the city government's strategy of governing residents and visitors. Within the scope of this article, the analysis is based on the working definition proposed by Yin (2015: 194): a case study is "an empirical inquiry that closely examines a contemporary phenomenon (the case) within its real-world context." The two countries were chosen because Finland has been a bilingual country since its independence, and multiculturalism is a central part of the Australian constitution. Helsinki and Sydney were selected for this examination because, first, both cities have explicitly acknowledged diversity and pluralism as part of their identities and placemaking. Second, both cities provide an excellent context for studying the concept of Chinatown and its discussion as an example of a space of encounter.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2019), the City of Sydney is expected to have a population of 275,370 as of the year 2022, out of the Greater Sydney population of

5,367,206. Helsinki has an estimated population of 653,835 out of the 1.5 million people living in the Helsinki Region (City of Helsinki 2020).

The geographical and cultural differences were also taken into consideration when selecting the cities. For example, Finnish and Swedish are both official languages in Finland, and in Helsinki, 78.2% speak Finnish as their first language, 5.6% speak Swedish, and 16.2% speak another language (City of Helsinki 2020). In Helsinki, more than 140 nationalities are represented, which makes it one of the most ethnically diverse cities in Finland. According to the World Population Review (2022), approximately 45% of the people who live in Greater Sydney were born outside of Australia, indicating that the population is diverse and represents many different cultures.

Data and Its Analysis

The study includes four semi-structured recorded interviews and one online interview conducted in Sydney between October and December 2019 and in Helsinki between June and July 2020. Before each data collection period, a formal request was emailed to a contact person in each city, explaining the broader purpose of my study and the necessity of obtaining data by interviewing respondents. My request was answered by the cities' unit or department of cultural policy, which selected three key candidates in Sydney and two in Helsinki for an interview. In each case, the participants represented the views of their respective cities within the cultural policy unit. As part of my broader research goal, the interviews conducted were purposively limited to the cultural policy units, and these did not include the perspectives of other departments of the city council.

To begin with, I conducted three semi-structured interviews with strategy advisors and managers from the cultural and creativity unit of the City of Sydney local government area (LGA). Due to the COVID-19 outbreak, it was very challenging to collect data in Helsinki. Therefore, two semi-structured interviews (one of which was an online interview) were conducted with policymakers (a former director and a deputy mayor) within the Culture and Leisure Division of the City of Helsinki.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and analyzed using the thematic analysis guidelines described by Braun and Clarke (2006). Based on the recommendations of the cities' cultural policy units or departments regarding my initial request, I conducted a smaller number of interviews than originally planned. However, thematic analysis can be used with both small and large data sets, and with as few as one or two participants (Cedervall & Berg, 2010).

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the data and to perform a thematic analysis, it was necessary to read the material multiple times. Following the transcription, coding was performed to categorize the data into smaller, more meaningful units. Codes were added to similar sentences, words, and sometimes even groups of sentences in the transcripts. However, not every phrase or word was coded, and only responses that were relevant to the study's goals were coded. Because I did not have pre-established codes, I utilized the open coding method, which involved developing codes as I coded and refining them as I progressed (Braun & Clarke 2006). Once I had read all the transcripts and assigned codes to different data components, I grouped codes that fit together into themes. In addition, I reviewed all the initial themes and determined that each theme should be distinct from the others. As a result of this thorough consideration and review, language and spaces of encounter were identified as themes, and Chinatown was categorized as a subtheme within the theme of spaces of encounter. Through this process, I refined the themes to reveal their essence. To do this, I looked at how the themes, research purpose, and theor-

etical frameworks that were used to answer the research questions fit together. The analysis was conducted at a descriptive level as well as more comprehensively, in search of models and patterns that might be used to explain the statements.

Finally, the interview participants from Sydney were anonymized as Syn1 and Syn2, and the participants from Helsinki were anonymized as Hel1 and Hel2. To obtain a more comprehensive understanding, the findings of the present study were analyzed from a theoretical perspective. This understanding will be discussed in the following section, which covers the analysis.

Policing Differences and Diversity at Local (City) Council Level

Policing cultural spaces of encounter and notions of communication: What about Chinatown?

As discussed in the previous sections, spaces of encounter are determined by economic factors, cultural norms, and, most importantly, the police's control of the targeted population. Considering this, it may be argued that such cultural encounters in cities and their spaces have led to today's urban governmentality, which includes both explicit and implicit cultural policies characteristic of liberal governance. Furthermore, the normalization of such spaces or communities has the effect of restricting sociability and interaction between citizens who live alongside excluded individuals.

In the context of language and spaces of encounter identified as the themes in the data and Chinatown as the subtheme, Hel2 describes the City of Helsinki as "a bilingual city with some other languages in Helsinki." Syn2 describes the City of Sydney as "strangely diverse in terms of being a lot of people from a lot of places." Based on these quotations, communication methods, such as the languages people speak, provide insight into how the city's diverse population can function together. In practice, the City of Sydney primarily functions in English. It is a city with a large number of immigrants who settled there during the early stages of European settlement. For this reason, Sydney is highly diverse despite the fact that English is the dominant language of communication and contact. In the City of Helsinki, the number of immigrants has grown since the early 1990s, but it is still low compared to Sydney and other Western cities with a long history of immigration.

According to Sager (2011), cities and their governments set the agenda for governing people through a variety of means of communication that involve agreements between businesses, governments, and people. In addition, this approach allows for an assessment of how differences and diversity are governed within ethnic spaces or concentrations by observing details of daily life. The case studies below will discuss this further.

The City of Sydney's case

According to Ang (2015: 5), Chinatowns have re-emerged as an icon of multiculturalism in Australia. Australia's declaration as a multicultural nation in the 1980s has changed the meaning of Chinatowns (ibid.). Historically, Sydney's Chinatown was a place of differences and segregation, enforced by the majority of residents and colonial governments as the settlers sought to maintain cultural ties to their homeland (Inglis 2011: 1). Today, Chinatowns are places for celebrating cultural diversity and serve as a symbol of differences that should be protected from discrimination and prejudice rather than criticized (Anderson 1990: 137). The City of Sydney recognizes this opportunity to promote the colorful potential of

Chinatown as a means of boosting economic growth and increasing mutual participation among Chinese residents (ibid.).

In Sydney, interviewee Syn2 raised the theme of cultural expectations:

> It's hard for me to say because when I go to Chinatown, I am experiencing it as a European, as a white Australian. That's how I am experiencing it. So, when I am going there and ordering food, or you know, I am buying something or hanging around, I will be speaking English.
>
> And I have never had a situation in Chinatown or any place similar to Chinatown because we have Korea town, which is kind of around this area. So, I have never had the experience of being unable to converse with someone in Chinatown.

In light of the above statements regarding cultural expectations, foreign origin is sometimes a starting point for developing new visitors' spaces with opportunities for interaction between urban residents and others. In this context, Sydney's Chinatown, which is a place with foreign roots, may also help improve communication between people who speak different languages. For example, the original settlers gathered in Chinatown in Sydney solely to work and survive. Now, it is a bustling dining district, attracting tourists who are not culturally different in their approach to communication from those who possess a basic understanding of English and the language of the settlers. It is evident from the above that business and cultural contacts occur at all levels, even at the level of ordering food. Accordingly, these trends indicate that the differences in the governing procedures in Sydney's Chinatown can be seen as a manifestation of urban diversity and a representation of the minority group. Diversity is also present, but mostly in the form of tourism and trade, in which people from different cultures meet and interact with each other. In terms of interaction and encounters between different cultures and ethnic groups and visitors, Chinatowns are one of the most visible indicators.

With respect to the theme of policy directives, Syn2 stated:

> They would not have assumed any policy work done around what we are going to do regarding language. So, it's literally like we will create. We will work with the Chinese community to create this place where they can congregate and share and interact and share their culture and all of that. But whether or not that would have gone to the level of how we are going to regulate, or we will create the policy conditions for the sharing of language, I don't think it would have gone that far.
>
> I mean obviously, there is a lot of signage in Chinese, Mandarin, and Cantonese, there is a lot of, you know, kind of British communication and obviously, the community there talking in Mandarin or Cantonese amongst themselves. But it is an interesting question about whether or not there would be a policy layer to that. I don't know.

Based on this, the urban lifestyle in Sydney has increased the visibility of cultural relationships, making government policing simpler. The development of spaces for interaction and encounters is consistent with the limited government rationality, which portrays this development as the voice of cultural representation in a *multicultural focused space* (Mohammed 2019). For Hunt (1996), such a rationality and development can be seen as the birth of (cultural) politics leading to increasing diversity and differences in regulatory activity. Based on this analysis of Sydney's Chinatown, I think Chinatown is no longer a restricted racial enclave and a space of exclusion. Instead, it is becoming a more connected, open, and universal space where an Asian-Australian identity is equally represented.

As stated in the theoretical section, freedom in the city and its spaces of encounters are rooted in the linguistic expression of urban culture in these spaces and by its people. Accordingly, it is crucial to recognize the symbolic significance of language differences and

diversity in urban cultural policy formation. With regard to the role of language in cultural policy, Syn2 stated:

> Language from a cultural policy perspective, so I can't speak to immigration policy, housing policy, and all that. From a cultural perspective, language has been left out for most of the Australian cultural policies. And I think that probably speaks to my privileges as a natural-born Australian white person. From what I can see and I think, that is a bad thing.

As noted by the participant, language is an essential aspect of communication in cultural policy. However, the barriers to or enablers of interaction and contacts between people learning to live together have not been fully considered in explicit cultural policy and practice. Presently, this scenario is further complicated by the extensive use of the English language as an official means of interaction and communication at all levels of urban encounters, both institutional and urban.

It is also important to note that language is a major concern for those who do not speak English well. In such a case, a city or neighborhood may not be welcoming to non-English-speaking residents, which is likely to widen the communication gap. For Syn2:

> There are parts of Australia where people believe that, and you know, on a day-to-day level, the number of people who can speak more than one language in Australia, I don't know. But I will assume it is significantly less than in Europe. So, you know, if you are someone who is coming from Ghana or Finland and your English is not great, I imagine you struggle quite significantly. And your opportunities to engage in the cultural life of Australia, outside of sharing your culture with people from your country of origin. I imagine that would be very difficult.

As seen above, language barriers describe how city government policies become feasible and practical as an art of living with differences. To Foucault (1997: 74), this kind of action is an approach that is connected to the liberal critique of excessive or wrong governance. Therefore, to repoliticize the communicative issue in light of people coming to Australia, policymakers need to think about what the minority language communities are — whether those coming in or intending to become part of the community. It could lead to a general re-evaluation whereby the governance of differences and diversity through communication at the city level might become distorted or complicated, resulting in the exclusion of others with language difficulties. I think that the differences in the way people communicate in Sydney show how a liberal technology is used as a government product, and how different government strategies promote a certain way of life by using techniques that could be called "cultural police." Next, I will move on to discuss Helsinki's case.

The City of Helsinki's case

Finland's official bilingual status is manifested in the capital, the City of Helsinki, as well as in the country's public organizations, which are legally bound to govern in both Swedish and Finnish (Kraus 2016: 26). In contrast to Sydney, where languages as a means of communication in governed spaces of encounter are excluded from explicit cultural policy-making, Helsinki acknowledges the importance of communication as a concept in cultural policy (both implicit and explicit) and city-making.

Helsinki is a very diverse city when compared to other Finnish cities, but its ethnic composition is still relatively homogeneous when compared to places like London. The city has several ethnic restaurants and shopping options. However, ethnic concentrations as self-standing communities are considered problematic and ghettos, which the Helsinki city gov-

ernment opposes. Below is the response of an interviewee when asked whether they were interested in ethnic spaces such as Chinatowns.

According to Hel1:

> No, it doesn't. There are some areas where, for example, there are several ethnic restaurants or shops. Helsinki is still quite a homogenous city, and immigration is a somewhat new thing. Ethnic concentration would be considered segregation, which Helsinki is fighting against. The city's goal is to have equality between different neighborhoods with no social division.

As Hel1 suggests, Helsinki aspires to be a city that promotes its citizens' welfare, their participation in cultural activities, and its strength as a city without divisions. In such circumstances, police practice is not governed by law but rather by a number of positive interventions that aim to affect people's urban lifestyles (Foucault 2000: 415). Accordingly, Hel1 believes that the City of Helsinki is committed to good policing that focuses on urban areas and brings everyone together into a single community. This is in line with the goal of UN Habitat III, which is to leave no one behind. In this sense, urban governance can be viewed as an attempt to promote a certain way of life or culture through the use of police technology. As a result, the police play an important role in preserving the changing nature of urban interactions, in which people learn to coexist in a governed space. Moreover, this indicates some degree of diversity in the city, even though migration is relatively recent compared to Sydney, where immigration has a long history. Like Sydney, there is some interaction among urban residents in Helsinki, but this interaction is primarily related to tourism and commerce. With regard to interaction and encounters between different cultures, ethnic groups, and visitors, Helsinki's alternative serves as an important and visible manifestation of an integrative urban culture.

In relation to the themes of policy and cultural expectations, Hel2 also pointed out:

> It has been an active policy not to have one, and I personally don't quite understand it if I will move to, let's say, Ethiopia. I would like to live where let's say, not Finns but Nordic people, European people, and people probably from a Nordic city inside some Ethiopian city I don't know. But we actually go strongly against creating these kinds of communities, trying to blend everybody into our own society.
>
> And there is, there is a researcher in Helsinki who is specialized in these kinds of things, God, I don't remember her name, but I see this grass of weird non-Finnish people in Helsinki, and where do they come from, the language schools, and it's really diverse actually. The only Chinatown-like area you can find is actually Otaniemi, where the Aalto University is based, and there is like 75% of the non-Finnish people living in Otaniemi are from China, Japan, or Korea, but of course, it's temporary; they are there just as students.

I argue that Hel2's responses (personal opinion) are an important analytical point, given that the respondent opposes the official urban policy of Helsinki and Finland, which aim to mix ethnicities extensively. In essence, this is a matter of governing diversity and difference in urban space. It is also an issue that is contested among policymakers, as pointed out by Hel2. In addition, these questions pertain to the issue of differences, which is echoed in UN-Habitat's New Urban Agenda. However, these communities are also excellent places to learn about these new cultures and traditions. In this situation, the creation of Chinatowns and other similar enclaves will give people the chance to learn from each other's social and cultural differences.

As was the case in Sydney, acknowledging and including others can be an effective way to govern multilingual and multidimensional spaces. As part of this cultural process, it is possible to develop communicative resources that will facilitate the interaction between

diverse groups of people in the city. Regarding the role of language in cultural policy, Hel1 stated:

> Helsinki has recognized the challenge of language barriers. More and more people live in Helsinki who don't speak Finnish or Swedish. We also need to offer non-verbal culture and give space to non-Finnish culture and performances as well.

Through liberal forms of governance, a plurality of languages can be promoted explicitly as a way of living and as an art of living, with no one left behind. Based on the above, it appears that the urban context of Helsinki is a space that plays a significant role in symbolizing the coexistence of the two national languages (Kraus 2016: 30). I would argue that Helsinki's bilingual cultural services are the result of applying liberalism, which stipulates freedom as a function of government. This occurs as a consequence of urban governmentality, which creates regulation strategies that can be considered "cultural police." They provide insights into the tensions between diversity, differences, and participation in urban planning. In the discussion above, tensions have been expressed regarding the governance of differences and diversity, which seeks to maintain tradition while striving to introduce a new cultural rationality.

Conclusion

Cities like Sydney and Helsinki offer laboratory-like conditions for studying what the Foucauldian police means in urban cultural policy and planning. This article has explored the question of how the city government in Sydney and Helsinki culturally express what Foucault and Foucauldian theory call police in the contexts of diversity and difference. A thematic analysis of the interviews in these cities revealed similarities and differences in their policy directives regarding differences and diversity, especially in relation to communication and cultural spaces of encounter, such as Chinatowns.

This article found that at the city level, policing is not limited to policymakers' regulatory practices and control mechanisms for ensuring good order in the city. Accordingly, cultural policing has improved the socioeconomic status of the city and enabled the marginalized to be recognized. In Helsinki and Sydney, governable cultural spaces of encounter, including Chinatowns, and their governance are key examples of the challenges presented by urban differences and diversity. Yet, the discussion of urban differences and diversity also honor the culturally rooted contexts of urban spaces to ensure the shared urban cultural identity of the cities. According to the empirical evidence presented, cultural policing primarily seeks to develop a strategy to manage diversity and differences in accordance with the city policy objectives. The earlier conceptions of Chinatown in Sydney represent a different understanding and way of governing. It was about controlling the main population in such spaces, which aligns with what Foucault terms a disciplined society in relation to his earlier notion of the police state. However, this article concluded that Sydney's Chinatown is no longer a Chinese community enclave, isolated from the Australian majority. On the contrary, it is a dynamic, lively, multicultural, multilingual, and diversified cultural space where learning to live together with differences is experienced and expressed.

In the case of Helsinki, it was revealed that it aims to increase the construction of something new, which is supposed to foster citizens' lives, their participation in sociocultural activities, and the city's strength in what was referred to as "spaces or communities with no social division." The way of life that the City of Helsinki is interested in promises police practices

focused on urban areas that blend the whole society into one community. Such an approach to urban cultural governance attests to the significant space that existed as forms of police that were manifested in specific, continuous, and positive interventions aimed at people's behavior (Foucault 2000: 415). Unlike Sydney, Helsinki views Chinatown as an ethnic concentration—an example of self-standing communities that are deemed problematic, as well as ghettos, which the Helsinki city government opposes. In this case, the police become the precondition for maintaining the course of interactions in governing diversity and differences.

In addition, language plays a significant role in Helsinki's and Sydney's cultural policy practices. It provides an entry into society and a means of establishing contacts and interaction with others. The evidence presented in this article practically suggests that communicative policies and interventions contribute to helping and welcoming others with differences and difficulties.

Based on the analysis, it can be argued that if urban governance keeps shifting towards a regulative city, the cultural police will not abandon its mechanisms that create differences. It will activate them in a situational and temporary manner, but its permanent and actual subject will be the residents and their way of life and the population's culture. These are the premises on which the police began to operate and express its rationality regarding UN-Habitat's current slogan, "The city we need." In addition, Chinatowns have been reconceptualized in this article as models for understanding the socioeconomic and cultural implications of living together, cultivating tolerant attitudes toward differences, and creating spaces for people to interact. Throughout this article, the interplay between Chinatowns, urban space, and language has been explored to illustrate the complexity of diverse cultural practices that characterize cities and their governance. To accommodate the linguistic and cultural diversity of the city in question, this level of responsiveness is critical. Based on the analysis of the data from a Foucauldian perspective presented here, this article has arrived at conclusions reaching beyond a generalization of how the selected cities govern and police the issues raised in this study.

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