

DIVERSITY IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISES: CHANGING DISCOURSES
AND POLICIES ON DIVERSITY IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND TURKEY

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**DIVERSITY IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISES: CHANGING
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COUNTRIES AND TURKEY**

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ABSTRACT

DIVERSITY IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISES: CHANGING DISCOURSES AND POLICIES ON DIVERSITY IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND TURKEY

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Over the course of thirty years, urban diversity has become one of the most much-debated discourses in the urban agenda with the increasing dominance of neoliberal policies in cities. In neoliberal era, diversity in cities has been associated with economic growth and development scenarios which aim to benefit from the positive contributions of diverse identities to the economy. However, diversity has not always been valued or enhanced in cities. Especially in economic crises periods, diversity in cities is tended to be downgraded and seen as a threat to achieving social cohesion, solidarity and economic development. Because, failures of neoliberal policies in ensuring justice in redistribution of resources and recognizing different identities become more visible in economic crisis periods with increasing socio-economic gaps between individuals and with the policies of public authorities that foster such gaps between groups. Moreover, with austerity measures and conservative policies of governments, diversity become even more undervalued and all these crisis-driven policies against diversity in cities threatens the achievements of countries in building a social model for everyone just like the case in European Countries. For that reason, this study aims to put forward the negative relationship between economic crisis, crisis-driven policies and diversity in European Countries and Turkey; since these countries have diverse populations and have undergone serious economic crisis such as the crisis of 2001 and 2008. Throughout the study, qualitative research design based on documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews were used to justify the aim of the study.

Keywords: Diversity, Economic Crises, Austerity, Urban Policies

ÖZ

EKONOMİK KRİZ DÖNEMLERİNDE ÇEŞİTLİLİK: AVRUPA ÜLKELERİ VE TÜRKİYE ÖZELİNDE DEĞİŞEN SÖYLEMLER VE POLİTİKALAR

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Kentsel çeşitlilik neoliberal anlayışın ulusal ve kentsel politikalarında yer bulmasıyla beraber kentsel süreçlerde çok tartışılan bir kavram olmuştur. Neoliberal anlayışın da etkisiyle, kentsel çeşitliliğin ekonomik büyüme ve kalkınma süreçlerine yönelik olumlu katkıları üzerinde durulmuştur. Fakat, kentsel çeşitliliğin bu önemli yönü, kentsel süreçlerde her zaman ön plana çıkarılamamıştır. Özellikle ekonomik kriz dönemlerinde, kentsel çeşitlilik sosyal bütünlük ve ekonomik büyümeye bir tehdit olarak görülmüş ve politika üretimi süreçlerinde göz ardı edilen ve hatta değersizleştirilen bir kavram olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır. Ekonomik kriz dönemlerinde, neoliberal anlayışın pekiştirdiği sosyo-ekonomik eşitsizlikler, adil olmayan kaynak dağıtımı ve farklı kimlikleri tanıma süreçleri daha görünür hale gelmiş ve kamu otoritelerinin çeşitliliği baskılayıcı ve tutucu politikalarıyla beraber daha da artmıştır. Tüm bu süreçler, kriz sonrası kemer sıkma politikalarıyla birleşince kentsel çeşitlilik, teşvik edilmesi ve olumlu yönlerine odaklanması gereken bir kavram olmaktan çıkmış ve çeşitliliğin değersizleşmesi pek çok Avrupa ülkesinde olduğu gibi uzun erimde hedeflenen sosyal model oluşturma çabalarını olumsuz etkilemiştir. Tüm bu bilgiler ışığında, bu çalışma kentsel çeşitlilik, ekonomik krizler ve kriz odaklı politikaların arasındaki negatif ilişkiyi Avrupa ülkeleri ve Türkiye pratikleri üzerinden ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Avrupa Ülkeleri ve Türkiye'nin seçilmesinin nedeni, bu ülkelerin kentsel çeşitlilik dinamiklerine sahip olmaları ve yakın dönem ekonomik krizlerinden (2001 ve 2008) sosyal ve ekonomik olarak etkilenmiş olmalarıdır. Çalışmanın yöntemi ise, doküman analizi ve yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmelere dayalı bir nitel araştırma yöntemidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çeşitlilik, Ekonomik Krizler, Kemer Sıkma, Kentsel Politika

To My Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. The Problematic of the Study

Over the course of thirty years, urban diversity has become one of the most *much-debated* discourses in the urban agenda with the increasing dominance of globalization on cities. The discourses related to urban diversity have ranged from its types (functional, housing, cultural or social etc.) to how do conceive it or how to manage it through a critical lens examining its both positive and negative impacts on cities. When discussing urban diversity, the spatial context of it, namely, *city* is also important. Because cities are the *labs* of urban diversity in which different identities, different ways of living, different cultures, different uses of public or private places, social interactions, social conflicts, social protests, celebrations, festivals, challenges or opportunities of diversity can be seen simultaneously (Ponzini, 2010). It is also possible to identify diversity in the neighborhood level. One can easily examine different identities, cultural differences, distinct clothing or even different daily habits as well as differences within a single ethnic group in terms of hobbies or leisure time preferences or working conditions can also be seen as diversifiers (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Diversity is an integral part of cities. One cannot imagine a city without its diverse components (diverse groups, mixed uses etc.) Similarly, diversity policies have become an integral part of urban policy making. Because, either directly or indirectly, the policies of education, employment, health and social services etc. originating from the discourse of urban diversity shape the future of cities. Careful examination of diversity components of cities and developing effective policies regarding the needs and necessities of every diverse element are the keys of

managing diversity in cities in the globalized era. With the effects of globalization, diversity in cities grew exponentially (Clark, 2011). For decades, it is known that, cities have been acted like hubs that attract different types of diverse groups through offering various opportunities (employment, health, education etc.). Although the modernization theory suggests the industrialization and urbanization would eventually lead the formation of a homogenous cultural environment in which ethnicity or cultural differences reduced gradually with assimilation process; it is not realistic to expect such homogeneity in cities in today's globalized world (Pamir, 1997).

What is different from the previous discourses in the globalized area is that the sources of urban diversity have gone beyond the cities or even nation-states boundaries. With the development of transnational commercial activities, knowledge economies and increased specialization, cities have become diverse than ever. As cited in (Zapata-Barrero, 2013), Cattle defines diversity as an inevitable outcome of globalization process and regards the increase in urban diversity as an irreversible trend in cities. International flows with various reasons (asylum-seeking, family unification, students exchange etc.), free flow of goods and human power, multinational employment contracts have resulted in the formation of multiple identities in cities which can no longer be examined through the old fashioned, territory-based traditional classification models based on ethnicity, race or level of income.

Moreover, new mobilities originated from the extensive use of ICT, since ICT have eroded the necessity of sharing certain territory for social contact and communication. International communication without any territorial boundaries resulted in the formation of various networks and various new identities with ever increasing interaction with the outside world beyond borders. Since the identities and diversifiers are more *fluid* more *complex* and more *global* than ever (people are belonging more than one identity like being gay, Muslim or elder at the same time),

traditional diversity understanding and strict categorizations are insufficient to address *globalized diversity* (Nathan, 2011; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

It is almost impossible to forecast the future flows of international movements and the formation of distinct identities in cities. Because international flows differentiates from city to city and time to time which goes hand in hand with rapidly changing economic and social progresses (push and pull factors) (Clark, 2011). According to Nathan (2011) migration or international flows are the key drivers of increasing diversity in cities, but not the only ones. Thus, new forms of diversity based on local cultural differences (norms, habits, values) and newly emerging multiple identities should also be taken into account to examine the diversity in cities in the neoliberal and global era. What is important here is to elude from the traditional, territorially based understanding of diversity and perceive diversity as a dynamic, multivariate process and considering globalized diversity in urban policy making.

Beyond the social effects of globalization, diversity perception and diversity discourses have been also shaped by neoliberal politic and economic processes. With the adoption of neoliberal thinking in policy making processes, especially in early 1980s, *diversity and its various complex forms* have constituted great importance in the development of competitive and ambitious economic growth policies. Because, cities have been getting more crowded and diverse than ever, and in order to manage and benefit from these newly emerging identities and differences in society, decision-makers regarded diversity as an integral part of economic growth processes (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

When one investigates diversity approaches of countries till 1980 up to now, it is very likely to observe that diversity has not always thought to be an asset or something to be properly enhanced and fostered. In a similar manner, newly emerging and complex identities as a result of globalization process seem to be not welcomed all the time. For some periods, diversity seemed to be downgraded, strictly controlled and even accused of being the sources of bad conditions; and for

some periods, diversity is an asset, in producing innovative and creative production and development processes, which needs to be further enhanced. What is interesting and worth to point out is, all these changing attitudes towards diversity parallel with the changes in economic processes. *In other words, diversity is thought to be an asset in economic growth periods and thought to be a threat in times of economic fluctuations and economic crises.* Especially with the recent economic crisis of 2008, it seems that the statement above is justified in European experiences.

Over the course of 40 years, European countries have been trying to build a sustainable social model, called *European Social Model*, which aims to combat all types of discrimination, racism and social exclusion through ensuring human rights, social rights and opportunities and through building a democratic and unified European Society . The model also aims to minimize the increasing socio-economic gaps between individuals and to ensure social justice via fair redistribution of wealth, resources and public services. Despite having such human rights-based aims favoring a strong sense of communal life with various social goals, the social model program could not be enough to overcome increasing social tensions, social conflicts and increasing gaps between individuals in neoliberal era. For many critics, the gap between different segments of society has grown in both socio-economic and socio-spatial ways, despite the social policies of Europe. As income gaps and unfair conditions in the redistribution mechanisms became wider, the level of trust and interaction between diverse groups became lower.

Such negative effects of neoliberalism on social issues have become more visible and become ever intense in times of economic crisis. Economic crisis of 2008 has increased the socio-economic gaps and socio-spatial segregation between diverse groups with the increasing rates unemployment and risk of poverty and lower incomes and lower social securities. Together with the strict austerity measures that limit or cut the public expenditures and public policies that are open floor to exclusionary acts; social issues, social conflicts, nationalist, and discriminatory acts against diverse groups in society have increased. Moreover, some groups have been

more prone to be excluded from daily life and labor markets than others, namely, ethnic groups and disadvantaged groups who are thought to be the burdens of official budgets and sources of increasing poverty and unemployment. These groups have been also excluded from the society in socio-spatial terms. For example, urban policies and housing development trends targeting high and middle income groups, directly or indirectly exclude low income groups, ethnic groups and immigrants from the urban processes.

A similar process can be traced back in Turkey, as well. Regardless of the achievements have been made with the EU accession process in terms of granting human rights and ensuring social cohesion and equality, the economic crises of both 2001 and 2008 have shaded these achievements. Also with the political issues in Turkey, it seems that the old fashioned discourses of ethnicity, discrimination and segregation has once again come to the policy making agendas with the increasing social tensions regarding economic crises and politic processes.

To say that in short, economic development patterns directly and indirectly influence the approaches towards diversity and diversity policies in countries. Economic processes also influence the attitudes towards diverse groups and it seems that some groups in society are more likely to be included and excluded in communal life.

This study aims to put forward how perception of diversity and attitudes towards different groups in society change with the changes in economic processes, with a special focus on economic crises periods. To do so, official discourses of countries regarding diversity, their diversity and diversity related policies and practices affecting diversity in cities are investigated; and paradigm shifts in diversity related discourses are put forward. Since the focus is on economic recessions and economic crises, this study focuses on countries with diverse populations (with various identities based on ethnicity, race, religion, country of origin, age, gender, sexual orientation, lifestyles, networks etc.) which have also undergone serious economic crises. In that sense, European Countries and Turkey are selected as case studies,

since both countries have diverse populations and hit hard by the recent economic crises of 2001 and 2008. Therefore, the main question of the study is “*How do diversity and diversity related discourses and policies change in times of economic crises in European Union and Turkey?*”

To answer the main question, four sets of questions below need to be answered.

1- How has diversity perceived and evolved in literature and national contexts, national or urban level policies, legislations etc.? Are there overlaps between key shifts in economic processes and perception of diversity in policy making? If so, how diversity discourses and economic processes in countries can be interrelated?

2- How has diversity policies developed and managed in European countries and Turkey? Have there been severe changes in diversity discourses and policies in relation with economic crises and austerity?

3- How have the economic crises of 2001 and 2008 affected social and urban policy making processes regarding diversity? Is diversity as an asset or a threat in policy making? Which of the diverse groups have been affected more or which groups have been hard hit with the policy changes related to economic crises?

4- What have been the major changes in diversity policies and socio-economic wellbeing of diverse groups in times of economic crises? In which fields, social or spatial, or both, these changes have been observed? Are there more injustices in social and spatial terms or not in times of austerity?

These questions are asked to justify the main hypothesis of this study, which is,

In times of economic crises and austerity, diversity in cities is being downgraded in policy making processes and mostly seen as a threat (both societal and institutional level) to social and economic development of countries; unlike the economic growth periods in which diversity is seen as a significant source of development.

The main problem related to subject is the huge gap between the EU-level diversity policies, perception and the practices of countries. Moreover, the gap is getting bigger and bigger everyday as a result of belt-tightening policies of EU countries that have led to the rise of anti-immigrant, racist, nationalist voices in societal level. Although EU policies and social reports regard diversity as a richness of societies to be protected and enhanced; country practices tell a different story. Increasing unemployment levels, deteriorated social security systems, unexpected cuts in public spending resulted in social unrests in cities in which discrimination, exclusion and hate crimes reached a record high in the last years. Besides urban policies affecting the social wellbeing of diverse groups, spatial policies and interventions to urban space have also shown how diversity has been downgrading in spatial terms, especially after crisis periods in terms of spatial segregation based on urban renewal and gated community-type urban developments.

1.2. Methodology

In general, to answer research questions and to justify the hypothesis listed in 1.1, a qualitative research method based on documentary analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews with key decision makers was developed. The research begins with a critical literature review of theories and concepts about urban diversity. Literature review is a useful guide to narrow down to subject through focusing on relevant discourses about diversity and to prepare a concrete background for further questions about the relationship between economic processes and urban diversity as well as interview preparation and data analyses.

Throughout the study, documentary analysis was undertaken through examining the written and visual documents available including national and local level policy documents and plans (including strategic plans, action plans, master plans, renewal plans etc.), performance and budget programmes of ministries and municipalities (especially the ones covering economic crises periods), activity reports expenditure

schemes, basic statistics, website information as well as leaflets of institutions, international treaties and legislations.

This study also used the key findings of DIVERCITIES Project (DIVERCITIES: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities) which cover the cases of 14 different European countries including Turkey. DIVERCITIES Project is funded by European Commission under the Seventh Framework Programme for four-years. The project aims to put forward the positive contributions of increasing diversity in cities in the processes of competitiveness, innovation, economic development, social harmony, tolerance and peace.

Participant countries of the project are The Netherlands (Utrecht), United Kingdom (London), Germany (Leipzig), Denmark (Copenhagen), Italy (Milan), Greece (Athens), Estonia (Tallinn), Hungary (Budapest), Turkey (Istanbul), Switzerland (Zurich), Belgium (Antwerp), Poland (Warsaw), France (Paris), Canada (Toronto). Case study of Turkey is managed by Middle East Technical University under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın as the Senior Researcher (also supervisor of the thesis). Junior researchers (Feriha Nazda Güngördü (me), Özge Yersen, İsmail Demirdağ) assist her in data collection, interviews, evaluation and producing reports.

Throughout the study, with relevance to discussions of each chapter, key findings of country reports of DIVERCITIES Project under the common heading of *Urban Policies on Diversity* were used to determine diversity policies and discourses in urban economic processes. Fourteen country examples and findings of reports as well as other documents (like national level social strategies of countries, local development plans, diversity policy documents etc.) were combined with the theoretic framework of this study and provided fruitful results to discuss in final chapter. Therefore, through sticking to DIVERCITIES Project, for the European countries case, fourteen country examples were used mostly to define socio-economic changes regarding diversity in times of crisis and social policy changes. Moreover, Turkey case was highlighted as a independent chapter to put forward socio-spatial policy changes regarding diversity in cities in times of crises.

Besides documentary analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews were also used to provide useful information about the on-going debates on the social phenomena studied, with the contributions of key actors working in the field. Semi-structured interviews (qualitative interviewing) was favored in this study, since it gives space to the interviews to touch upon different points related to the subject and allows them to add their opinions and comments. The questions were preformulated after the literature review, in a way to cover the pre-selected themes about diversity, however, they were designed in a way not to limit or constrain interviewees to touch upon different aspects of the subject. Since diversity is a highly debatable concept having different dimensions and forms, semi-structured interviews provided useful information about pre-selected themes for study and further evaluations. In that sense, the methodology outline of chapters of this study is as follows,

- Chapter 1 and 2 : Documentary analysis based on academic literature
- Chapter 3 : Documentary analysis on EU and country level covering official plans, programmes, reports and statistics.
- Documentary analysis based the country reports of *DIVERCITIES Project*
- Chapter 4 : Documentary analysis on EU and country level covering official plans, programmes, reports and statistics.
- Chapter 5 : Documentary analysis of national reports, plans and programmes as well as semi-structured interviews with key officers from national and urban level institutions and inhabitants of urban areas with diverse populations (which were also undergone urban renewal practices)

The study is composed of six chapters. In the first chapter called *Introduction and Methodology*, the problematic areas, goals, aims and hypotheses of the study are put forward in relation with the relevant literature. In the second chapter, called *Diversity Discourses in Literature*, to determine the relationship between the perception of diversity and neoliberal economic processes in countries; the perception of diversity and approaches developed so far (from assimilation to interculturalism) are put forward. Throughout the second chapter, the perception and study areas of diversity,

as well as its types, evolution and role in urban policies are investigated by a careful analysis of the academic studies. At second part of the chapter, the role of diversity and diversity related policies in socio-spatial contexts are discussed in relation with the spatial outcomes of neoliberal urbanization (such as social polarization and urban renewal) and critics of neoliberalism on the issues of social justice and right to the city. The last part is about assessing urban policies with a diversity lens in order to define diversity policies and to identify the role of diversity in policy-making processes. In that sense, Fincher and Iveson's (2008) categorizations of urban logics (redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter) on diversity are used as a framework. Fincher and Iveson (2008) provided three urban logics to categorize diversity policies in cities with specific examples from the world. Combining these categorizations with the critical notions of neoliberalism based on justice and right to the city discussions provided a comprehensive framework for both European and Turkey examples in times of economic crises.

Third chapter of the study, called *Diversity in Neoliberal Era and in Times of Economic Crises: Social and Spatial Policy Challenges and Approaches in European Union*, aims to find out how the concepts and approaches discussed in Chapter 2 echoed in Europe's diversity national and urban level policies. Chapter starts with the examination of breaking points and paradigm shifts in Europe's policy making processes with a *diversity* lens and reveals how these policies have been affected from serious economic and political changes in four defined periods, namely, 1950-1970, 1970-1990, 1990-2000 and 2000+. Besides the progress of social policies in Europe, the relationship between diversity, urban policies and economic crises is set as well as the impacts of economic crisis on the policy-making processes in European cities. The second part of chapter deals with the questions of "*How diversity is perceived and found basis in neoliberal urban policies?*", "*Are there something called diversity policies?*" or "*Is diversity a part of socio-spatial policies targeting some recognized groups in society?*"

To find out the breaking points in Europe's neoliberal history regarding diversity and to answer the questions listed above; a detailed documentary analysis of European Union level policies, plans and programmes was made. In that sense, the documents of EU level organizations like Council of the European Union, Council of Europe, European Commission, European Investment Bank, European Committee of Social Rights, The European Platform against Poverty and Social Exclusion, Council of Social Inclusion, European Economic and Social Research Council, Commission of European Communities European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia etc. and national level social and socio-economic reports, annual plans and programmes, official documents and relevant statistical data (national statistics and Eurostat) were used to frame the diversity perception and to put forward the diversity approaches of European Union in politic and economic paradigm shifts in Europe.

Throughout this section, the socio-spatial consequences of changing discourses on diversity and neoliberal development approaches are examined through giving specific references to European cities. Socio-spatial development processes in neoliberal era and challenges towards them are discussed on the basis of selected European cities within the framework of social justice, social equality, the right to the city, and Fincher and Iveson's categorizations of urban policies. The city-level practices on urban diversity are obtained from the country reports of the project called *DIVERCITIES: Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-Diversified Cities*.

Chapter 4, called *Diversity in times of Economic Crisis and Austerity: Increasing Unemployment, Poverty and Social Problems*, is dedicated to the socio-economic and socio-spatial changes observed during and after the economic crisis of 2008. It examines group-specific diversity policies in two categories, namely, migrant and non-migrant groups (women, children, youngsters, elderly and handicapped people) and compares the different approaches seized for each diverse group recognized in society by different member states in EU after the economic crisis of 2008.

Chapter 4.1 investigates the relationship between diversity, economic crisis and austerity measures. Since the economic crisis of 2008 is one of the most recent breaking points triggering the discussions on social justice and right to the city in EU's policy making; special attention is given to the crisis-driven changes. The aim is to put forward the impacts of crisis-driven urban policies on diverse groups in countries. The section starts with the examination of diversity and its relation to economic crisis and austerity measures, with the lens of three urban policy type discussed in Chapter 3, namely, policies on redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter.

For each diverse group defined in Chapter 2, this section continues with the discussion of direct and indirect effects of the crisis and policy changes on diverse groups via determining country-level evidences. In the second and third parts, group-specific impacts of crisis and policy responses of countries (both social and spatial) are compared within two sub-categories called, migrants and non-migrants. Moreover, the gap between EU's social policy discourses (see Chapter 3.1.) and country practices is put forward with relevant evidence. The inputs of this chapter is obtained through Eurostat and national statistics of countries to figure out the changes in public expenditures and impacts of economic crisis on unemployment, risk of poverty and social exclusion. Moreover, country specific policy changes are determined from official policy documents of European countries which are provided for English speakers.

Chapter 5, *Diversity in Neoliberal Era and in Times of Economic Crises: Social and Spatial Policy Challenges and Approaches in Turkey*, seizes how Turkey perceives and approaches to diversity in neoliberal era. Chapter starts with a brief history of Turkey in recognizing diversity, covering breaking points in recognition since Ottoman Empire in national context. In that sense, documentary analysis based on national level plans, programmes and legislations as well as declarations of key politicians are examined.

Secondly, to find out how national level, different institutions perceive diversity and approach the term in their policy- making processes, semi-structured interviews have been made with five key officers, who are actively take part in the preparation of the policies, laws, plans and programmes, from Ministry of Family and Social Policy General Directorate of Children Services, Ministry of Family and Social Policy Department of Social Inclusion, Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning Department of Infrastructure and Urban Renewal, Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning Department of Spatial Planning and Ministry of Development Department of Social Sectors and Coordination. These institutions were carefully selected according to their competences in policy making and their relevance to diversity policies and diversity in cities. In that sense, Ministry of Family and Social Policy General Directorate of Children Services and Ministry of Family and Social Policy Department of Social Inclusion were chosen since The Ministry's focus group is disadvantaged groups who are having limited access to public services or having limited opportunities to benefit from services. Throughout interviews, the situation of children, women, youngsters, elder and disabled people in daily life and social policies covering their needs and expectations were examined with a diversity lens. Interviews with Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning provided fruitful information about the role of diversity in spatial interventions to urban space and urban development patterns. Interviews also highlighted the importance of *inclusive planning* through taking into account the different characteristics of different groups in society in (re)designing urban space. Ministry of Development was chosen to define the macro level attitudes to diversity and throughout the interviews, the role of diversity in national or regional level economic development processes were discussed.

Interviewees were selected from the websites of institutions according to their branches concerning diversity. They were sent an email requesting an appointment to have interviews, and fortunately, all pre-selected interviews agreed to make interviews. Interviews were held between 18th and 26th May 2015 and lasted about half an hour. All of the interviews were type-recorded, but I also took systematic

notes not to miss any important point. Pre-formulated questions of interviews were clear enough to be asked, but however, some respondents needed more clarifications, regarding the meaning and extent of diversity.

In a similar way, in section 5.3, diversity perception on urban level including the approaches of urban-level decision makers like metropolitan municipalities, district municipalities and provincial special administrations are examined through both documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews. Documentary analysis provided good insights to categorize diversity-related policies of urban level decision makers according to the three categories of Fincher and Iveson (2008). Moreover, seven interviews were held with key officers in urban level institutions between 6th and 15th of May through visiting Bursa, Istanbul and Ankara respectively and six of them were used throughout the chapter according to the relevancy of answers. Bursa and Istanbul municipalities were chosen because these cities are known with their long diversity history especially ethnic diversity. Ankara was chosen because of being the capital of Turkey and because of having a diverse population mostly based on demographic and socio-economic differences (income, gender, disability etc.) rather than ethnic and cultural ones. Departments of municipalities were chosen according to their relevancy to diversity in cities and diversity policies.

Interviews have held with seven key officers from Nilüfer Municipality Department of Equality and Solidarity, Nilüfer Municipality Department of Social Services, Beyoğlu Municipality Department of Urban Renewal, Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Department of Cultural and Social Affairs, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Renewal, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Social Services. To conduct interviews with key officers from urban level public institutions, e-mails were sent to the ones whom were thought to be interested in the field of diversity. They all accepted to make the interviews and during interviews some of them (key officers from Nilüfer and Beyoğlu Municipalities) guide me to reach other key people who

they thought to answer my questions. Interviews lasted about half an hour and four of them were type recorded. For the remaining three, systematic notes were taken.

Both national and urban level key officers from public institutions were asked same seven questions. The reason behind was to compare national and urban level approaches to diversity and to compare diversity related policies as well as target groups of policies. This method worked and responses of interviews provided fruitful insights for discussions on diversity perception of different institutions. Interview questions were formed to figure out the perception of diversity, breaking points or milestones in approaching diversity, the role of diversity in policy-making processes, development process of diversity or diversity-related policies, target groups in policies and fields of intervention or support. Moreover, respondents were also asked specific questions about the diversity perception of institutions in times of economic recessions and crises. The full list of interviewees and interview questions can be found in Appendix A and B.

In redistribution policies section, special attention is given to social policies, and public expenditures schemes as well as the spatial policies of municipalities and interventions to urban space through urban renewal, transformation and gentrification. Especially, the focus is given to urban renewal processes used by public authorities as a recovery tool for economic crises. In that sense, ten interviews were held with inhabitants of urban renewal areas in Istanbul (Tarlabaşı and Cihangir) to find out how diversity and diverse groups in those areas affected from these processes. Interviewees were selected during the field trip to urban renewal areas and each of the interviewees was asked to help to find another interviewee. Through such a snowballing, it was easy to reach people and to make interviews, and thus within three days interviews with ten inhabitants were made. According to the impulses of conversation, interviews were held in an informal way, since most of the interviewees were reluctant to get involved in a formal way of speaking and interview. They were afraid of having more troubles with the public officials and asked me not to give their names in my final study. Interviews lasted around twenty

minutes and only five of them were type-recorded. During the remaining five interviews, I took systematic notes and typed them when I got back to Ankara. Only just keeping in mind the topics to be discussed with interviews, interviewees were asked about the on-going or finished processes of urban renewal and economic crises periods, their experiences, their actions against renewal and their opinions about diversity in their neighborhoods. Thus, unlike the interviews with decision-makers, interviews with inhabitants were made in an informal and natural way. The outline of questions and subjects covered in interviews with inhabitants can be found in Appendix A and B.

At the final part of the chapter, the relationship between economic crisis, local level public expenditures and spatial interventions to urban space is examined with a special focus of the economic crises of 2001 and 2008.

CHAPTER 2

DIVERSITY DISCOURSE IN LITERATURE

2.1. Diversity in the National Context: Globalization and Cities

Diversity, in general, can be best defined as the existence of various socio-economic (income or education levels), socio-demographic (gender-age), cultural and ethnic groups within a spatial context which may be neighborhood or a nation-state (Moloney and Kirchberger, 2010; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Recent definitions of diversity tend to emphasize cultural differences. Because diversity in cities can no longer be based on nationalistic understandings like *ethnicity* or *country of origin*; thus, it includes diverse forms of values, norms, traditions, hobbies or points of view. Cultural diversity or urban diversity is now in the agenda of national urban strategies. Cultural diversity may be a binding element in the society if social cohesion or anti-discrimination policies are well established. Reversely, it may deteriorate the social contacts if it is surpassed by assimilationist integration policies. Thus, the balance between policy approaches is extremely important in determining diversity's positive and negative impacts on communities.

Following a general trend in the world, many nation-states, international non-governmental organizations, international commissions have developed discourses in the favor of diversity in cities. For example, Lille Report of EU (2000) emphasized the incontrovertible importance of enhancing cultural diversity in cities on tackling social inequality and social segregation, hate crimes and discrimination. Moreover, the report suggests that cultural diversity in cities may improve living conditions and create an innovative environment based on different points of view and cultural values (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration, 2003). The idea based on innovative and productive capacity of cultural diversity has been shared by different

scholars. Jacobs (1969), Florida (2002), Ottoviano and Peri (2004), claimed that in an environment respecting different cultures, it is very likely to see a development driven by the contributions of local artists, local inhabitants and technological or industrial advancements based on specialization.

Most countries, especially Western ones, have given priority to *promotion of urban cultural diversity* in their national agendas (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration, 2003). The main reason behind is the mutual relationship between diversity and sustainable urban economic development as many scholars agreed on. States are trying to have a balance between their economic goals and politic standings, thus diversity discourse acts as an intermediary tool in controlling and managing such tangible sides of urban policy making (Syrett and Sepulveda 2012). Depending on economic development imperatives, diversity policies are developed to improve the skills and knowledge or labors, to attract foreign entrepreneurs and workers from all over the world, to enhance the states' innovative capacity, creativity and international identity and to connect international markets via networks (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2010; Clark, 2011). On the other hand, not all the policies based on economic imperatives contribute to the formation of a culturally diverse environment. Some of the policies promote the gentrification and exploitation of certain areas to attract skilled workforce (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2010). Such a two-sided use of diversity in urban policy making calls to mind a basic question of diversity: "*Is it good or bad?*"

There is a disagreement between scholars in terms of determining the positive and negative impacts of diversity on urban level. By the proponents of diversity, it is seen as an asset for economic growth processes, when its impacts on *creative classes*, innovation and competitive advantage are taken into consideration (Jacobs, 1969; Florida, 2002; Bodaar and Rath, 2005; Kuznetsov, 2006; OECD, 2010, Sayyar and Marcus, 2011). According to Rath (2007) and Musterd and Murie (2010) besides all that innovative and entrepreneurial stuff, diversity contributes to the marketing of cities as places of creative production, specialization, international social exchanges

where one can benefit from the limitless inspiration that the city offers with its unique multicultural environment. Such multicultural locations are mainly introduced as *ethnic quarters* like Manila towns or Chinatowns which present an exotic and inspirational experience to the new comers like high skilled workers, entrepreneurs or tourists.

From the social point of view, diversity is a disregardable element of social cohesion and social solidarity (Demireva, 2011; Cantle, 2012). According to Cantle (2012), diversity in cities or even in neighborhoods may increase the level of tolerance to *others* or may eventually lead to erode the notion of *otherness*, if it is managed by anti-discrimination policies. Achieving social cohesion also depends on the perception of diversity by inhabitants and social relations between diverse groups. However, the main point here is to enhance a multicultural environment where everyone can enjoy the benefits of differences and opportunities that are driven by such a harmonic social mix.

On one side of the coin, the so called positive dimensions of diversity on cities (based on economic imperatives) to achieve neo-liberal economic goals stands still, but the other side of the coin shows that diversity is not all about economic or neoliberal actions. It has a social side, as well, in which diversity is both seen as a threat for social inclusion, social equality and seen as an asset for social solidarity and social cohesion (Goodhart, 2004; Grillo, 2007; Putnam, 2007; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2010).

Some scholars such as Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) highlight the role of diversity in the emergence or reproduction of social conflicts and social unrests if it is not properly managed and controlled. Grillo (2007) and Putnam (2007) add that the social conflicts driven from terror attacks, increased global migration and uneven distribution of limited sources may eventually lead to xenophobic voices which can totally affect the perception of diversity in the community. Kuznetsov (2006) approaches diversity through examining the social effects of competitive economic

policies. Kuznetsov (2006) states that neoliberal policies favor high skilled migrants and investors and reorganize, or even rebuilt the city for them. But these are also the policies neglecting the low skilled workers and their living spaces. In order to attract high-skilled people, states trifle low-skilled ones, which in turn results in social tensions between diverse groups. Even more, most of the cases, low-income groups and low-skilled migrants are seen as the drivers of social unrest and threats to social solidarity and cohesion (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2010).

In short, it is very likely to say that diversity itself and diversity policies are effective marketing tools in a neoliberal era which highlight the vitality of competitiveness, security in cities and attracting foreign workforce and investment. Focusing only the economic forces behind diversity understanding is not enough to develop comprehensive and inclusive policies that address the problems/needs/expectations of diverse groups and social motives behind social inequality and cohesion.

2.2. Types and Evolution of Urban Diversity

The traditional understanding of cultural or population diversity was mostly framed by the notions of *ethnicity*, *race* and *level of income* (Ponzini, 2010). For centuries, diversity policies and diversity perception of inhabitants have evolved around these three famous themes. Before the Industrial Revolution, the diversity perception was territory-based and diverse groups were identified according to their ethnicity or occupation (Ponzini, 2010). The emphasis was more on ethnicity, because socio-economic differences were not so clear for a strict categorization.

With the technological advancements, production based on human power and increasing demand for labors in cities resulted in mass migration flows from rural to urban. Afterwards, cities have become more diverse than ever, because Industrial Revolution advancements also went beyond the nation states (by railway) and led to the flow of capitals and work force internationally. At that times, in terms of migration country of origin, cultural differences gained importance in the diversity

discourse as well as the socio-economic differences based on increasing gap between workers and factory owners (Ponzini, 2010). Unsurprisingly, the industrialized cities of that period still constitute the most *diverse* cities in the world such as London, Paris, Berlin etc.

Contemporary social, economic and political changes with the dominance of neoliberal politics have resulted in the new forms of diversity (Ponzini, 2010). Although still, the core of diversity discourses evolve around ethnicity, race, migration and level of income; these traditional elements are no longer enough to explain today's *diverse* atmosphere. Recently, it is not very likely to talk about a *homogeneous* community based on single identity within nation states and commonly shared norms and values as modernization theory suggested (Pamir, 1997). Today's diversity and identity notions are more blurred (not easy to be categorized) multivariate, dynamic and very sensitive to global or local level affairs (like social conflicts, wars, economic recessions etc.). For that reason, many scholars lead off work to examine the new patterns of diversity and to redefine diversity with its new elements. The term *super-diversity* emerged as a result of these intensive studies.

2.2.1. Super Diversity

Super diversity notion have emerged with the changing social patterns of population diversity based on trans-locality, new forms of communication, mobility of migrants and technological advancements (Blommaert, 2012; Arnaut and Spotti, 2014). The concept differs from the previous discourses by recognizing the *diversity within homogenous migrant groups* with respect to age, gender, education, occupation, birth place, religion and sexual orientation. Such a multivariate understanding of diversity is called *super* by Vervotec (2007), who claims that *nationalism and traditional methodologies* or *ethnic sight* perspectives are quite limited to determine the new dynamics in the era of globalization (Werbner, 2013). Super diversity discourse also rejects strict classifications or clashes between categories, such as new comers vs.

long term inhabitants, poor vs. rich or national values vs. minority values etc. in relation with multicultural thinking (Arnaut and Spotti, 2014).

Vervotec's (2007) super diversity only takes into account the migrant groups and their multivariate affiliations. The social statuses of migrants, their country of origin, their social networks with others, their differentiated expectations from government, their sense of belonging, channels of migration, their occupation etc. are the core of migrant-based super diversity understanding (Vervotec, 2007; Tasan-Kok et al, 2013). Although such detailed examination of differences within migrants groups and interaction of different variables open the door more inclusive discussions beyond migrant groups, super diversity is not enough to cover all diverse groups in the society. That's why a more comprehensive, inclusive and broad understanding, namely *hyper diversity* is now on the agenda of diversity scholars and policy-makers.

2.2.2. Hyper Diversity

Hyper diversity concept can be regarded as the extended version of super diversity, which looks diversity in a very open, complex way and covers more diverse groups than previous approaches discussed above. Hyper diversity has gone beyond the ethnicity and migration line and emphasizes the diversity between multiple groups in society and differences within these groups. It covers socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural diversity as well the diversity within groups based on different daily habits, hobbies, occupation, sexual orientation, traditions etc. (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). For example an individual in a so-called *homogenous ethnic group* may enjoy golf, spend his leisure time by cycling through the city while another individual in the same group may be a young doctor enjoying fishing and reading in his leisure time. Precisely, the concept of hyper diversity takes into account such differences in detail and sets a premium on distinct attitudes, lifestyles, habits, thinking, norms and emotions within groups (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The concept attaches great importance to the globalization effects on diversity by taking new flows of international migration, new social formations in cities and complex

identities into consideration (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2010; Cattle, 2012; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The mentioned attributes are extremely vital to observe the interactions between variables of diversity and their importance on social contacts, networks and social cohesion. The use of the hyper diversity concept in policy making processes enables to examine the case-sensitive social relations in neighborhoods (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). In that sense, the elements making a neighborhood diverse are being evaluated comprehensively and such a broad and detailed examination, in turn, results in better addressing the needs and demands of diverse groups in cities.

By emphasizing once again the prominent dimensions of hyper diversity, namely, it's multivariate character covering cultural, socio- economic and socio-demographic and ethnic differences simultaneously; it is very likely to say that the diversity discourses and diverse groups discussed throughout the thesis are based on the attributes of hyper diversity. Thus, the diverse groups covered in the thesis classified in four groups which are shown below;

- 1- Ethnic and cultural diversity: New comers, long-term migrants, illegal migrants, ethnic and religious minorities, cultural groups having different norms, values, traditions etc.
- 2- Socio-economic diversity: Rich and poor households, low or high-educated inhabitants.
- 3- Gender diversity and diversity of sexual orientation: Women and LGBT.
- 4- Socio-demographic diversity focusing on disadvantaged and vulnerable groups: Children and youngsters, elder people and handicapped people.

2.3. Diversity in Policy-Making and Diversity Policies

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the approaches towards diversity and paradigm shifts in diversity policies in nation-states after the dominance of globalization on nation and urban policies. Approaches are discussed under assimilationism, multiculturalism/post multiculturalism, interculturalism, intersectionality, neo-

assimilation and integration discourses chronologically as follows; 1950-1980, 1980-2000, 2000-2008, 2008+.

2.3.1. Nation State Period and 1950-1980: Assimilationism

In the mainstream planning and policy-making, diversity was limitedly covered in urban policies or social policies before 1980s. It was such a small discourse focusing on the needs of low-income people, ethnic minorities, migrants and women in a limited way. The diversity policies before 1980s were mostly evolved around nationalist thinking forcing a single identity among groups and assimilationist approaches which were race and gender-blind (Sandercock, 1998). They were often implicitly engaged with the discourses of social cohesion and social inequality which were evolved around the limited scope of migrant issues (Kymlicka, 2007).

Assimilation and various forms of the term have constituted a major part of diversity discourses for decades. Its dominancy has changed time to time but its popularity has never gone. Emerson (2011) defines assimilation as new comers' (migrants) adoption to the host societies' norms, values, traditions; mastery in common language as well as accepting a single national identity within nation borders. Assimilation practices of nations in 18th and 19th centuries (nation state period) were in line with the definition of Emerson (2011), which prioritizes the necessity of adapting host societies' norms, values and culture. Assimilationist policies of nation states were evolved around nationalism which was seen as an integrative power to draw people from diverse backgrounds together under a nation state with subjugating their ethnic identities and cultural values (Appleton, 2011). The main aim of assimilationist policies of that time was to suppress ethnic identities to achieve unity. (Pamir, 1997).

Assimilation is still in a similar line with nationalism since they both are trying to achieve a single identity, unity, cohesion, commonality in which cultural and ethnic differences can no longer be seen as diversifiers. Assimilationist states refuse to

admit the existence of ethnic minorities, therefore they don't make any policy regarding to their specific needs or cultures. For that point of view, "*policies are for all the nation-citizens*" and "*not states but immigrants, themselves, are responsible from adapting the norms of the society.*" (Pamir, 1997; Emerson, 2011). As a result of these pressures, the ethnic minorities suffered from strict assimilationist pressures have protested both nationalism and assimilationism to defend their own ethnic, cultural identity and to reflect their dissatisfaction with being surpassed by the state itself (Pamir 1997).

During 1950s, new forms of assimilation emerged in order to fit the necessities of new social and economic conditions. Adapting to host society's culture was not solely enough to integrate to host society. New comers also need to integrate institutionally to labor market and politic platforms to live in a harmony with the majority (Gordon, 1964). This is the story of how *structural assimilation* was born and supplemented cultural assimilation (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

In the contemporary era, with increasing conflicts between nations, economic recessions, competition for jobs and limited resources and social protests against government policies etc. have reduced the level of tolerance to others and have raised the popularity of assimilationist discourses once again with xenophobic approaches (Pamir 1997). New comers, migrants, ethnic minorities (foreign elements to nation state) are treated as the sources of economic recessions, social tensions, insecurity and inequality in the society (Pamir 1997). The question of "*Are cities too diverse?*" came to the fore and resulted in deep debates about the success of multicultural thinking and inclusive diversity policies of later 1980s. Thus, assimilation discourse is still in the agenda of urban policies with its new form based on socio-economic changes, namely neo-assimilation or integration.

Neo-assimilation based on integration policies will be examined after discussing neo-liberal discourses of diversity politics, multiculturalism and interculturalism of 1980s.

2.3.2. 1980-2000: Multiculturalism / Post-multiculturalism

After the dominance of neo-liberal policies, free flow of goods and capitals, inevitable international migrant flows, ICT technologies enabling the free exchange of cultures, ideas and lifestyles, the scope of diversity policies shifted from assimilationist point of view to multicultural ones (Andreouli and Howarth, 2010). Because nationalist, single identity based policies within nation-borders were no longer the representatives of the diversity structure of globalized era.

Thus, it is very likely to say that, diversity has become a self-sufficient and independent policy discourse after 1980s. But still, the extent of diversity policies differs from country to country in terms of diversity perception of society, diversity and population background of countries' and legislation and administrative system of each country. In general, diversity policies cover the needs of disadvantaged groups (namely, poor, elderly, handicapped and women) and their adaptation to daily societal and economic life. Second set of policies favors the notions of diversity and multiculturalism to attract entrepreneurs, investors and high-skilled workers for economic competitiveness, to attract tourists and urban regeneration projects. Moreover, diversity and diversity related policies are developed to overcome social conflicts and social tensions between groups to achieve social cohesion and unity. (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Multiculturalism discourses attracted the attention of scholars and policy-makers, when assimilationist diversity approaches were no longer adequate to achieve social cohesion or common sense of belonging within the borders of nation-states. Moreover, with the multi-dimensional character of identities and recognition of differences by the society (figuring out that surpassing ethnic identities and holding national unity were not complementary to each other), such a pathway leading multicultural thinking was inevitable in the globalized area (Parekh, 2001; Ponzini, 2010). Although the multiculturalism was the core of the diversity debates at early 1990s, according to Kymlicka (2007), its roots date back to the period of Cold War,

when international organizations started to recognize the existence and rights of minority groups as a part of recognizing human rights, even though the signs of such a shift did not show up in policies explicitly. It was seen that social unity or harmony could not be achieved by strict, nationalistic top-down policies which disregard the existence of differences within society (Ponzini, 2010).

Multiculturalism means (in its simplest way) recognizing minorities and their rights, in its simplest way (Ponzini, 2010; Wieviorka, 2012). It assumes that social conflicts and disorders in cultural diversity can only be solved by identifying differences, by acknowledging and accepting them. However, like the assimilationist approach of 1950s, earlier forms of multiculturalism were only about recognizing ethnic minority groups.

During 1970s, voices favoring multiculturalism were raised in two of the most diverse countries like Australia and Canada in terms of recognizing the rights of minorities and aboriginal groups (Ponzini, 2010). Their diversity policies based on multicultural thinking have resulted in longer periods of peace and harmony within the society. Multiculturalist thinking also spread to Europe as well, but, according to some scholars, multiculturalism policies and practices failed in Europe (which is discussed in detail in following chapters).

Minorities are undoubtedly at the core of multicultural urban policies which are exemplified by Kymlicka (2010) as; free declaration of ethnic identity in public spaces and mainstream media, enabling dual citizenship, promoting mother tongue languages in schools, funding and supporting ethnic associations or NGOs. Other policies includes provision of health, education and social work services with a specific focus on cultural expectations & differences (ex: multilingual health brochures, providing translators in hospitals, language courses in schools etc.), recognizing religious diversity and respecting houses of worship and promoting diversity via media channels and funding diverse groups to initiate their own organizations and facilities (Vervotec and Wessendorf, 200; Ponzini, 2010).

Although the policies discussed above are the evident signs of diversity promotion in Western countries, they are seen inadequate to enhance cultural and daily interaction between and within diverse groups. According to Andreouli and Howarth (2010), multiculturalism is both a solution and a problem to cultural diversity since recognition of differences may result in two conflicting results, namely, social cohesion or social segregation fostered concretizing differences. Moreover, not all cultural differences can be seen as positive aspects of diversity. For example, as feminist scholars argue, some traditions in specific cultures directly target women with disregarding their social existence, their right to education and work. In turn, this leads to gender inequality and even economic inequality in the society in its simplest form (Andreouli and Howarth, 2010). As a result of such criticisms, the term *post-multiculturalism* has been brought to the urban agendas to heal the inadequacies of multiculturalism originating from the imbalance between overemphasizing or neglecting differences in late 1990s (Andreouli and Howarth, 2010).

The main focuses of post-multicultural thinking are to combat social and economic differences and to reinforce national unity via limiting new immigration flows that might affect nationally shared values and level of tolerance (Andreouli and Howarth, 2010). Post-multiculturalism can be regarded as an intermediary between multicultural discourses crowning diversity and assimilationist thinking that tries to build a national identity via integration processes (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Such an intermediary role covering both host societies and diverse groups has proceeded to another stage and resulted in the new debates on *interculturalism* in the beginning of 2000s.

Besides the discourses of multiculturalism, the relationship between diversity, social mobility and economic performance had also constituted great importance in policy-making process. To achieve economic development goals and competitiveness after 1980s, countries have attached great importance to diversity and its contributions to high-skilled labor market and attractiveness of cities. As widely discussed in

previous sections, western (global) countries have developed various socio-cultural policies to stimulate social cohesion in cities, integrating diverse groups and promote diversity by highlighting its benefits on creativity (creative class of Florida, 2002), innovation and social mobility (Ponzini, 2010).

Social mobility, in broader terms, refers to the possibility of each individual to have a better place in the socio-economic classes via upwards and downwards movements in terms of income, education, occupation and social status (Crawford et al., 2011; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). In general, social mobility discourses evolve around upwards mobility in labor market and educational level.

Upwards movements in the societal social classes refer that individuals are improving themselves by having new higher-skills, getting education and having diplomas and certificates which positively correlate with achieving higher levels of economic development (Eraydin et al., 2010; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The interactions between diverse groups, for example, a daily communication between a highly-skilled employed worker and an unemployed worker may lead to make the unemployed seek for a job or to make the employed one to use his/her networks to find a job for the unemployed one. For that reason, diversity's potential positive impacts on social mobility and economic development such as increasing interaction, networking, productivity and competitive advantage in the society are now at the agenda of urban policy makers (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Although urban policies in Western countries highlight the positive correlation between diversity and economic performance, some scholars such as Bellini et al, (2008) and Alesina and La Ferrara (2004) argue that greater diversity may lead to decreasing GDP's and slower economic growth in the long term.

Social mobility and economic performance policies of countries mostly relate with labor market dynamics. Because, greater skills (knowledge) and greater creativity of workers in the market result in greater competitiveness and economic growth. For that reason, high-skilled migrants and foreign entrepreneurs are as valuable as local

workers and investors. Syrett and Sepulveda (2012) explain how urban policies on economic performance are evolving around how to perceive, attract and integrate migrant and foreign workforce in countries.

In that sense, Syrett and Sepulveda (2012) developed five categories of migrant policies on urban economic performance, namely, non-policy, guest worker policy, assimilationist policy, pluralist policy and integrationist/intercultural policy. Non-policy approach refers to seeing migrants as transitory workers who don't have any effect on socio-economic relations and development. They are not a part of society and their existence in society ignored. Guest worker policy is, obviously, about regarding migrants as temporary workers who are invited or tolerated by the government according to sectorial needs in economy. Not all migrants are welcomed and there are no specific regulations or policies for their working or living conditions in the host country. Assimilationist policy perceives migrant workers as a part of the society but also sets conditions to accept their existence. Migrants are required to adopt the norms, values, language and institutions (especially labor market) of host country to stay permanently.

Pluralist policy is quite similar to multicultural and even intercultural thinking in terms of embracing the different cultures in the society. Pluralist policy enables migrants to maintain their traditions, to celebrate their important days, to manage their own associations, cultural and business networks as well as supporting their active participation in labor markets. Finally, integrationist policies regard migrant workers as permanent groups, but they limit migrants to enjoy their own cultures and identities. The emphasis is on integrating them to society and institutions but apart from assimilationist thinking they are not discouraging diversity in society. Integrationist policies attach great importance to selective policies towards migrant workers with special requirements and quotas.

These policies show once again that diversity policies are very sensitive to changes in socio-economic conditions. Competitiveness, foreign high-skilled workers,

attracting foreign investors and providing sufficient background for their contributions on local economy are at the core of diversity policy discourses in neoliberal era. Political, social and cultural issues are other topics influencing the perception of diversity in countries.

2.3.3. 2000-2008: Interculturalism and Social Cohesion

Interculturalism, a popular discourse of early 2000s, may be regarded as an extended version of post-multiculturalism with slight differences, although a few scholars like claim that there more similarities than differences between them (Zapata-Barrero, 2013). According to Cantle (2012) interculturalism contrasts multiculturalism by accepting cultures and identity as not fixed but changing, multi-layered and intertwined notions. Instead of sticking back to classic migration and ethnicity based definition of diversity which puts people in certain groups, Cantle (2012) argues that, a dynamic, future-oriented and individual-based diversity understanding is needed to get rid of certain categorizations based on gender, nation and race.

Interculturalism respects the idea of holding a *national identity* which is not solely based on race and ethnic backgrounds just like the post-multicultural thinking. It accepts identity as a complex, multi-dimensional and dynamic notion (Nathan, 2011) which goes beyond the nationalism discussions. Instead of only accepting the existence of cultural or ethnic differences, interculturalism attaches great importance to the *interaction* between the diverse elements in the society. Interculturalism, thus, can be seen as a third way between multiculturalism and assimilation, as it enhances national belonging via interaction & exchange of values and enables the co-existence of cultures simultaneously (Zapata-Barrero, 2013). Interculturalism contributes to the achievement of social cohesion through not dislocating common shared values and norms in society. It introduces new cultures and new values to existing ones and enables an exchange between them. By doing so, both host societies and new comers enjoy such a multicultural environment and its benefits on creativity, competitiveness and innovation without any social tensions (Emerson, 2011).

Interaction between cultures and cultural dialogue (Amin, 2002) are effective inputs to achieve social cohesion via creating a national identity which respects every diversity and individual rights (Meer and Modood, 2012, Cattle 2012). Such an intense interaction between cultures minimizes the differences between cultures and treats each of the differences as a part of national identity. As a result, in theory, cultures become more intertwined and the level of social segregation or discrimination decrease (Zapata-Barrero, 2013).

Recently, interculturalism is brought forward by international institutions like European Commission, UNESCO and Council of Europe to develop policies based on *cultural diversity and social dialogue* and to move away the barren discussions of multiculturalism which are grounded on ethnicity and nationality (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013; Zapata-Barrero, 2013). The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue-2008 and Intercultural Cities Programme of European Institutions are two of the leading evidences of how interculturalism is adopted by international organizations in recent years (Zapata-Barrero, 2013). In addition, these institutions see interculturalism as a way to deal with the negative outcomes of diversity such as social tensions between groups, discrimination, hate crimes and social protests. Because the term blinks eye to a more open society in which everyone respects the other, as an inevitable result of intense interaction while protecting individual rights. However, interculturalism is criticized for being too theoretical to solve the problems regarding diversity (Wieviorka, 2012). According to critics, it proposes social dialogue and interaction between cultural groups, but it does not offer policy tools how to achieve them (Wieviorka, 2012). Besides all that, its impact on legislations and laws are somewhat vague. If interculturalism discourses cannot result in the development of problem-solving policies on diversity, it is very likely that in the forthcoming years, its dominance on urban discourses will erode in time like multiculturalism.

In a similar manner with interculturalism, intersectionality is introduced as a new way of looking diversity and social bonds in the society in. Intersectionality approaches diversity through interrelating the term with the discourses of social

cohesion and social inequality instead of focusing on diverse groups and their interactions with each other. It can be regarded as an indirect way of contributing diversity policies. Intersectionality notices the interaction between intertwined cultural identities, but different from interculturalism, it focuses on how these interactions contribute or lead to social cohesion and social (in) equality (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Like multiculturalism and interculturalism, intersectional thinking identifies multiple characteristics of identity and refuses to focus on gender, race or ethnicity based classifications in diversity policy making if they are not helpful to explain the social relations in society (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The emphasis here is to examine the drivers of social cohesion, social inequality and social hierarchy that lead different policies and practices in different countries (Anthias, 2013). As understood from intersectionality debates, social issues becoming more and more important in diversity discourses and approaches. In that sense, diversity perception of 2000s, attach great deal to the adoption of diversity policies that aim to achieve social cohesion in cities.

Social cohesion has been a very popular term especially in European urban agendas since early 2000s. Policy makers attach great importance to the potential effects of diversity policies on social cohesion and harmony between diverse groups. Social cohesion can be defined in various ways though approaching the concept with various sub-topics like solidarity, inequality, community development etc. (Demireva, 2011). Most of its definitions are generated from the notions of *togetherness, solidarity, living in peace*, and they tend to focus on the positive effects of social cohesion on diversity (Demireva, 2011; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Social cohesion policies can be developed for every spatial scale ranging from neighborhood unit to nation-wide and for every societal levels including family, friends network or high school (Schuyt, 1997 as cited in Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Chan et al. (2006) and Cantle (2012) highlight the positive effects of social cohesion on increasing the level of interaction between diverse groups. They define social

cohesion as a binder that holds all vertical and horizontal community relations that are shaped by norms, values, sense of belonging, respecting differences and trust, in harmony. As cited in Zapata-Barrero (2013), Cattle (2012) regards social cohesion as an efficient policy tool to deal with the social conflicts in the society by breaking down the cultural barriers within it. Social cohesion are associated with various terms like solidarity, social bonds, social interests, shared values, sense of belonging (Kearns and Forrest,2000) as well as social inequality, social polarization and social disorder (Demireva, 2011). That is, social cohesion has both positive and negative reflections on society, diverse groups and urban policy making.

As social inequality (rich get richer, poor becomes poorer) and social exclusion increases in cities, policy makers search policy tools to overcome such conflicts in both short and long term. Because social exclusion are increasing in Europe especially after economic and social crises and the overall of goals of sustainable urban development and competitive economies are threatened by social conflicts in society. Thus, policy-makers address social cohesion policies to create a balance between diverse groups by developing strategies to combat homelessness, expensive housing, racial discrimination, limited access to public services like education, communication and health (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Although social cohesion policies cover such broad sub-strategies, the most common social cohesion policy in urban practices is social mixing. The discourses on social mixing divide scholars and policy-makers into two. The first group claims that achieving a community development with profound social mixing policies encourages daily communication and cultural interactions. Such a multicultural environment and intense exchange between diverse ethnic, gender and income groups eventually lead social cohesion, creativity, social equality and even social mobility (Graham et al.2009). However, the second group blames social mixing policies for impairing social cohesion through increasing the level of diversity and heterogeneous layers in cities (Putnam, 2007, Bolt and Van Kempen, 2013). Their claims based on the evidences from US and Europe in where increasing diversity mostly resulted in decreasing trust in society (Demireva, 2011).

The interchange between diversity, social cohesion and social trust varies from country to country and according to the parameters used to assess the relationship between them as well the economic and politic processes that countries are experiencing (Demireva, 2011). In that sense, the relationship between diversity and social cohesion is also a matter of discussion in times of economic crisis. Because, countries tend to focus on social cohesion policies that favors homogeneous societies in times of crisis which conflict with the on-going discussions on the positive effects of diversity on social cohesion in the literature. In other words, in times of crisis, countries tend to favor unified and homogeneous societies which in turn create less social tensions and social conflicts. Such tendencies can be associated with the notions of assimilation, since migrants and ethnic groups are the first ones to be negatively affected from the policies favoring homogeneous societies to achieve social cohesion. The rise of assimilationism in diversity discourses are put forward as below with its relation with economic processes.

2.3.4. 2008+: Neo-assimilation and Integration

Migrants have always been an important ingredient for urban policies since they are the ultimate diversifiers in the society having different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their adaption to the majority and their integration to urban services and institutions have always been in the agenda of countries. No surprisingly, the approaches towards diversity so far have evolved around how to place ethnic minorities and migrants into society and diversity discourses. With the effects of globalization, especially after the increasing level of international migration especially towards developed Western countries, with the devastating social effects of economic crisis in 2008; various policies have been developed or reorganized to address their needs and solve social tensions regarding their existence in societies (European Urban Knowledge Network, 2012).

Besides multicultural voices accepting minorities' existence and right to the city, assimilation policies have also been again brought to agenda by policy-makers to

tackle social problems, which are thought to be originating from the existence of migrants in cities, in terms of social exclusion, discrimination, inequality and erosion of national identity or belonging (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration, 2003). As cited in the report of Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration (2003), in 2000, Council of Europe declared *developing national integration policies* as one of the nine priority themes of the European Social Agenda to fight against social segregation in deprived neighborhoods where ethnic minorities tend to live in large numbers. Migrants' integration to labor markets, to educational and legal institutions stand at the core of those neo-assimilationist diversity policies of Western countries, especially in times of economic crises.

Due its bad connotations from the earlier decades, the term *assimilation* is not preferred by policy-makers anymore, so a more open and flexible term *neo-assimilation or integration* is introduced to move away from the problems arising from old assimilationist thinking (one-sided approach enforcing migrants to abandon their own cultures to match the host society) (Appleton, 2011; Weinstein, 2011). Old assimilationist policies are now regarded as violent, enforcing, homogenizing and nationalist ones which cannot suit today's social structure (Weinstein, 2011). The main aim of neo-assimilationist policies is to solve social problems and tensions in society via promoting national identity and belonging to achieve greater integration (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). Integration is a dynamic process that both safeguards cultural differences and creates harmony in the society. Integration policies are developed to ensure that migrants benefit equal access to health, education services and housing as well as local inhabitants (European Urban Knowledge Network, 2012). Masterly speaking host societies' language, adopting their norms, traditions, knowledge of national history and being legally recognized in host countries' official systems are the goals to be achieved at the end of integration process (Emerson, 2011; Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

According to Weinstein (2011), integration process is threefold, namely, social, cultural and structural integration. The first one is related to the acceptance of

migrants, new comers by the host society as an inseparable part of the majority in terms of social relations. Cultural integration attributes to the embracing of host society's traditions, norms, values and adjustment of behaviors, attitudes according to the majority by migrants without totally abandoning their own culture. Expertise in the common language and becoming a part of social networks, friendships, marriages in the society are seen as the parameters of cultural integration. The balance between adopting a new culture and preserving the own culture is very sensitive to socio-political conditions, thus, it should be carefully monitored and examined by policy-makers. Finally structural integration refers to the institutional participation of migrants in countries' labor market and legal affairs.

Unlike the older versions of assimilationism, neo-assimilationist understanding sees both migrants and host society as two-sides of integration process (Appleton, 2011; Weinstein, 2011). Council of Europe and International Organization for Migration agree on that the process of integration and potential outcomes of it should be faced by host societies as well as migrants (Appleton, 2011). Because as immigration increases, the societies become diverse than ever with the existence of multiple cultural backgrounds, thus, host societies also need to adapt to such socio-demographic changes. From the migrants' side, with the effects of globalization and international flows, there is not a static-stable, homogeneous society to be integrated to (European Urban Knowledge Network, 2012). The intense relationship between urban development, migration and integration necessitates the inclusion of cultural diversity discourses in such a two-sided way to achieve social cohesion and sustainable urban development (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration, 2003).

Neo-assimilationist policies are criticized by scholars and migrant organizations by only focusing on migrant-side requirements like citizenship tests and language exams and ignoring multicultural discourses, especially in times of economic crises when migrants are more likely to be seen as the sources of crime, unemployment and social unrests (Weinstein, 2011). Although the process and responsibility of two-sides

differ country to country, in general, the integration of host society to changing local structure does not covered in urban policies of countries. Moreover, most of the country practices show that integration discourses lead to deeper social conflicts and tensions with the xenophobic voices and nationalist protests towards migrants.

2.4. Diversity in Socio-Spatial Context: Urban Space and Diversity in Neoliberal Era

As well as being a social phenomenon having various interrelations with various social aspects, diversity is also matter of space. Because, all social relations, interactions, networks, stories of exclusion and inclusion take place on space and thus, any intervention to space (may) influence the balance between the level of social cohesion and social unrests or may result in the rise of new social facts like socio-spatial segregation or polarization.

To put forward the role and perception of diversity in socio-spatial urban interventions, it is worth to begin with putting forward how neoliberalism itself and neoliberal policies have changed the importance attributed to space and to the form of cities, before determining the socio-spatial interventions concerning diversity. As discussed earlier, neoliberalism have melted away the egalitarian discourses of welfare states in terms of market regulation, social benefits and social rights and favored neoliberal deregulation, state rescaling, openness of economy, free flow of goods, capitals and people and decentralized governance to promote market entrepreneurship, privatization of services, to achieve competitiveness (Brenner, 2004; Tsukamoto, 2012).

Individualism has become the one of the main characteristics of neoliberalism, given the fact that individuals are now alone in covering their socio-economic needs and ensuring their integration into social and economic mechanisms and institutions in the absence of supportive welfare services and various social benefits (Brenner, 2004). In neoliberal times, cities have become the marketing tools for countries to

prove their competitiveness degree and high levels of development as being the centers of finance, tourism, investments, peace and security, innovation and high-technology, fairs & congress, luxury housing, unique architectural and natural assets etc. (Aguirre et al., 2006; Hackworth, 2006).

The market-driven economic priorities of governments, privatization of national resources and services, empowerment of local authorities have shown themselves in many areas in cities, including spatial development processes. Governments have focused on developing large-scale, unique and ambitious projects and as well as redeveloping old and decayed central locations to show their competitive power to others and to attract foreign investments (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In order to finance these large-scale projects, all the required infrastructure and transportation projects; central governments empowered and supported local authorities to cooperate with private agents and individual investors to finance and manage these projects (Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

In neoliberal times, local authorities have mostly acted as private firms seeking rent and undermined a planning process that concerns both the social and economic effects of interventions and redevelopments. In worst cases undermining social development, local authorities, having also the legal power, organize and transform valuable and centrally-located urban lands, open these areas for further consumption of investors or new elites via surpassing urban poor to the outskirts of the city (Torlak, 2014). Interventions to urban space are mostly done via urban transformation projects which are developed, financed and managed by the partnership of private construction firms, local and central public authorities. These joint organizations reshaping urban spaces claim that urban transformation and renewal processes are effective tools to break down existing injustices and social exclusion in the given urban lands. Because, these processes offer a livable, secure and safe territories away from social conflicts (Torlak, 2014). However, as many of the urban experiences show, social redevelopment in the areas of intervention could not be achieved in a desired way.

Swyngedouw et al (2002), touch upon a similar argument and assert that there is shift from statutory planning to (planning through) projects in urban practices. Unlike top-down comprehensive planning approaches of the Fordist era, planning through projects offered a flexible, multi-partnered, market-led understanding of planning and prioritized economic goals towards innovation and competitiveness in urban development processes. Planning through project turns a specific urban space into a gorgeous, large-scale urban project that serves for the competitive image of the city and its innovative characteristics. In that sense, it is also possible to identify a shift from development patterns targeting people to a one targeting places; in other words from a social to spatial development in urban practices (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). Such a shift is a sign of abandonment of universal, inclusive and for some cases multicultural social planning of welfare states period as well as a sign of the adoption market-led, privately funded large scale projects which neglects the social implications of ambitious interventions to urban space (Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

In sum, cities have become the spaces of finance, tourism, business, large scale investments and projects and become the places of speculative rent originating from market-driven urban renewal and transformation, as well as the containers of socio-spatial segregations, social injustice, social conflicts, discrimination and social exclusion (Boratav et al, 1996). Neoliberal cities, as Bayat (2014) argues, are lost cities which are ruled by global capital in a way that overrules the notions of right to city and social justice. Moreover, neoliberal cities are cities of whose residents experience high levels of inequality in the redistribution of resources and prosperity as well as social exclusion and social polarization (Bayat, 2014).

2.4.1. Social Polarization, Social Inequality and Spatial Segregation in Cities

The increasing social polarization and social inequality at times neoliberal policies have challenged with the social goals (achieving social equality or reducing socio-economic gaps) of early 1980s. During 1990s, when neoliberal policies were shaping the economy, socio-economic gaps between individuals and between diverse groups

have become widened with the strict division of labor and with huge differences of income and social status between individuals (rich becomes richer and poor gets poorer) (Tasan-Kok et al, 2013). These increasing gaps were clear signs of how economic goals prioritized over social goals that aimed to reduce socio-economic gaps between diverse groups in the society. Moreover, such a dependency to economic processes and eagerness of decision makers, investors to make more interventions to urban space (to achieve competitiveness and economic growth) shaded the importance attributed to the achievement of social and spatial justice between individuals. Thenceforth, the increasing gaps between diverse groups in socio-economic terms have eventually shown themselves in spatial terms, specifically in terms of spatial segregation and spatial polarization during 2000. Recently, the increasing spatial segregation, which was a direct result of the formation of spaces with different functions, land-uses, opportunities, population structure etc. with limited interaction with surrounding, has paved the way towards the rise of discussions on divided cities, fragmented cities or partitioned cities (Sassen, 1991; Fainstein et al, 1992; Burgers, 2002).

Unlike the spatial segregation discussions of 1920s or 1960s evolving around the spatial concentrations of different ethnic and income groups; the recent debates are much more perturbative (Bayat, 2014). Because, recent spatial developments as results of increasing gaps between diverse groups are being designated in a way that directly cuts the interactions between groups and minimizes the chances of encounter. Such spatial developments are mostly seen in the form of *gated communities* which are highly-secured and disconnected with the world beyond the walls.

The fear of experiencing crime or other possible marginalities with the increasing ghettoization in inner cities have made the rich groups to move to *safety zones* with high security in the outskirts of the city (Bayat, 2014). These safety zones are composed of residents having similar income and social status and thus; form homogeneous zones in which daily interactions and exchanges remain limited within

the walls of the territory. Moreover, the development of gated communities generally results in the formation of highly-exclusive and private social facilities in long term, including highly secured and protected bars, beaches, shopping malls to which the excluded groups are accepted in (Bayat, 2014). Such a development pattern means that, groups would have less interaction and exchange and select certain parts of urban lands as their home, workplace or recreational side with the ones they choose to live together as neighbors. Thus, in general, gated communities have decreased the level of tolerance, multiculturalism, solidarity and collective action since they minimized the interactions and exchanges of experiences. Moreover, gated communities, privatization of urban land and spatial segregation may erode the meaning and aim of public spaces in long term, since they generate further categorical disconnectedness and estrangement between citizens (Bayat, 2014).

2.4.2. Urban Renewal and Social Mixing Practices

Efforts on creating gated, homogenized, less diverse and more secured urban areas have doubled with the increased attention towards urban renewal processes. For the sake of being competitive and attracting foreign investors, governments have supported these kinds of luxurious, ambitious, large-scale housing projects as well as supporting urban transformation with a similar manner.

Urban renewal projects are being presented as remedies for increasing poverty and travails resulting from unqualified urban areas and services, via transforming the area to a one having various economic and social facilities with good architecture and offering employment, education, security and health opportunities within the framework of *public interest* (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Regardless of its promotion by project developers, in urban renewal practices, valuable, centrally located urban lands with poor infrastructure, in which low-income working classes, migrants, ethnic minorities mostly live, have been turning to the spaces of rent which are designated for high-income groups and new investors (Gans, 2013). By doing so, public authorities ignore the contributions of low income groups to the area and local

economy (low profile jobs in service sectors, small businesses etc.) for the sake of *pleasing* high profile groups (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Critical voices have been raised from groups that are suffer from the renewal process (low income groups, migrants) which simply state their dissatisfaction with losing their properties, houses, neighborhood-level networks, occupations and their way of living.

Urban development policies favoring urban renewal seemed to increase the gap and disconnection with different groups and resulted in further discrimination. To say that, increasing polarization among groups with globalization led to spatial segregation and the formation of homogeneous, disconnected gated communities and urban renewal projects without social concerns. They have paved way towards increasing discrimination, contempt, hostility and lower trust and lower social cohesion in societies.

Unlike the discussions on urban renewal projects of neoliberal era, social mixing projects have gained importance to heal the inadequacies of urban renewal and transformation processes on fostering social cohesion. Social mixing, in a way, conflicts with the development of gated communities and areas of concentration in which closer-knit groups are settled. Because, social mixing efforts attach great deal to the interaction between various groups in public spaces open for everyone unlike gated communities providing public spaces only for its *exclusive* residents.

In that sense, mixing different groups and cultures in an urban area seemed to be a good idea to create opportunities for common values, place attachment, solidarity, equality in redistribution of resources and creating spaces for interaction, which in turn, lead to social cohesion (Kearns and Forrest, 2000). Social mixing policies generally target low income groups who have limited resources and accessibility to public services. The idea of social mixing originates from the claim that the geographical concentrations of certain groups on certain areas limit the outside world interactions and progress (Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Lees, 2008). Especially, in poverty discussions, low income groups living together have limited chance to

improve their income conditions due to their lack of interaction with wealthier groups (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Thus, public authorities favor such mixing policies over directing resources and investments to poorer areas. Social mixing is not solely a redistribution tool, it also creates opportunities for spaces of interaction where various experiences, opportunities are shared between different groups. In that sense, decision makers assume that such spatially enforced interactions between low and high income groups may result in increasing social mobility and social cohesion (Lees, 2008).

Although social cohesion is a necessary tool to minimize social disorders, authorities should keep in their mind that, social cohesion may lead to the further exclusion of certain groups that reject or fail to adapt shared identity and common values in such mixed neighborhoods. Moreover, social cohesion policies heavily fostering within-neighborhood interactions may result in the missing of opportunities offered outside the borders and networks of the given neighborhood (Healey, 1997 as cited in Tasan-Kok et al, 2013). Further social bonds and cohesion in a given area may result in lesser contacts with other areas in city boundaries and even result in tensions between residents of these areas in the absence of tolerance to differences and outsiders (Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Vranken, 2004). Moreover, urban diversity and social cohesion may not always positively correlate, for some cases, if it is not properly managed, increasing diversity may lead to lower levels of social cohesion. For Putnam (2007), increasing diversity and heterogeneity are impediments for social cohesion which is contradictorily based upon cultural homogeneity. Keeping in mind all these potential unsolicited circumstances, local authorities develop their urban policies on social cohesion through trying to keeping the balance between exclusion and inclusion.

2.4.3. Social Justice, Spatial Justice and Right to the City

Such challenges and critics towards neoliberal urbanization have reawakened the discussions of Lefebvre's social justice and Castells' right to the city concept given

their relation with spatial issues, in recent years. Increasing social and spatial segregation, limited and conditional access to public services, unfair redistribution of resources and exclusion of certain diverse groups in communities in decision making and planning processes have resulted in broad discussions on how neoliberalism contributed to the formation of cities of injustice, cities of segregation and cities of exclusion. Such debates have been even fiercer with the economic and socio-spatial effects of the economic crisis of 2008 which is widely seen as the ultimate failure of neoliberalism in a world of injustices. Aftermath of the crisis, the term *spatial justice*, focusing on the spatial concentration of inequality and exclusion, has gained popularity in urban policy discourses. Coinciding with the debates on the increasing social injustice late 2000s, spatial justice debates have evolved around the technical and non-social perceptions of spatial planning in neoliberal times. Before investigating the term in detail, it is worth to look at its roots, namely social justice and spatial planning.

Spatial planning is mostly known as urban planning but there is a slight distinction between these terms. Spatial planning is a term covering various scales (local to national) and deals with various planning fields like transportation, accessibility, mobility, inequality, environmental planning, culture and social planning and economic development and its spatial implications. The term is used for the physical organization of space in accordance with the policies developed for the goals towards a balanced and sustainable development (Council of Europe, 1983). ESDP (as cited in Reeves, 2004) defines spatial planning as “*influencing the future distribution of activities in space to create a more rational organization of land uses and linkages between them*”.

Spatial planning is also an effective tool in preventing social exclusion, poverty, discrimination through a fruitful combination of spatial development tools and social policies and design policies fostering social cohesion. However, in the neoliberal era, the term is heavily criticized for overemphasizing physical development and over praising large-scale, massive and competitive type of spatial projects over the social

goals of planning. The term, its definitions by supranational organizations and its perception by decision-makers are also often criticized for being too technical and for neglecting the social issues and human dimension of all top-down policies which are increasing inequality in cities, in the long term (Fainstein, 2005).

Social justice is term that inspired various fields of thinking ranging from philosophy, legal affairs to economics, and dates back to ancient times and studies of Aristotle, Socrates and Spinoza etc. (Harvey, 1973). In lexical meaning, social justice refers to justice in redistribution of resources, prosperity, opportunities in a society (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010). The reawakening of the term with its reflections in spatial planning dates back to early 1930s, when justice was primarily used in discussions based on equal distribution. The term has been addressed by different scholars like David Harvey, Manuel Castells, Henri Lefebvre and John Rawls especially during 1970s when the signs of neoliberalism were observed in various planning issues.

Rawls (1971) defined social justice and its doctrines as a way of distributing the rights, duties, burdens and benefits in a fair way. Similarly, in his ground-shaking book *The Social Justice and The City* (1973), Harvey defined social justice given its relation with production as “*a particular application of just principles to conflicts which arise out of the necessity of social cooperation in seeking individual advancement*”. According to Harvey (1973), the gainings of social cooperation and collective production and the roles and burdens taken by individuals in these processes should be distributed in justice. To say that, the gainings of any productive urban process should be distributed fairly with reference to the distribution of duties and roles and their fulfillment by individuals. In a similar vein with Harvey’s (1973) and Rawls’ (1971) understanding of social justice claiming just redistribution with fair ways of distribution; various definitions of the term have been made recently with a special focus on the role of institutions in the matter. In that sense, social justice can be achieved in many ways with a fair distribution of institutional services including health, education, security, and fair distribution of wealth, prosperity,

taxation and duties etc. by the relevant public institutions. However, it is not easy to determine how an equal or a fair distribution can be since it varies according to the societal characteristics, economy and modes of production and social models of countries.

In recent years, especially after the economic crisis of 2008, social justice and fair distribution debates came to fore or urban discussions. The principles of social justice have been treated as remedies for the increasing income-gaps, increasing inequalities in accessing public services and accessing urban spaces. When these concerns doubled with the dominance of *gated community* trend in urban development, it is seen essential to combine the social justice in distribution with the uneven, unfairly distributed spaces. The perception of space has significantly changed since its no longer seen as a container of physical elements or human activities. Instead, it is understood that social and spatial processes are interrelated and space is an element that directly or indirectly influences human actions and social relations. For example, urban form or spatial development trends can influence daily actions of people, economic progresses, technological or environmental processes as well as broader social issues like income gaps, social polarization and even justice. Thenceforth, the relevance of space in social issues gained importance especially in the discussions on justice, human rights and democracy (Soja, 2009). It is not a coincidence that Lefebvre's (1968) ground-breaking arguments on *right to the city* revived to be one of the central discussions on urban agendas in today's cities given its relation with social implications of spatial development.

The term *spatial justice* is revived after these hot debates on the spatiality of justice. Undoubtedly, there were tendencies before, to imply the spatial effects on justice or human rights like the discussions on environmental justice, urbanization of justice, but they were not really emphasizing the importance of space just as *spatial justice* does (Soja, 2009). The roots of the term dates back to ancient times when Greek polis discussions are at the core and lived one of its peak point in late 1960s when scholars like Foucault, Lefebvre took the term to the middle of justice discussions in

times or urban crisis (Soja, 2009). In recent decades, spatial justice discussions are fierced to put forward the negative spatial developments of neoliberal era on the notions of justice and democracy.

Spatial justice is concerned with the fair distribution of social rights and opportunities in space. As a reminder, it is likely to say that spatial justice notion is built upon the arguments of Harvey and Rawls, but apart from their approach, space is taken as the central starting point. The notion points out the injustice in benefiting from or accessing redistributable social values due to spatial concentrations of people which is widely known as *locational discrimination* (Soja, 2009). From this point of view, geographical location generates (in) justice and (dis)advantage. Geographical (injustice) or (dis)advantage is either created through the planning decisions favoring some groups in the society like high-income groups or pushing out some unwanted groups like ethnic minorities, migrants with low profiles to the disadvantaged locations in reaching public services and social rights (Soja, 2009). In all these processes, it is very likely to trace the effects of planning decisions and spatial development trends (gated communities, urban renewal and transformation) supported by public authorities. Spatial development decisions of decision-makers affect the decisions of certain groups. For example, a family with a low income cannot afford to live in central areas which are designed and organized for middle or high-class in which various public services and social benefits are contained. Or, via supporting or investing the development of gated communities in cities and required infrastructure, public authorities indirectly accept the spatial division of urban lands according to class distinctions.

In the processes of urban renewal and gentrification, it is very likely to see how spatial injustice occurs. Urban renewal in neoliberal era is mostly based on rent-seeking and overrides the social concerns of spatial interventions (Bayat, 2014). Through urban renewal practices in cities, mostly, low income residents and so called marginal groups that are blamed to commit crimes are displaced within legal frameworks for the sake of reorganizing the area for the interests of investors,

entrepreneurs and high-income classes (Fainstein, 2009; Soja, 2009). To say that in short, through their decisions, public authorities directly or indirectly contribute to the formation of spatial injustices. Moreover, with the neoliberal tendency to favor the rich over poor, host societies over migrants, men or women over LGBT groups, injustices in spatial location and injustices in redistribution of income and social rights become even visible. In that sense, justice is discussed in many ways given its interrelation with citizenship, diversity, social rights, economic inequalities, spatial segregation etc. (Soja, 2009). However, it is known that reaching perfect justice in all these fields is not achievable, but what are aimed by these discussions is to limit the causes of injustices and prevent further discrimination through the tools of planning and redistribution.

Besides the arguments of Castells and Harvey, spatial justice is also interrelated with Lefebvre's famous notion of right to the city. According to Lefebvre (1968), the right to the city concept enables us to understand who owns the city regardless of poverty ownership or higher social status in collective sense. Moreover, the notion touches upon the rights to the city including decent housing, security, education, health, cultural activities and employment opportunities (Fainstein, 2005). In a similar vein with Lefebvre, Harvey (2012) defines the right to the city as the right of people to shape the city according to their daily practices and needs and be shaped by the city itself after these processes. In other words, it is *reinventing the city* through the equal representations of different needs and daily processes of people (Harvey, 2012).

The origins of his study dates back to the 1960s and focuses on how migrants and working classes of Paris were pushed to the outskirts of the city which opened way for the fruitful discussions on socio-spatial marginalization and segregation. Lefebvre (1968) highlighted that cities are not machines which are technically programmed, but rather they are dynamic and organic spatial agglomerations including various social relationships. His way of approaching to right to the city is based on social justice and social inequality. Therefore, he focuses on social justice in the use of urban space, equality in public services, equality in rights to the

citizenship (not in terms of solid membership, but rather in terms of expression, claiming rights, involving in community life, using and creating urban spaces). The term is revived in recent years in order to draw attention to the issues of equality and justice and to the rights of disadvantaged people in accessing and using public services and urban spaces. In a similar manner with above arguments, one of the examples of the term in practice is in the World Charter on Right to the City (UNESCO, 2005). In the charter, right to the city is defined as *“the collective right of the inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalized groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organization, based on their uses and customs, with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living”* (UNESCO, 2005). The concept include various rights including adequate housing, right to have children, working in suitable and healthy conditions, education, affordable and qualified health, education and transportation services, security and protection, benefits, right to have life without experiencing discrimination or exclusion originating from choices and life-styles etc. In planning terms, right to the city corresponds to the right to participating to decision-making processes, the right to experience development in a healthy environment, the right to enjoy natural and cultural resources embedded in the city.

2.5. Diversity in Neoliberal Urban Policies: How to Assess?

After a brief discussion of challenges on urban policies regarding diversity and policy responses to the neoliberal urbanization, it's time to move on to the assessment of diversity and diversity-related policies within the framework of social justice, social order, right to the city which are prescribed above. In this section, urban policies covering diversity issues, are examined through the framework that combines of Lefebvre's (1968) right to the city concept and Fincher and Iveson's (2008) urban policy categorizations, which are namely, recognition, redistribution and spaces of encounter. These different approaches were combined because; they provide a comprehensive framework to discuss diversity- related urban policies with their spatial implications given their relation with social (injustice) and

(dis)advantage. Fincher and Iveson (2008), in *Planning and Diversity in the City*, defined three basic urban logics that cover the policy discussions and practices in today's cities. Fincher and Iveson (2008) introduced policies of redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter with an extended background covering the discussions on justice and equality in cities.

The concepts of redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter are not mutually exclusive (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). For example, recognition process mostly end up with the development of redistribution policies regarding the different aspects of groups, or creating spaces of encounter often necessitates the recognition of groups in designing or reorganizing the space regarding the way of living of diverse groups. Moreover, from the recognition side, the most common example that combines the three aspects of urban policies is creating spaces for worships. Once the religious group is recognized and their culture, way of worship and traditions are figured out, the space of worship is chosen in a way that do not marginalize the religious group from other groups in the society both socially and spatially (through placing them to urban lands where other interactions and accessibility to public services are possible). Other examples are, in brief, spaces designed for handicapped people (recognition and redistribution), libraries or fairs (redistribution and spaces of encounter), community centers (spaces of encounter and recognition) etc.

2.5.1. Diversity and Policies of Redistribution

To start with, redistribution logic in urban policies originates from the longstanding discussions on inequalities in the share of resources, public services. The term is being used by decision-makers to solve the problems of disadvantaged groups who cannot access or benefit from the services that they have right on (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Redistribution policies are developed as responses to the increasing critical voices claiming the increase of inequality and social injustice at the local level. The principles of redistribution logic overlap with the arguments of social justice and right to the city, since they aim to create a fair redistribution mechanism

which is effective in reducing income diversity and reproducing and respecting diverse identities in society. They also aim to minimize the social tensions arising from the neoliberal practices in cities that lead further discrimination and social-spatial segregation via ensuring just redistribution. Policies on ensuring equal public expenditures-investments, offering accessible public services for all defined groups in society, promoting urban renewal and social mix to redistribute the social and economic benefits and enhancing social redevelopment via effective distribution mechanisms are the typical examples of redistribution policies (Fincher and Iveson, 2008).

Redistribution policies gained importance especially after the Second World War, with the configuration of welfare regimes which favors increasing dominancy of government on redistributing and reproducing public resources (including income, investments, expenditures, benefits, opportunities) (Bradley et al, 2003). During those times, the national level decisions and redistribution policies directly translated to urban or even neighborhood level as a result of strong top-down decision-making system. It is thought that public authorities have the ultimate power to balance the negative outcomes of market-led economy through effective redistribution of resources, reorganizing public resources in way to ensure that every citizen can equally benefit, making public services accessible and affordable (Bradley et al, 2003). As a first step, governments of Keynesian period invested mostly on infrastructure (housing, transportation, electricity, energy), to minimize inequality in material terms. Secondly, they redistributed their resources to increase the consumption level of individuals and groups via promoting public sector employment and welfare expenditures (pension, social security, unemployment benefits etc.) besides infrastructural investments (Jessop, 2002). Thus, the aim is to ensure equality between individuals in legal and democratic terms.

However, during late 1970s and early 1980s, critical voices were raised against the top-down provision of welfare and its costs on economy and to the closed economy that limits the growth and competitiveness (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Neoliberal

thinking has gained popularity and resulted in shift from planning and welfare to entrepreneurialism and flexibility, in a parallel way with the shift from planning to projects as discussed above (Jessop, 2002). With the adoption of neoliberal thinking in policy-making, economic goals and priorities overruled the social ones and citizens of welfare were transformed into self-enterprising citizens (Considine, 2001 as cited in Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Neoliberalism also transformed the welfare, state-led redistribution mechanisms into mechanisms of private and conditional redistribution. Although there were good intentions for ensuring fair redistribution of resources with state, it is not very likely to say that welfare distribution systems had eroded inequality and disadvantages.

According to Sandercock (1998), urban renewal processes of early 1970s work for the benefit of so-called public interest (which was in practice for the favor of certain privileged groups) as opposed to the discourses of welfare regimes. With neoliberalism, the situation is getting worse and defining public interest is getting harder, if the aim is to reduce inequalities between people. The ever increasing diversity, identities, relations and networks in today's capital cities, challenges governments in defining what is good for the overall society.

In the practice of redistribution, locational (dis)advantage and in (accessibility) come to the floor as the two challenges or opportunities affecting just distribution (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). These concepts highlight the importance of geographical locations in defining just and fair redistribution. Locational (dis)advantage, in general, concerns the physical proximity to public services and spaces. However, accessibility is not only about locational proximity to certain services but also social proximity meaning a sense of belonging, closeness and comfort in accessing and using services (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). In that sense, recognition of groups, welcoming them and making them feel as they an integral part of the society and increases the sense of social proximity and belonging. If public authorities recognize groups, their needs, their social relations and develop social facilities for their use, they may achieve a huge step in legitimizing social proximity. Social proximity

discussions generally evolved around the issues about LGBT individuals since they are experiencing problems regarding recognition and welcoming in public services.

Redistribution of resources, public services and expenditures can be done in various ways, but three of them are quite typical in urban practices. The first one is ensuring equity in expenditures and social benefits and fair redistribution of national income and prosperity. Integration policies and expenditures can also be evaluated under this category since they are used for achieving equality between citizens, even if the results may be too nationalistic to achieve social equality between migrants and host societies. The second one is urban renewal in which redistribution is done via redistributing the rent and prosperity originating from the reorganization of urban land and activities. Urban renewal is also connected with the processes of recognition and spaces of encounter since recognition of certain groups and their problems is the first step of project development to create an urban land offering various activities, spaces of interactions and opportunities which are developed according to the targeted profiles. The third common redistribution policy is social mixing. Through concentrating various social, income and cultural groups in an area on the condition that none of the groups would be overpopulated than the other groups in the area. What is aimed is to ensure equal opportunities and services for each group in the area.

2.5.2. Diversity and Policies of Recognition

As the second most common urban policy type, recognition policies refer to the identification of diverse groups in the society and their special needs and expectations to develop tailor-made policies without resulting in discrimination (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). The typical recognition policies evolve around the identification of diverse groups in the locality via social surveys, field researches and with the contributions of non-governmental associations representing the groups. When identification process is done, schemes regarding the allocation of resources according to the determined needs of groups and programmes aiming to foster within

and between group interactions are being developed. Redistribution and recognition policies overlap in many fields especially in integration, anti-discrimination and urban renewal processes (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Because redistributing without effective recognition is not very likely to end up in equality, successful integration and combating discrimination and social exclusion.

In recognition processes urban politics come to the scene. The institutional approaches of public authorities directly influence the way of recognizing diverse groups. As discussed above, they may either adopt politics of identity or overemphasize the differences or they may adopt politics of difference and try to reproduce differences in a respectful way (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). The main problem is adopting identity politics is that, public authorities may recognize the groups that are close to them and may automatically exclude some groups which are newly emerged or silent for long times. Moreover, the recognition of groups may depend on what public institutions attribute to these groups as their characteristics. For example, a conservative government may recognize women and develop policies according to their understanding of women and may offer redistribution policies that take away women from workforce and make them stay at home. Or, a liberal government may design its policies on women to increase their opportunities as entrepreneurs.

As a last remark on identity politics, overemphasizing group differences may result in further disconnectedness and to the emergence of enforced relationships based on location, work etc. instead of free, flexible and natural ones. Recognition, in that sense, necessitates of investigation of changing identities and new characteristics in the society and development of policies to such specific notions. Recognition policies also should pay attention to the within-group differences and organic relations, sub-groups that are emerging in the group. However, in adopting the ideals of politics of diversity, governments should be careful about not to melt away differences in fighting discrimination. For example, classical diversity categories like Muslims, Moroccans and their representatives should not be neglected or

marginalized. (Uitermark et al, 2005). To recognize diverse groups in the society, governments should focus on community-based projects that involve various groups and foster their interaction instead of policies or funding schemes developed for certain groups (Fincher and Iveson 2008). Community based projects aim to create new platforms in which individuals from different backgrounds express their identities, needs and experiences (Uitermark et al, 2005).

To address the increasing social inequalities and social polarization between diverse groups, local authorities have tried to develop policies on achieving social cohesion, social interaction and collective actions. During 1990s, they tried to recognize the diverse groups and their needs, expectations via field researches and close contacts with local associations representing diverse groups, as a first step to achieve social cohesion. The emphasis was on the recognition of diverse groups and their needs in urban agendas of those times. The main goals were to figure out expectations of groups, developing policies to solve their problems and creating opportunities for interaction and cohesion in a world of social disorders and tensions. However, recognition process was not a simple one in the world of multiple identities.

Multiple identities in cities struggled governments to decide on whether to adopt identity politics or politics of difference. The majority of local governments adopted identity politics in policy-making via overemphasizing the different needs and expectations of diverse groups and developing policies according to such distinctions (Dalglish, 2013). Local governments strictly defined/recognized the diverse groups in cities (like women, youth, and handicapped people); they developed policies for them according to the characteristics that they attributed to the groups they defined. However, this approach heavily criticized due to its emphasis on differences and its ignorance of newly emerging identities and within-group differences. Politics of differences, on the other hand, focused on the reproduction of differences in societies without making any strict classification and oppression. It is believed that, tailor-made problem-targeted policies can only be developed when each of every little distinct characteristics of individuals are kept in mind and promoted without focusing

on differences that may lead to further discrimination in the long term. The proponents of politics of differences blame local governments, who are still using the old-fashioned gender, age and ethnicity-based differences in defining urban diversity in the scope of identity politics, for being ineffective to recognize the actual differences in societies and for automatically excluding various groups that they do not identify. Moreover, local authorities favoring identity politics are also blamed for the formation of homogeneous, spatially segregated urban spaces (which are emerged as the spatial concentrations of diverse groups with different characteristics), in which the conflicts regarding the miss-recognition of groups and their needs and increasing discrimination can be observed (Gergen, 1999; Dalgliesh, 2013).

In practice, some urban-scale recognition efforts managed to recognize different groups in a desired way in which differences were not overemphasized but rather used as tools to develop tailor-made policies. However, in some cases, recognition process turned out to be categorization process which overemphasized differences and paved the way towards discrimination and social tension. Besides the limited understanding of local governments in defining diversity, the recognition process could not be managed properly because of the limited representation of organizations associated with diverse groups in decision making processes and ineffective policies regarding redistribution and enhancing social interaction between recognized groups. Lacking of policies assisting recognition process resulted in the underrepresentation of diverse groups in local level and prevented the formation of tailor-made urban diversity policies.

2.5.3. Diversity and Policies of Spaces of Encounter

As the third category of urban policies, creating spaces of encounter refers to the creation and planning of urban spaces in which individuals and groups have the opportunity to be socialized and interact in a democratic sense. This category mostly deals with urban spaces and focuses on the creation of spaces of encounter with

necessitated infrastructure in which random encounters or planned meetings can take place including street festivals, public bazaar, libraries, cafes etc (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). This category also covers how to create or reorganize safe and dynamic spaces in which individuals and groups act naturally without any disturbance and fear. According to Fincher and Iveson (2008), spaces of encounter for diverse groups can be created in two ways. Firstly, a well-organized and planned land use can increase the chance of people having different backgrounds to come across and can create an image of others which is first step to foster social interaction. The second of is again about planning and called eroticism (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Creating lively, secure and interesting places (which are not taking place in daily routines) may encourage people to get out of their secure and routine places and search for newer experiences. By doing so, they may discover different lives and experiences of others only by sharing the same space with them. Spaces of encounter can be either coffee shops, cafe of card games, libraries or balls for collecting donations, concerts, sports events etc. In these places, people may find their other identities besides their ethnicity, gender or age. For example, a sport event may bring together a young passionate sports fan and a CEO and make them share a common pleasure.

Spaces of encounter are highly associated with the discussions of multiculturalism. Because, encouraging micro-scale interactions or random encounters between individuals may pave the ways towards multicultural societies with lesser social tensions. In a broader scale, street festivals, international events, concerts, special events organized for certain groups are being used as multiculturalism policies and as tools of enjoying diversity. Indeed, governments need to pay attention to the creation of public spaces or even workplaces in a way that brings along different identities under a common goal or duty regardless of their cultural or ethnic origin (Amin, 2002). Moreover, governments also have to be careful about the safety of the spaces, and their use of by different identities to achieve the goal towards embracing diversity with decent interaction between groups.

2.5. Conclusion

In the first parts of Chapter 2, the emergence and evolution of the term *diversity* have been discussed widely. Its types (super and hyper diversity) and relevance to urban issues have been examined with respect to the theories developed by various scholars, urban policy makers and practitioners especially after 1980s. The year 1980 was a breaking point in the perception of diversity. The increase in international migrant flows and the advancement in communication technologies totally changed the nature and structure of diversity in cities. Thus, it's not a surprise that many of the approaches towards urban diversity emerged in the globalized era and put migrant issues at the core of diversity discourses. Approaches to diversity policies have been categorized into five which are assimilationism, multiculturalism, interculturalism, intersectionality and neo-assimilationism (integration).

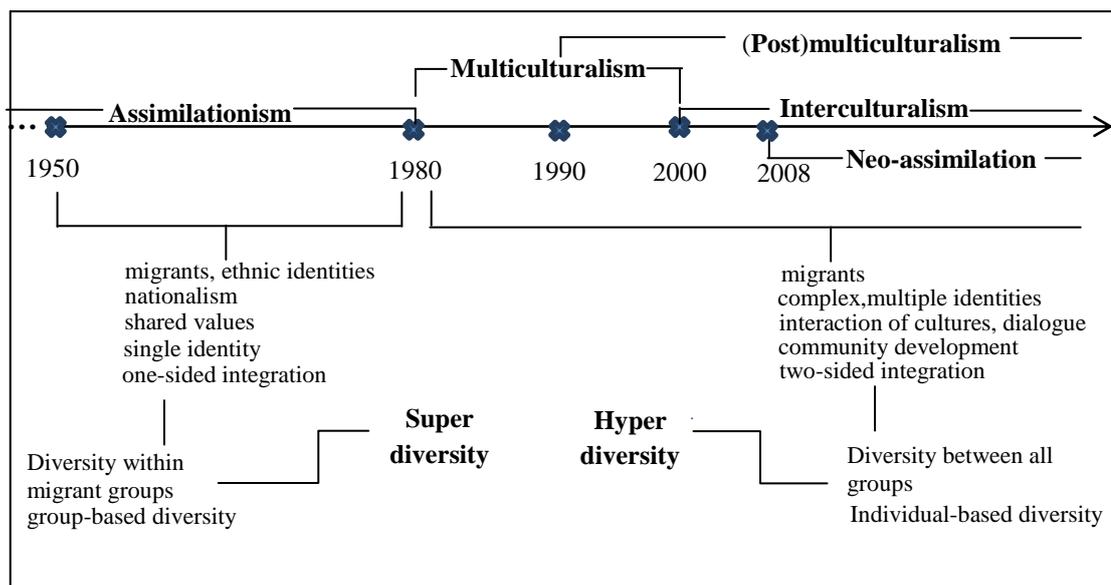


Figure 1 Discourses on Diversity and Diversity Policies

Diversity understanding and perceptions in the world have changed time to time in line with socio-economic and political changes. They also changed from country to

country because each country has its own unique diversifiers and different cultures. Although the introduced approaches help us to understand how diversity policies evolved and conceived in time in relation with popular diversity elements like ethnicity, gender and disability; there also some others concepts that indirectly affect diversity policies and practices in countries like social cohesion and social inequality. Figure 1 above is a summary of the approaches to urban policies and their relevance with other topics in urban diversity discourses and types of urban diversity.

Besides all these social notions and approaches towards diversity, there is also a spatial dimension of diversity. Especially neoliberal urban development patterns are interrelated with various dimensions of diversity like social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance. For example, urban renewal and social mixing policies that aim to increase the chances of social cohesion and social mobility are the most common diversity-related spatial policies in cities. Although these policies aim to increase the social wellbeing of residents and to increase the social chances of residents in labor market and daily social relations; in practice, they fail to work for the benefits of diverse groups in cities. Moreover, it is thought that interventions to urban lands through renewal or transformation based on neoliberal economic goals increase the level of socio-spatial segregation, polarization, social exclusion. They are also thought to decrease the level of social justice and right to the city through creation of urban spaces devoted to certain groups in the society like new elites or high income groups. In that sense, low income groups or groups excluded from certain parts of the city have limited opportunities to benefit from public services or to use public services without any restriction.

To say in short, neoliberal urban development patterns and interventions to space seem to downgrade diversity and mostly result in increasing socio-economic and socio-spatial disparities between different groups in the society. Moreover, through prioritizing economic goals over social goals of welfare systems, neoliberal urbanizations seems to shade all efforts of achieving social cohesion and justice in services and redistribution of resources.

In the first part of the Section 2.4, the increasing dominance of neoliberal thinking in urban policies is examined briefly and the main challenges regarding to the fair and just development of the cities are put forward. In that sense, it is figured out that, increasing individualism and privatization have resulted in ever-increasing socio-economic inequalities and socio-spatial segregations, due to the absence of welfare state protections and increased individual responsibilities integrating into society and labor market. It is also found out that planning processes have turned out to be project processes in which economic goals have undermined the social goals. To say that, with the increasing concerns over competitiveness and growth, neoliberal governments have treated spaces as the sources of rent and prosperity and developed various large-scale projects without considering the possible social outcomes. Large-scale projects of the era, took the form of urban transformation, urban renewal projects and gated community development, both of which prioritize the competitive goals and concern the city image more than the social development.

In 1990s, critical voices for these uneven developments lacking of social concerns were highly criticized for increasing the gaps between different segments of the society in both social and spatial ways. Thenceforth, urban policies to remedy the negative outcomes of neoliberal thinking have been developed to achieve social cohesion and interaction in areas experiencing high-levels of socio-spatial segregation. To address the increasing socio-spatial injustices between different groups, public authorities have developed various projects that are designed to ensure fair distribution of expenditures, investments and rent originating from the redevelopment of certain parts of the cities. In that sense, urban renewal processes favoring social development and social mixing policies aim to increase the social mobility in certain areas have come to the scene in urban processes.

However, most the attempts towards fair distribution of resources and achieving social cohesion have failed because of the institutional failures in recognizing the group differences and prioritizing social concerns over economic ones. Most of the cases, as in the basic arguments of modernization theory, it was assumed that any

improvement in the physical structure of the area would generate better living conditions, safety, more economic activities and opportunities since the area attracts investments. Thus, it was expected that prosperity that is generated from new urban development would systematically be redistributed to the residents of the particular area. In reality, these attempts can't go beyond providing better health and living conditions and are highly criticized for increasing socio-spatial injustice.

Neoliberal urban experiences of countries are examined through the light of above arguments on social justice and right to the city. The policies are grouped into three through adopting the urban logics of Fincher and Iveson (2008) which are policies of redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter.

At the last part of the chapter, focus is on assessing and categorizing diversity and diversity related policies in cities. In that sense, Fincher and Iveson's three urban logics, namely, redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter are combined with the notions of social justice and right to the city. Such combination enables to make comprehensive assessment of diversity policies with their relation to socio-economic changes. Throughout the rest of the study, diversity policies of economic crisis periods both for European cities and Turkey are assessed and evaluated within the framework of these three categories of urban policies. However, before assessing diversity policies of countries in economic crisis periods, it is worth to put forward the background of diversity perception in countries to detect the crisis-driven changes. In that sense, Chapter 3 examines the evolution and perception of diversity in European countries within the framework of all concepts introduced in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 3

DIVERSITY IN NEOLIBERAL ERA AND IN TIMES OF: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL POLICY CHALLENGES AND APPROACHES IN EUROPEAN UNION

3.1.Diversity in National and Union Level Context: European Countries

European Union sees itself as a unique association that promotes cultural and ethnic diversity, tolerance, solidarity and social cohesion as well as a strong market that contributes the growth of national economies and the sustainable economic development of the whole union (Cavero and Poinasamy, 2013). From its earlier forms, Europe Union attaches great importance to ensuring equality in work place or communities, combating poverty, xenophobia and discrimination, creating equal opportunities for each diverse group to access public services, and balancing gender-based regulations, in general. For many decades, EU has tried to support its economic integration policies (which have been the primary concern of the union) with social ones, especially with policies based on equality, solidarity and social integration.

Although the mentioned social principles echoed as EU's strong social motives behind its foundation, they have mostly been under the shadow of economic goals and policies. In other words, they have never managed to overreach the economic goals and policies in EU policy-making progress. Throughout the process, assistive role of social policies has not changed perceptibly but their scale and scope have been shaped by many externalities in economic, politic and social manners. Especially, the changes in economic systems and mechanisms totally affected the extent of social policies and themes. Economic crises, in that sense, are seen as one of the main factors that influence the nature of social relations in society and social policies of countries.

Chapter 3 aims to find out how the concepts discussed in Chapter 2 echoed in Europe's diversity policies from 1950 up to now. Chapter starts with the examination of breaking points and paradigm shifts in Europe's policy making processes with a *diversity* lens and reveals how these policies have been affected from serious economic and political changes. Social policies are discussed according to their contributions to diversity literature and how they associate with the diversity-related notions like social cohesion, solidarity or integration. Besides the progress of social policies in Europe, the relationship between diversity, social policies and economic crisis is being set as well as the impacts of economic crisis on the social policy-making in European cities. The following parts of this study focus on country-level data which put forward how diverse groups and policies related to them have been affected by the governmental decisions, new integration strategies and crisis-driven or post-crisis social policies. Aftermath of a general discussion of social-policy making in Europe, special focus will be given to policy changes with the economic crisis of 2008, in Chapter 4.

3.1.1. 1950-1980: European Coal and Steel Community and Shared European Identity

Before the foundation of European Union, Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, The Netherlands and Luxembourg signed a treaty (Treaty of Paris, 1951) to form a supranational union in order to end the competition between European countries for natural resources and to prevent the national control of trade of such valuable inputs for industrial production (Martin, 2010; Grahl and Teague, 2013). Another goal of establishing the union was to develop an international market for effective use the coal and steel products in industry and ensuring military power (Treaty of Paris, 1951). Such basic economic motives behind the necessity of togetherness resulted in the foundation of The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

Based on the fact that the union was established on economic goals fostering economic growth and heavy production, the leaders of member countries thought

that economic progress achieved by cooperation (single market, trade liberalization) would eventually solve social issues like poverty, unemployment and increase the working and living conditions of workers (Grahl and Teague, 2013). Thus, the economic prosperity would be distributed to workers and other parts of the society and everyone could enjoy the social benefits of economic wellbeing.

The union's policies till 1970s did not cover social policies under a sole self-standing social policy heading (Çelik, 2004). They always been considered as a part of economic goals, thus, it's not very likely to talk about diversity policies or public service policies dedicated to specific groups besides worker class.

The only diversity-related policy between 1950 and 1970 was developed for workers and increasing their quality of living. Treaty of Rome (1957) clearly states that,

Member States agree upon the need to promote improved working conditions and an improved standard of living for workers, so as to make possible their harmonization [...]. They believe that such a development will ensue [...] from the functioning of the common market, which will favor the harmonization of social systems (Article 117-Treaty of Rome, 1957).

Although, these policies were mostly generated to ensure economic growth with a sustainable work force, the advancements in worker-based policies eventually led to more comprehensive diversity policies in upcoming periods. Moreover, the treaty highlighted the importance of cooperation, strategy exchange and consultation between states in ensuring social security and healthy working conditions (Vandenbroucke, 2014). Aftermath of the treaty, ECSC was replaced by The European Economic Community (ECC), and again, economic policies surpassed the social policies and cohesion discourses.

In a similar vein Treaty of Rome, European Social Charter (1961) included some basic regulations of right of work, fair working conditions, equal opportunities of social security, right of organization and right of collective bargaining for workers.

From the establishment of the Union till 1970s, it is very likely to say that the focus of social policies was on worker class, since their well being and active participation to economic processes have been constituting importance to achieve the economic growth goals of the Union.

The oil crisis of 1970s and the recession period aftermath it resulted in massive changes in social policy making in Europe. Economic policies like budget-balancing, achieving pre-crisis growth rates and increasing employment levels were the main concerns of decision-makers (Crowley et al, 2012; Filiz, 2014). Social dimension of the crisis were also widely discussed in terms of inevitable unemployment and poverty. With the effects of crisis, both politicians and decision-makers decided to be more careful in designing ambitious growth policies and taking into account their potential social outcomes (Filiz, 2014).

In that sense, unsurprisingly, first efforts to develop social policies to promote societal integration dates back to 1970s. Both the enlargement process (inclusion of United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland) and the unsteady economic progress after crisis increased the sense of insecurity among Europeans (Cavero and Poinasamy, 2013). The blurred future of the Union, unemployment and competition for scarce jobs adversely influenced the trust on the economic integration process. The failure of the single market in fostering social progress and the failure of government ensuring the social security of workers resulted in various protests with *equality* slogans in EU in the early 1970s (Çelik, 2004).

The protests for equal opportunities in employment and social security alerted decision- makers to implement more interventionist social policies to prevent such social disorders in cities. In order to recover from crisis and to regenerate the sense of belonging of Europeans to Union, *Declaration on the European Identity* was signed in 1973 by nine of the member states soon after the oil shock (Bozoki, 2005). The aim was to make citizens remind that, regardless of their nations, they share the same goals of development, they all benefit from the outcomes of increasing growth

(Council of Europe, 1973). States made massive efforts to make citizens trust and support the integration process once again so as to recover rapidly from the crisis. The messages on unity, common identity and fraternity had been come forward during the earlier years of 1970s. Still, the subsidiary role of social policies to economic processes could be traced at that time.

It is very likely to note that policies aiming at creating a shared single European identity underpinned cultural, racial and ethnic differences. The aim was to minimize the differences between groups and make them work for a growing European Union. In a similar manner, in 1975, in order to break down the discussions in society which were mostly originated from the increasing socio-economic differences between employers and labors, the notion of *People's Europe* was introduced by Tindeman's Report on European Union (Tindeman, 1975). The major goal of the People's Europe campaign was, again, to remind that all European citizens are equal regardless of their origin, religion or language. However, the campaign was thought to be *assimilationist* and disrespectful to ethnic-racial differences in societies; and it could not get enough support from society itself (Bozoki, 2005). Such assimilationist efforts were thought to be conflicting with the *multi-cultural* discourses which were newly emerging in Europe's policy debates (Bozoki, 2005). To say that, there were not any trace of social policies seeking ways of how to enjoy the differences in the society, to respect other ethnic identities or to acknowledge the contributions of diverse groups on integration process with respect to their distinct, often unique experiences.

On the contrary, again in early 1970s, an important progress was achieved in balancing social policies and economic policies with the final declaration of Paris Summit of 1972 (Çelik, 2004; Ceylan-Ataman, 2009; Grahl and Teague, 2013). The major message stated in the declaration was that social integration progress should have equal weight with economic integration. To achieve this, it was suggested that social policies should be developed independently from economic ones (Grahl and Teague, 2013). In 1973, in a similar manner with The Paris Summit's declaration,

Social Action Plan was developed as the first independent social policy document, covering worker-side employment regulations (European Community Information Center, 1973; Grahl and Teague, 2013). Plan covered policies on migrant workers' conditions ranging from the regulations towards ensuring equality between migrants and local citizens, to balance the job opportunities. It is possible to see signs of equality discussions that had been generated from the workers' protests of early 1970s in the Social Action Plan. For the very first time, gender equality in employment was mentioned in a legal document and regulations were made to balance wages and social rights of men and women in workspace (European Community Information Center, 1973). The protection of vested interests of workers, enhancement of living and working conditions of labor class, promoting active participation of migrant workers in company's decision making process was highlighted in the plan (European Community Information Center, 1973; Çelik, 2004; Grahl and Teague, 2013).

In the middle of 1970s, integration of handicapped people, young and aged people had also become the concerns of the Union (Filiz, 2014; Frantziou, 2014). Unsurprisingly, the emphasis was again on the active use of labor force in countries. Especially, the integration of young people to labor market had been seen as a solution for countries that lack of active labor force. The social plan of 1973 suggested various programmes for handicapped people that covered vocational courses, pilot projects placing them into workspaces and rehabilitation programmes to increase their chances in job seeking (European Community Information Center, 1973). In short, different layers of society (handicapped, elderly, young people) were to be seen in social policies, the emphasis is still on their contribution to economic growth.

As a final remark on 1970s policies, it is worth to mention *poverty* with its interrelations with the discussions on social cohesion and inclusion of socio-economic diverse groups. The Social Action Plan of 1973, declared *poverty* as the main social issue to be addressed across Europe (European Community Information

Center, 1973). Because, until 1970s, it was thought that growing economies in Europe would overcome poverty issues and unemployment without social regulations. However, what was assumed did not happen and the crisis of 1973 overruled that claim (Frantziou, 2014). The growing income differences between groups and increasing unemployment levels resulted in increasing poverty aftermath of the oil crisis. Therefore, developing policies that hold all socio-economic classes under the tent of the union and social inclusion policies absorbing the effects of poverty had gained importance (Filiz, 2014). According to Filiz (2014), social inclusion policies of today's Europe dates back to poverty discussions in 1970s.

3.1.2. 1980-2000: Neoliberalism and Multiculturalism:

1980s was a new phase in diverse cultural policies and perception of diversity in cities. The changing socio-economic paradigms with globalization process started a new phase in social policy making.

1970s' famous policy motto of *creating a shared identity* maintained its existence during 1980s. In 1984, European Council launched a new committee (Committee for a People's Europe) to produce tangible reports bracing the European identity. The Adonnino Reports (1985) of the committee is worth to mention. The first report aimed at revitalizing the integration process through softened border controls, regulations for study exchanges and joint recognition of diplomas (Committee on People's Europe, 1985; Bozoki, 2005) while the second report focused on developing a common cultural policy in Europe which would foster the European identity (Committee on People's Europe, 1985). Besides twining agreements and youth exchange projects between member states, massive efforts had been put forward to provide symbolic materials of European identity such as European flag and anthem (Bozoki, 2005). Even The Eurovision Song Contest was initiated to foster cultural exchange between states (Bozoki, 2005).

Towards the end of 1980s, *European Social Model* was introduced as a self-standing social policy-program (Busch et al, 2013). Although the model had direct relations with some economic policies like “*achieving full employment to speed up growth process*”, it was not solely developed as an assistive programme for economic goals (Hermann and Mahnkopf 2010). The politic message of the model was clear: *European Economic and Monetary Union is not just an economic cooperation between states, it’s also the symbol of social and cultural integration*. In that sense, besides regulations on employment and on the mechanisms of the single market, social policies on health and social security of workers came to the fore of urban policy-making (Eichhorst et al., 2010). European Social Model gave weight to social security mechanisms including pension systems, health care services, and social protection for families, children and unemployment benefits to long term unemployed people (Busch et al, 2013).

Although The Union seemed determined in actualizing these policies, the neo-liberal reforms of 1980s (focusing on competition and ambitious growth) underpinned their importance and practicability. Member states adopted neoliberal thinking and had gradually reduced their social security expenditures starting from pensions and unemployment benefits, limitations on collective bargaining systems, wage restraints (Şentürk, 2011, Busch et al, 2013). Health benefits for workers and for their families also negatively affected by neo-liberal reforms. Thus, in member states European Social Model had been liberalized and governments’ protection and social security expenditures had been shifted to funds and employers (Busch et al, 2013). Thus, workers and their families, elderly people, children and youngsters were the groups that had negatively affected from deep cuts and limitations in social security systems. It is now more clear that why these groups are called as *vulnerable* or disadvantaged in diversity literature after 1980s.

The exclusion of vulnerable groups and migrants from protection and economic mechanisms has brought along new discussions on social exclusion. By decisions makers and society, it was understood that migrant workers did not leave Europe

after the crisis, as expected. Moreover, their existence in cities and job markets created tensions with host societies since migrants were seen as the sources of crime and poverty (Çetin and İnanç, 2011). With the increasing exclusion of migrants from societal living, migrants chose to live with groups sharing similar manners and values, and thus, different groups in the society located in the different parts of the cities (Çetin and İnanç, 2011; Yıldırım, 2014). In the default of sufficient cultural integration policies, far-right parties took the advantage of such tensions and spatial segregation and developed their discriminatory nationalist policies regarding the re-securitization of Europe (Çetin and İnanç, 2011). It's not surprising that a similar trend is seen even in today's Europe the after economic crisis of 2008.

As discussed so far, the efforts to balance economic goals and social policies had resulted in the formation of self-standing social agendas. Besides classical socio-economic categorizations of society, other dimensions of diversity like age, physical ability and gender were also considered in policy making. Although, economic policies were still influencing social norms and diversity discussions, the progress made in terms of formation of cultural policies and strategies concerning poverty, social exclusion and socio-economic inequality may be seen as the roots of modern time's social policy-making.

The period of 1990-2000 had witnessed fundamental changes in the constitution of cooperation among European states in social matters, as well as the changes in the social policy-making and how diversity was perceived by the governmental bodies and society. Policy makers noticed that social policies had been acting as *adjustment variables* of economic crisis and should be redeveloped to cover the social issues in societies (Goetschy, 2005 as cited in Degryse et al., 2013). The main focuses of social policies of 1990-2000 were to erode the increasing discriminatory and exclusionary practices of member states, to follow back the full integration goal of EU. For that reason, various directives (ex: Directives on Anti-Racism and Employment) had been developed with a special focus on anti-discrimination. The directives also emphasized the extent of discrimination and disapproved all kinds of

discriminatory actions by explicitly referring to the discrimination based on nationality, gender, religion, belief, disability, age and sexual orientation (Vandenbroucke, 2014).

1990s was also known as the period in which social exclusion policies and programmes were dominant in social agendas' of countries. After the breaking down of welfare states' social protection mechanisms and witnessing increasing inequality, insecurity, ghettoization, unemployment and poverty; the social policies of 1990s had evolved around the notion of social exclusion and its interrelations with poverty, integration and employment policies (Sapançalı, 2005; Vandenbroucke, 2014; Yıldırım alp, 2014).

Social exclusion policies varied in different countries, therefore, it was very hard to cover all different approaches and to compose a common EU-level strategy. Thus, policy-makers developed an overarching policy-set both introducing the Anglo-Saxon thinking based on economic-exclusion and French thinking arising from exclusion from social and cultural bonds (Sapançalı, 2005; Yıldırım alp, 2014). This comprehensive approach of 1990s is still in practice covering various exclusion forms including politic, democratic, legal, cultural, economic, environmental exclusion and exclusion from basic rights (housing, health etc.), job markets, local community (Bölükbaşı, 2008; Yıldırım alp, 2014).

In the aftermath of these social developments, the need for a sustainable social investment had come to the core of the social exclusion discussions. The aim of social investment strategy was to prepare individuals for any possible external change (change in working, living conditions, economic structure, social conflicts) that might lead to further exclusion from social or economic mechanisms in the society (Ghebrea, 2012; Vandenbroucke, 2014).

Thus, social investment processes involved investments on children (early schooling, childcare, healthcare), investments on family (health insurances, incentives for

childcare), regulations on pension systems to guarantee healthy retirement and investments on migrants (equal treatment with citizens in basic rights) to foster their integration into labor markets (Vandenbroucke, 2014). Again we see that, social policies of 1990s prioritized the vulnerable groups defined as in 1980s.

With The Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the debates on social exclusion found a legal basis. The Treaty explicitly underlined the need of social dialogue, greater employment opportunities, social insurances and better living conditions to combat with increasing exclusion of vulnerable groups (European Community, 1992; Yıldırım, 2014).

Another aspect of the Maastricht Treaty was its focus on trying to break down the understanding that claims *cultural policies are addressed only after economic crisis or after external shocks* (European Community, 1992). Treaty claimed that comprehensive and long-term cultural policies should be developed to erode the tensions between diverse groups and foster deepened integration process (Bozoki, 2005). Maastricht Treaty, for the very first time in an official EU document, had a self-standing *culture* title including various policies to recognize and respect the national or regional diversities within the EU borders. It is very likely to say that the Treaty adopted the discourses of multiculturalism (respecting different identities besides bracing European citizenship). Another outcome of the Treaty was the establishment of European Union in 1993 with the accession of new countries to enable free flow of people, goods and services (European Community, 1992).

Multiculturalist thinking also showed itself when Schengen Agreement of 1985 had entered into force. The agreement eroded the borders between member states and enabled free movement of people and capitals without any border or customs control (European Commission, 1985; Çetin ve İnanç, 2011). The agreement was an explicit sign of accepting European migrants and their free movements within EU borders with. However, recently, the agreement has been heavily criticized by many European citizens and politicians due to security reasons.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) was a policy response to the increasing migrant population in Europe after the Schengen regulations. The on-going economic recession process (after 1973 crisis) also generated broader discussions on foreign labor migration. It was the first time that the notion of *immigration* was introduced as a policy field (European Union, 1997; Emerson, 2011). New conditions limiting the extent of entry and residence, working and family reunification were introduced. According to Yıldıralp (2014), Amsterdam Treaty was also one of the legal documents stating inclusive inclusion and social protection of diverse groups as two of the major social goals of EU. In terms of inclusion strategies, the treaty explicitly highlighted the importance of anti-discrimination in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, disability, age, gender and sexual-orientation (European Union, 1997).

Although Amsterdam Treaty seemed to have limitations over migration (thought to be to the detriment of migrants), the topics like *equal access to public services*, *social protection* were still at the agenda for migrants. The positive side of migrant policies is better understood when The Tampere Programme of 1999 is examined carefully. The programme claimed that ensuring fair treatment of migrants and providing equal rights to them as citizens were needed to foster social inclusion and socio-economic integration (Emerson, 2011). Programme also highlighted the importance of anti-discrimination, racism and xenophobia in work space and daily interactions.

The increasing controls and limitations towards migrants can be regarded as the return of assimilationist thinking into Europe under a new name of neo-assimilationism. As discussed in Chapter 2, neo-assimilationist thinking of late 1990s has had a massive impact on societal life and social policies of 2000s given its dominancy on migrants and ethnic minority groups.

3.1.3. 2000-2008: Social Inclusion and Interculturalism

2000s' diversity discussions have evolved around identity, active inclusion and integration discourses with special concerns over increasing xenophobia in Europe especially aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis (Ponticelli and Voth, 2011). The goal towards creating a common European identity, *Europeanness*, has been heavily criticized, since it glosses over the diverse characteristics of states and individuals (Ponticelli and Voth, 2011). Attempts to create a common identity in over-crowded and hyper-diverse Europe has failed and resulted in the formation of a multi-layered Europe, to categorized by Ponticelli and Voth (2011) as European, not-yet-fully European (referring Central Europe), Eastern European and the Eastern. It's not a coincidence that European Union changed its motto of *United in Diversity* soon after the failure of long-lasting efforts towards a single identity. It was the sign that, Europe has never given up from its goal towards a European identity but changed the discourses of it according to the politic, socio-economic structures and responses of individuals to such attempts.

The motto of *United in Diversity* was adopted in 2000 to revitalize the social fundamentals of EU. The term *unity* referred to togetherness, united goals of peace and prosperity while *diversity* referred to accepting the cultural, social and ethnic differences of European society and to interaction and dialogue to achieve the multiculturalist goals of early periods (Ponticelli and Voth, 2011; Raube, 2013). In the early 2000s, the notion of diversity was a key player and a balance between integration, assimilation and multiculturalism discourses. Because diversity did not only refer to cultural pluralism but also various different structures as diverse nationalities, lifestyles, beliefs, physical conditions, cultural inheritances, legal affairs, institutions and diverse economic markets (Zielonka, 2005; Raube, 2013). Thus, diversity and its broad classifications have been the central concepts of social policies of 2000s with their relevance to poverty, inclusion, identity and equality discourses.

The new diversity perception of the EU is the most comprehensive understanding ever achieved in European history. It highlights the importance of the identification of diverse groups and developing group-targeted policies (Ghebrea, 2012). The diverse groups that were targeted in social policies of 2000s can be named as poor, low-skilled workers and people risk at poverty (socio-economic diversity), women and LGBT (diversity based on gender and sexual orientation), children, youth, lone parents, homeless, elder and disabled (demographic diversity, also known as vulnerable or disadvantaged groups) and migrant workers, families of migrants, ethnic groups (ethnic and cultural diversity) (Ghebrea, 2012; Yıldırım alp, 2014).

During the first half of 2000, the one of the most important social policy documents was the finalized version of The Lisbon Strategy of 2000 (Ceylan- Ataman, 2009). Lisbon Strategy, in economic terms, aimed at achieving the most sustainable and competitive economy in the world based on knowledge and innovation till 2010 (European Council, 2000; Eichhorst et al., 2010). Its social aim was to provide equal and an ultimate level of social security for each diverse group in the society to achieve societal inclusion (European Council, 2000) The social goals were supported by reforms in employment structure and the modernization of social security systems, as well as the regulations on combating discrimination in workspace and investments on creative and active classes of society; youth, children and women (Eichhorst et al., 2010; Ghebrea, 2012; Yıldırım alp, 2014).

In a similar manner with the economic and social policies of 1950s to 1970s, Lisbon Strategy followed the idea that economic growth would eventually lead to a growth in labor market and create more jobs. More jobs in long-term would minimize poverty and inequality while improving social security systems and wellbeing of citizens (Eichhorst et al., 2010, Ceylan-Ataman, 2009). The interrelation between economic and social policies highly resembled the policy making in the earliest form of European Union which over emphasizes economic policies over social ones (1950s-1970s).

The Social Agenda of 2000 was consistent with The Lisbon Strategy in terms of economic development goals that focus on investments on the creation of a strong human capital via giving priority to children and youngsters among other diverse groups (Hermann and Mahnkopf 2010; Eichhorst et al., 2010). The focus on human capital in Social Agenda showed that the social policies were no longer developed for the needs of diverse groups or equal distribution of services as in the 1990s. The new set of social policies aimed at increasing the skills and educational level of children, youngsters, women and high-skilled migrant workers who were thought as the active and creative groups in the society (Hermann and Mahnkopf 2010; Ghebrea, 2012; Mestrum, 2013).

Besides the economy-centric social policies of Lisbon Strategy, 2000s witnessed many regulations on racial equality, anti-discrimination and inclusion. The Directives of Racial Equality and Employment Equality of 2006 focused on the increasing discrimination towards migrants, their families and third country nationals in work space and social interactions (European Commission, 2006). Some of the member states (Germany, Netherlands and Austria) have adopted these directives into their own policies within the framework of integration policies. They supported the anti-discriminatory discourses for migrants, but at the same time they offered limitations and some special conditions (language requirements, visa, and limitations on family-reunification, and quotas for migrant workers) for their integration (Emerson, 2011). These nation-level controls over migrants-rights conflicted with the multicultural, rights-based thinking of EU (Emerson, 2011).

Country-level interventions over migrants also clashed with the *active inclusion* or *inclusive integration* discourses of Tampere Summit (1999) and The Hague Programme (2004) which were centered upon the equality between migrants and host society (European Commission, 1999; European Council, 2004).

In 2006, it was understood that the enlargement process and increasing diversity in Europe resulted in voices favoring nationalism and xenophobia. Terror attacks that

took place in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, paved the way for nationalist movements originating from the insecurity and fear of the host societies from the newcomers (Çetin and İnanç, 2011). It's not a surprise that many member states' anti-migrant attitudes and their reforms on their integration policies coincided with the terror attacks. The issues of security and fear from others were the motives behind adopting nationalist and conservative discourses instead of multiculturalist thinking of EU.

Although some states have developed anti-migrant policies in the frame of integration, European Union explicitly tries to suppress such nationalist and discriminatory voices via forming new strategies on revitalizing multiculturalist thinking and stop social polarization. As a response to increasing discrimination, EU re-organized its active inclusion policies via stating that social services should be reorganized according to the needs of vulnerable groups and insecure people regardless of their race or ethnicity (Yıldırım, 2014). Moreover, European Commission initiated Action Programmes (funded by For Diversity, Against Discrimination Campaign) for Europeans through which they could participate in multi-cultural events, training, projects enhancing cultural exchange and can break down their biases towards "others" (Salto-Youth Research Center, 2007).

The Social Agenda of 2006-2010 emphasized the necessity of equal opportunities, equal treatment and active inclusion to achieve solidarity among groups (European Commission, 2005). The Agenda gave priority to the problems of "*the gender pay gap, women's access to and participation in the labor market, career advancement, reconciliation of family and working life, equal opportunities for the disabled*". European Commission declared 2007 as the European Year of Equal Opportunities to celebrate the positive contributions of diversity to economic growth and solidarity (European Commission, 2005). The year of Equal Opportunities emphasized to importance of creating a society without religious, cultural and ethnic labels and without sexist biases (European Commission, 2005).

The Lisbon Treaty of 2007 once again valued active inclusion and interculturalism via creating new jobs, enabling better and equal access to basic services like health and education and providing inclusive social protection systems (Mestrum, 2013; Vandenbroucke, 2014).

The Potsdam Meeting of 2007 with a motto of *Strengthening of Integration Policies in the European Union by Promoting Unity in Diversity* was also a corner stone of EU social policies, since it related integration discourses with intercultural ones so as to combat increasing discrimination in the society (Emerson, 2011). As the further steps of intercultural policies, European Commission initiated Culture 2007 Programme to enhance cultural cooperation between states and declared the year 2008 as the Year of Intercultural Dialogue (Bozoki, 2005; Klaben and Heckmann, 2010). White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (2008) defined intercultural dialogue as “...open and respectful exchange of views between individuals, groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage on the basis of mutual understanding and respect.”(Council of Europe, 2008).

These attempts reveal that interculturalist thinking is vital in promoting social dialogue and cultural exchange in a hyper-diverse Europe where diversity is recently thought to be one of the driving forces of development process (Wood, 2009). Increasing dialogue and interaction between groups can prevent the tensions, violent acts in society and help achieving social cohesion (Wood, 2009). Interculturalist policies aimed at benefiting from migrants’ knowledge, experiences, innovative ideas and workforce in economic growth processes. To be known as an *intercultural country* is also a branding issue and adds value to countries’ competitiveness and peaceful image (Wood, 2009).

3.1.4. Economic Crises Period of 2008

Ghebrea (2012) evaluates the first social policy responses to the economic crisis of 2008 as *utilitarian* policies which were to be generated from economic goals.

Because, in general, the main aims of social policies in times of crisis are likely to speed up recovery and to revitalize economic growth.

The importance attached to diversity discourses has a different extent and scale during economic recessions. At supranational level (like EU), diversity is seen as a key player in stimulating recovery with the contributions of high-skilled migrant workers, experienced elders and innovative youngsters (Dolvik and Martin, 2014). On the contrary, at country level, states mostly prefer to cut their expenditures and abolish their investments on social policies and regard diversity as the source of problems (Dolvik and Martin, 2014). In the aftermath of crisis, European Union introduced the Social Agenda of 2008-2010 which both covered the initial responses to economic crisis and maintained the social principles of Lisbon Strategy (2000) like the crisis had never happened (European Commission, 2007).

The Social Agenda defined seven priority areas, immediately after the economic crisis of 2008, which were; *children and youth* (covering children rights and inclusion of young people into labor markets), *more and better jobs and the enhancement of skills* (via enhancing human capita, especially young human capital), *mobility* (promoting the free movement of workers and ensuring their social rights, especially high-skilled ones), *improving the quality of life and the inclusion of the elderly* (accessible health systems), *the fight against poverty and social exclusion* (inclusion of vulnerable people; poor, handicapped, elderly, women and children in labor market and education), *the fight against discrimination* (gender equality in wages and working conditions, combating exclusion in terms of age, sexual orientation and religion), *the promotion of social rights at worldwide level* (cooperation and agreements between agents and states) (European Commission, 2007).

In 2009, European Commission stated that crisis should not result in the cuts in social protection expenditures and social spending for vulnerable groups, because crisis periods are the ultimate periods that groups needed social protection and

spending at the utmost level (Council of Europe, 2013). European Commission also suggested that member states should balance their expenditures, borrowing and lending with taking into account their social expenditures and obligations. In a similar manner with the declarations of European Commission, the Joint Report of Social Inclusion (2010) emphasized the importance of social inclusion policies to reduce the adverse effects of crisis on society which are related to increasing unemployment, insecurity, poverty, discrimination and social exclusion from both society and labor markets. In addition, increasing subsistence level, unemployment benefits and social security spending for vulnerable groups (housing, health, pensions etc.) suggested in the report (European Commission, 2010).

Council of Europe suggested a policy-frame covering possible crisis-driven social actions to recover from the crisis as well as to keep social peace (Council of Europe, 2013). Firstly, it is suggested that in order to combat racism and discrimination, equality in employment, social rights and legislation should be guaranteed. In terms of social security, priority should be given to disadvantaged groups (women, working poor etc.) who are hit hardest from economic recession and austerity measures. Their access to health and social assistance, food supplies etc. should be facilitated and provided. Secondly, states should not cut or reduce their social spending and social services in times of crisis, but instead, they should increase the level of their social mechanisms and make them available for everyone for whom are in need. Thirdly, to combat with tensions and discrimination in job market and community living, equal, standard and healthy living- working conditions should be provided.

As another post-crisis policy frame was set by the Europe 2020 Strategy which was replaced Lisbon Strategy of 2000. The Europe 2020 Strategy directly put forward the consequences of economic crisis and suggested priority intervention areas both for short and long term, and so it can be seen as a powerful guide to erode the negative impacts of crisis on employment, growth and social inclusion (European Commission, 2010a; Yıldırım, 2014). The main goals of the strategy is to achieve a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy as well as social Europe with high levels

of employment, social security and social inclusion (European Commission, 2010a; Vandembroucke, 2014; Yıldırım, 2014). In terms of social inclusion and inclusive growth, the strategy explicitly aimed to increase women employment and save at least twenty million people from the risk of poverty and exclusion (Vandembroucke, 2014).

Referring to their distinct characteristics and economic structure, member states have been developing their *National Reform Programmes* via translating the guidelines of Europe 2000 Strategy into their own systems so as to recover from crisis immediately. According to European Commission (2011), at least 75% of member states have introduced employment regulations to reduce unemployment levels and achieve labor inclusion in markets. Inclusion policies for job market are not only developed for the unemployed but also for certain groups as women, youngsters, lone parents and handicapped people (European Commission, 2011). Besides inclusion into job market, inclusion of vulnerable groups (migrants, handicapped, homeless etc.) into society is another concern of EU. The Union targets alienated groups, introduces group-based policies and multicultural events, training as well as setting anti-discrimination laws (European Commission, 2011).

In terms of combating poverty in times of crisis, many member states identified specific groups at the risk of poverty. In general, poverty-risks groups are identified as children, elderly, lone parents, women, unemployed and low-skilled, handicapped, low- skilled migrants. Countries developed tailor-made projects for each group ranging from increasing social spending, pensions or minimum wages for women and elderly to investing on childcare and health services (European Commission, 2011).

In brief, European Union has developed caring and inclusive social policy frameworks and regarded diversity as an asset even after the economic crisis of 2008.. However, policies at country-level mostly regarded diversity as a problem to

be solved, because differences in society have been thought to be the reasons of chaos and social unrest in cities.

3.2. Diversity in Neoliberal Urban Policies: European Cities

This section briefly examines neoliberal urbanization processes of European Cities with a diversity lens. In that sense, it is put forward that how diversity, diverse groups in the cities as well as these groups' social processes like inclusion, exclusion, poverty, discrimination and socio-spatial segregation have changed with the adaption of neoliberal approaches in urban policy-making. Urban policies are evaluated within the framework of Fincher and Iveson's (2008) categorizations of urban logic which are combined with the notions of social justice and right to the city, as introduced in Chapter 2.

3.2.1. Diversity and Policies of Redistribution

Redistribution policies are roughly defined as the ones developed for reducing disadvantages and socio-economic inequalities through fair redistribution of resources, services, public expenditures and investments. In recent years, their scope also covers addressing the socio-spatial injustices and aim to reduce locational disadvantage and increase accessibility. Physical interventions to urban space, not only aspire to increase physical proximity to public services and opportunities but also increase social proximity which refers to the use of certain services without any oppression and discrimination. For that reason, renewal processes have combined with social mixing aims in order to reduce the disadvantage of certain groups by giving low profile groups the chance of equal benefit from public services as high profile ones in the area.

To start with redistribution policies, in European cities, it is very likely to observe the first category of redistribution policies (in terms of fair redistribution of resources and expenditures). Because, it is the easiest way of reaching millions of people even

with top-down approaches. National and local public authorities redistribute their budget and other relevant resources (public spaces, social services etc.) for the groups they recognized. The main goal is to decrease the level of socio-economic inequality between diverse groups. For the majority of cases (Germany, France, Greece, United Kingdom) redistribution policies are developed for the disadvantaged groups who are people with low income, migrants, minority groups, handicapped people, women (suffering from unemployment, poverty or violence), elder people and youngsters. On the other hand, diversity based on sexual orientation is more likely to be neglected in redistribution processes since investing on LGBT groups are thought to be luxury investments by governments and society. Redistribution policies are used to achieve social and spatial justice in cities (although most of the practices justice is not likely to be achieved solely by redistribution) and to erode the social tensions and negative situations (ex: discriminatory acts for some groups) related to urban diversity.

In terms of redistribution of budget and investments, in Germany, the focus groups of redistribution policies are children, young people, younger old, older old and advanced old (Grossmann et al, 2014). Because Germany experiences ageing problems in recent years and its economic development might be negatively affected from the absence of youth workforce. Therefore, Germany invests more on older people to keep them in labor market and encourages youth to get educated. Germany also invests for low-income groups and unemployed people to combat poverty. Special offers and discounts are available for unemployed people, low income elders and students in using public infrastructure and services like the application of Leipzig-Passport offering reduced charges (Grossmann et al, 2014). Moreover, with XENOS and MigraSAX Programmes in Leipzig, migrant workers and migrant entrepreneurs who are more likely to be excluded from labor market (because of being deprived, young migrants with limited educational background) are financially supported by public authorities to increase the skills and education level (Grossmann et al, 2014).

In Greece, besides governmental efforts for equal distribution of resources, the voluntary or private sponsorships is highly favorable in offering community centers, shelters and food supports, especially in times of economic crisis (Maloutas et al., 2013). The voluntary act in Greece has gained importance after the debt crisis of 2010 and promoted by the Project Athens which aims to minimize the social consequences of crisis in collaboration with local groups, NGOs and voluntary organizations (Maloutas et al., 2013). The aim is to combat with poverty and social exclusion in the absence of adequate governmental expenditures for the most vulnerable groups in the society (women, children, handicapped people etc.).

United Kingdom moves the discussion on the distributional responsibilities of voluntary and private agents, to a higher level by decentralizing its competences of welfare expenditures to local and private agents to ensure equality in redistribution of resources and services in times of reduction of welfare expenditures (Raco et al., 2014). For example, with the project of *Living Wage Campaign*, public authorities encourage private firms to increase the level of wages of their employees to guarantee a good standard of living (Raco et al., 2014). The project succeeded in 2011 and the wage per hour for workers have increased from 8, 37 pounds to 9, 97 (Raco et al, 2014). Moreover, increasing localism in redistribution competences is likely to be traced back in neighborhood level. With the Localism Act of 2011, local groups, NGOs, group representatives, voluntary actions have the right to own and manage local spaces and services like community centers, bars, cafes, libraries etc. (Raco et al., 2014).

Integration policies are also very common redistribution policies when they combined with the goals towards reaching social cohesion and equal participation of new comers to societal life and institutional mechanisms. Both in Germany and Poland, education investments and expenditures for equal distribution of materials, resources, and schools are used as the basic tools of achieving successful integration (Grossmann et al, 2014; Korcelli-Olejniczak et al, 2014). Moreover, accessibility to schools and courses and enabling equal chances for migrant students and local ones

are other concerns of redistribution policies in these countries. Integration expenditures in these countries are not just only for migrants, but they are also for needy groups who are at risk of social exclusion (inclusion and integration to society via social support), for older people who need public support to join labor market and seek for a job and for handicapped people who need open and accessible urban spaces for their use.

As the second branch of redistribution policies, the most debated policies are undoubtedly the ones about the use of space; urban renewal and social mixing. Unlike the similarity between redistribution policies of European countries aiming to minimize the socio-economic inequalities between groups via fair redistribution of budget and investments, the aims of urban renewal and social mixing varies in country practices. In Warsaw (Poland), London (United Kingdom) and Rotterdam (Netherlands) urban renewal and social mixing policies both aim to achieve social cohesion and economic development, less poverty and social exclusion. Between 2005-2013, twenty one urban renewal projects were carried out in Warsaw (roughly covering 11% of urban land) which were focusing upon improving living conditions and quality of space in deteriorated areas and combating social exclusion and developing spaces of cultural and touristic activities to attract tourists, investors and entrepreneurs (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al, 2014).

In London since 1990s, social mixing and urban regeneration policies are used to combat poverty concentration in specific ethnic areas which is thought to minimize the chances of social mobility (Raco et al, 2014). As noted in London Plan of 2011 income mixing in deprived areas (via building luxury housing as a part of urban regeneration) are highly favored in decayed urban lands to reduce poverty and social exclusion (Raco et al., 2014). Although the aims towards social cohesion and mobility could not fully achieved yet, it is very likely to observe improvements in the public services like health and education through increasing accessibility and the scope of target groups (Raco et al., 2014). As another aspect of urban regeneration policies of London, policy makers attach great deal to the development of inclusive

urban design which prioritize the recognition of diverse groups and their characteristics in offering public services. For example, determining family types and religious groups in different locations are used to develop housing and places of worship according to the needs of that recognized structures.

Rotterdam, in a similar vein, attaches great importance to the social and physical improvement of deprived areas; but it seems that the greater focus is on economic development and social mobility. Rotterdam favors urban renewal and social mixing to change the image of deprived poor areas. By promoting income diversity in these deprived areas with good infrastructure and physical development, decision makers in Rotterdam aim to improve the image of the city and to increase its socio-economic status among other European cities (Tersteeg et al, 2013). Social mixing is found to be necessary in achieving economic development in Netherlands, but not all types of diversity area favored in these areas as implicitly noted in Implementation Programme 2010-2014 (Tersteeg et al, 2013). To say that, income diversity is a goal to be achieved in deprived areas since the interaction of poor groups with richer ones may foster social mobility and thus positively contribute to economic growth.

However, diversity based on age and lifestyles are not going down well with social mixing goals of Rotterdam. For example, a neighborhood having both young and elder people populations may struggle to cover the different needs of these groups. Young population may want to use public spaces actively which are surrounded by crowded, multi-functional entertainment facilities, sports areas, cafes, bars whereas elder population may need silent public spaces where they can have peace. Moreover, it is hard to manage and govern distinct expectations. Because of such struggles, public authorities of Rotterdam aim to have neighborhoods with specific life-style characteristics and therefore they are working with Smart Agent Company to label the neighborhoods according to their characteristics (Tersteeg et al., 2013). Prospective tenants and home owners are being informed for such labels before choosing their places to live. For example, they may either want to live in yellow neighborhoods which are coded as places of involvement and harmony or in red ones

coded as the spaces of freedom and flexibility (Smart Agent Company, 2008 as cited in Tersteeg et al., 2013).

For Warsaw and Rotterdam cases, it is very likely to say that urban renewal and social mixing policies differed in their basic arguments. In Warsaw case, social wellbeing, physical improvement and attraction of investors and entrepreneurs were the main goals, whereas in Rotterdam the attention was on achieving social mobility and economic development with the positive contributions of social mix of diverse income groups. In the practices of Milan and Paris, the motives behind social mix and urban renewal are even more different. Both Milan and Paris use urban renewal and social mixing tools to combat increasing ethnicity-based ghettoization (Barberis et al., 2014). Moreover, Paris attaches great deal to the social housing and urban renewal in ethnic ghettos and allocate more money for them than the money allocated to policies on social cohesion and economic development (respectively 37% and 8% in City Budget of 2012, Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014).

Without favoring any diversity type (like in the case of Rotterdam favoring income diversity), social mixing in Milan aims to create multi-functional places that are used by various diverse groups. It is also believed that multi-functional spaces may help to prevent the area-based poverty which is a result of higher- concentration of low-income ethnic groups in that specific area. By developing such spaces, local authorities aim to foster dialogue and interaction and a form of social mobility arising from the common use of places with different identities.

Similarly in the case of Paris, social mixing policies are developed to fight with ethnicity based ghettoization and inequalities based on location and accessibility (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). Social mixing is also used for mixing different income groups to reduce the socio-economic differences in benefiting from the resources, services and public spaces. It is very likely to examine social mixing policies of Paris in two categories. First one is promoting diversity in rich areas through obliging local authorities to build social housing for low-income groups and to balance the location

of social council-housing (Solidarity and Renewal Urban Act, 2000). This obligation is valid for governments that are not fulfilling the lower limit (of 20%) of social housing in their responsibility. As the second category, social mixing policies aim to increase the level of interactions, opportunities, facilities and spaces of encounter in socially and economically deprived neighborhoods via investing both on physical redevelopment and social cohesion (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). In addition, social mixing and urban renewal policies in Paris are generally applied together in order to prevent the moving away of low-income groups to the outskirts of the city by enabling affordable housing and spaces of opportunities and interactions to them. However, as Escafre-Dublet et al., (2014) noted social housing in rich neighborhoods and social mixing efforts have failed to prevent the concentration of ethnic groups in specific deprived areas. What's more, for some cases, urban renewal processes reconcentrate migrants in another deprived neighborhoods and affordable decayed houses (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). Thus, it may be an implicit sign of the power of individual choices based on cultural and economic motives (tendency to live with ones having similar backgrounds and values) over the obligations or directives of public authorities in housing choices.

Unlike other European practices, Greek way of urban regeneration and social mixing have been mostly done with physical and aesthetic concerns. Since 1990s, improvements and transformations on urban land are done via offering new public spaces, highways, parks and walkways etc. The main aim was to improve the quality of life for all residents by improving physical conditions of built environment (Maloutas et al., 2013). However, social problems and social improvement processes are not fully integrated to urban regeneration programmes. It is believed that improvements in built environment would eventually result in high prosperity and equal chances for all in benefiting from newly offered public services. In the absence of effective social policies and social mixing efforts, these newly developed, good-looking urban spaces favored the interests of middle and high-income classes and pushed away the ones in need (Maloutas et al, 2013).

3.2.2. Diversity and Policies of Recognition

In terms of recognition of differences and different identities, in European experiences, it is not very likely to determine community-based projects covering various diverse groups in society. Instead, the projects and programmes used for the recognition process mostly deals with the classical categorization of diversity (in politics of identity) which are based on race, ethnicity and gender. For example, recognition policies of Leipzig mostly cover ethnic minorities and migrants. Over the years, they also recognize the heterogeneity within migrant groups (Grossmann et al., 2014). Recognition process of migrants first started with the categorization of migrant according to their legal status (being refugee, or having residence permit etc.). With the multiculturalism discussions in Germany, migrants different characteristics like ethnic origin, age, family compositions (having dependent relatives or not, being unemployed or not), their socio-economic wellbeing's have been taken into consideration in shaping inclusive integration policies and redistribution policies for the determined needs and expectations (Grossmann et al., 2014). In recent years, it is possible to trace the signs of extending the limits of recognition beyond ethnicity towards gender and family compositions (Grossmann et al., 2014). In developing housing policies, traditional family units, single parents, flat-sharers, gay or lesbian couples, women living alone are recognized as groups having different housing choices.

In a similar vein with Leipzig, recognition policies of Warsaw are being designated to cover ethnic diversity and long-term minority groups. The upgraded version of New Aliens Act (2012) recognizes their cultural values migrants and offers various rights including the free use of native language in public spaces, the right to name place name in their language and financial supports for needy groups etc (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al, 2014). The Act offers even more rights to migrants having refugee status, including the right to free public education and health services as if they are Polish, social assistance and legal consultation (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al, 2014). Italy

(Milan) also develops recognition policies to long-term minorities by accepting their cultural and linguistic differences (Barberis et al., 2014).

Different from these three examples (Leipzig, Warsaw and Milan), Rotterdam describes an inclusive type of recognition policies which cover not only ethnic-diversity but also any types of socio-cultural diversity. They recognize gender diversity and diversity related to sexual orientation as well as ethnic diversity (Tersteeg et al., 2013).

However, it is worth to note that recognition of various groups (especially LGBT) is not just for the sake of being open to differences. Instead, public authorities are in favor of recognizing groups and their rights to make them join into labor market and to the economic growth processes (Tersteeg et al., 2013). They provide various trainings, free education, and social assistance to recognized groups to make them ready for participating in urban economic development processes.

Recognition of diverse groups that are expected to contribute the growth processes is not unique approach of Rotterdam. In a similar way, both Athens (Greece) and Paris experiences show that recognition policies are also used as tools to achieve economic growth. Although Greek way of recognition can not go beyond the policies covering long-term migrants and newcomers, economic concerns that prioritize the necessity of selective recognition are worth to mention. Decision-makers in Athens, with the directives of Immigrant Integration Council, attach great deal to the management of diversity at city level. Although they do not underestimate the positive contributions of low-skilled migrants in economic processes, they are more in favor of attracting and pleasing migrant with high- skills and education (Maloutas et al, 2013). Through offering more easy processes of citizenship and work permits and offering various social protections, health and education opportunities, Greek decision-makers give a lot effort to recognize the rights of *exclusive* migrants.

In a similar way, Paris has extended its recognition policies to cover various groups in society to combat discrimination in workplace and to ensure safe and productive economic processes (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). Different from Greek experience, decision-makers in Paris found out that effective management of diversity in workplaces both contributes to faster growth and catalyze successful integration of diverse groups into society by reducing overall discrimination. To combat with discrimination at work places, eighteen categories of differences were recognized in 2001 (The Law on Discrimination at Workplaces adapting the directives of EU). Categories covered various fields of difference ranging from political choices to genetic inheritances (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014).

London (United Kingdom) experience combines the inclusive recognition of Paris and selective recognition processes of Greece. To develop effective redistribution policies and spaces of interaction, Londoner decision makers highlight the importance of detailed recognition. London Plan of 2011 recognizes various fields of diversity in a socio-cultural line including experiences, cultural traditions, skills and knowledge (Raco et al., 2014). Most of these recognized attributes of diverse groups can be associated with the economic concerns of United Kingdom. Diversity recognition based on skills and knowledge seems to pave the way towards the selective recognition policies of recent years. To manage massive migrant flows and benefit from the migrant pool, United Kingdom introduced various selective criteria to attract foreign high-skilled workers, investors and entrepreneurs (see Chapter 4). United Kingdom also appreciates the contributions of low profile migrants to the economy but they have introduced various rights and exclusive offers high-skilled ones to show how they respect and recognize their different characteristics and needs (Raco et al., 2014).

3.2.3. Diversity and Policies of Spaces of Encounter

In European practices, spaces of random encounter and interaction are vital tools for the processes of social cohesion and integration. The forms and use of spaces may

change in different countries, but their purposes are more or less the same. To begin with Leipzig, as one of the famous organizations in the city, *intercultural weeks* (since 1975) are in great importance for creating opportunities for different groups (ethnic, cultural, religious) to interact with each other and local actors of migration profession and celebrate diversity (Grossmann et al., 2014). Intercultural weeks are also favored for creating a city image which is multicultural, diverse and tolerant. Again in Leipzig, the creation of *inclusive social spaces* has gained importance with the prominence of integration in urban policies so as to advance integration processes of migrants and create networks between them and migrant associations (Grossmann et al., 2014). Similarly, Italy attaches importance to the creation of spaces of encounter to foster integration of migrants. *Expo 2015* in Milan is organized in the cooperation of migrants and migrant associations to enable talented migrants to show their arts and to link foreigners in their integration processes (Barberis et al., 2014). For such exhibitions, old, touristic and historical sites with a diversity legacy (which are used by or important for various groups in history) are chosen to show the respect for the diversity and its elements in Milan (Barberis et al., 2014).

In Rotterdam, *Opzoomer Mee* and *City Initiatives Programme* are the two noteworthy efforts to create spaces of interactions. Both aim to organize various street activities appeal to Rotterdammers without any specific on certain groups to enhance social cohesion and tolerance between individuals (Tersteeg et al., 2013). Greece, in a similar way, organizes *Actions in Neighborhood* projects which are in general six-day festivals in at least seven neighborhoods, with the financial support of EU to foster dialogue, to develop social capital that opens way towards social mobility (Maloutas et al., 2013).

The most inclusive projects for creating opportunities for encounter can be found in Paris case. Paris develops projects on various scales (neighborhood to city wide) that not only favor ethnic groups or cultural groups but also all Parisians. *Social cafes* are neighborhood level special places developed for the old migrants, who are mostly alone and kind of excluded from society to offer free consulting and social care

services (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). Social cafes are dedicated for different ethnic groups and aim to improve social interaction and social care for old migrants coming from same ethnic origin (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). Again in Paris, *neighborhood councils* (since 2002), bring along the neighborhood residents under one roof to share their local experiences, problems or improvements related to properties, infrastructure, public spaces and daily relations, in an ultimate democratic way where everyone is equal (Escafre-Dublet et al., 2014). Apart from the practices of Rotterdam, Paris and Milan, in London, the creation of spaces of encounter has been left to private firms and neighborhood-level local authorities as a result of decentralization of distributional powers to local authorities. In that sense, individuals are also responsible from creating their own opportunities of interaction with others through using and visiting the places provided by private firms and voluntary organizations (Raco et al., 2014).

3.3. Conclusion

Social policies in European Union have always been a hot topic in urban agendas. Due to the fact that they are highly sensitive to economic and politic changes, their evolution from the foundation of ESCS has always been a matter of discussion. In the earlier years of ESCS, social policy was not a popular topic since the full focus was on economic growth and economic integration of states. The motives behind having a single market and fostering growth and competitiveness had shaded the necessity towards social integration policies. Till 1970s, social policies had been a part of economic ones and maintained their supporting role to economic growth goals. Because it was believed that economic integration would bring along economic prosperity and efficient distribution of prosperity among workers would solve poverty and increase the well-being of worker class (Grahl and Teague, 2013).

From the viewpoint of diversity, the only diverse group that found place in policies was worker-class. Since the whole growth scenario was based on effective use of labor force and resources, social policies evolved around worker class in order to

increase their productivity and wellbeing (Martin, 2010). Thus, it is not likely to talk about a comprehensive diversity policy in EU, besides some regulations towards worker class between 1950 and 1970.

With the oil crisis of 1973, EU decided to give equal weight to social policies and economic policies to solve social unrest in European society. In a similar vein, policies for enabling active participation of elder, young and handicapped people to labor market was also emphasized in social action plans in late 1970s. The main motive behind the inclusion of diverse groups in social policy making was to minimize the differences between groups and make them work for a growing European Union in economic terms. Although social policies were still shaped by economic progress, the consideration of diversity within worker class was a breaking point in perception of diversity in EU. In late 1970s, EU's overall aim to create a shared single European identity gained importance. Because the oil crisis increased the tensions between diverse groups and especially migrants were seen as the reasons of economic downturn and social unrest by the host societies (Bozoki, 2005). People's Europe campaign was a tangible outcome of the efforts to prevent such tensions in society, but at the same time, it was a sign of the return of assimilationist thinking.

1980s was a new phase in diverse cultural policies and perception of diversity in cities. The changing socio-economic paradigms with globalization process started a new phase in social policy making. EU did not give up from its aim towards a shared European identity but changed the way of approaching the notion. In the beginning of 1980s, EU focused on cultural policies like study exchange programmes twinning agreements and symbolic cultural materials like European anthem, flag and Eurovision Song Contest to promote Europeanness as well as individuals' national identities. The formation of European Social Model was another breaking point in EU social policy making since it highlighted the importance of health and social security policies as well as cultural policies in social integration process.

Although The Union seemed determined in actualizing these policies, the neo-liberal reforms underpinned their practicability, and gradually, states had reduced their social security expenditures, reduced pensions and unemployment benefits and went to wage restraints. These cuts had totally affected the social progress that achieved so far in terms of protecting the ones in need and resulted in a formation of a new notion that is used to describe the groups that excluded from societal living after crisis : vulnerable or disadvantaged. Disadvantaged groups were consisted of migrant workers, children, women, elder and handicapped people that were in need of social security and social services. These groups had been seen as burdens to states' budget by the majority of society and they were blamed as the main reasons of economic crisis and social unrest in Europe (Çetin and İnanç, 2011). Together with the cuts, such accusations resulted in the further social exclusion of these groups from labor market and social mechanisms. Far-right parties took the advantage of such tensions and improved their nationalist and anti-difference discourses (Çetin and İnanç, 2011). From 1980s up today, social exclusion of certain groups could not been prevented, and still, nationalist thinking of late 1980s is in force especially after the economic crisis of 2008.

The period of 1990-2000 was the period of cooperation among member states in terms of effective employment and group-targeted social policies. The domination of social exclusion discourses in relation with inequality, insecurity and poverty in social agendas made European Union develop policies to combat all kinds of discrimination based on nationality, gender, religion, belief, disability, age and sexual orientation (Vandenbroucke, 2014). As a second strategy to fight with social inclusion, EU introduced social investment schemes to prepare individuals to any kinds of discrimination by improving their skills, education and well-being (Ghebrea, 2012; Vandenbroucke, 2014).

During 1990s, multiculturalism found place in EU's social policy making processes. Although the term was debated in late 1980s, it's fully integration to social policies of EU dated late 1990s. With the Maastricht Treaty (1992) the importance of

recognizing and respecting the national or regional diversities in cultural integration processes had been heavily highlighted. Multiculturalist thinking also showed itself when Schengen Agreement of 1985 entered into force. Agreement eroded borders between countries and enabled free movement of people (European Commission, 1985). However, the agreement resulted in massive migration flows within EU and many member states developed policies to limit or manage such flows. For the very first time EU, *immigration* was introduced as a new policy field. Limitations on entry of residence, special conditions for family reunification were set by the immigration policies (Yıldırım, 2014). Such limitations of the flow of migrants resembled the assimilationist thinking afterwards of the Second World War. Constraints on migrant-side policies conflicted with the massive efforts of EU in adopting multiculturalist policies in terms of inclusive integration and social protection policies. Although EU introduced new policy sets for equal treatment of migrants with host societies or for increasing migrants' wellbeing, they could not prevent the racist and xenophobic voices in the society. In short, multiculturalist policies could not stop the diffusion of *neo-assimilationist*, nationalist and discriminatory voices in European societies.

2000s core policy interventions covered identity, racism, integration and exclusion as primary fields (Ponticelli and Voth, 2011). EU's goal of creating a shared European identity was again in the agenda with slight differences with previous attempts. The hyper-diverse and multi-layered character of European societies resulted in the formation of a new approach that combines multiculturalist thinking to nationalist one: *interculturalism*. With increasing interculturalist voices in Europe, diversity became a key player in balancing assimilation and multiculturalism in social policy making. Because diversity did not only refer to cultural pluralism but also various different structures as diverse nationalities, lifestyles, beliefs, physical conditions, cultural inheritances, legal affairs, institutions and diverse economic markets. The changing diversity perception in EU resulted in the formation of group-targeted social policies based on socio-economic conditions (poor, middle class), cultural and demographic properties (elderly and handicapped people, children, youngsters),

ethnic and racial backgrounds (migrants and minority groups), gender and sexual orientation (women and LGBT).

In earlier 2000s, the dominance of economic policies over social ones showed itself once again like in 1950s. The economic growth goals towards having the most competitive economy based on innovation and knowledge have shaped the scope and extent of social policies. Diverse groups' active contribution to labor markets, their wellbeing, education and social security have become the main subjects in social policies. Increasing the level of human capital has been seen an effective tool to combat with poverty and employment via increasing the chances of individuals' in labor markets (Eichhorst et al., 2010).

Besides the economy-centric social policies, 2000s witnessed many regulations for migrants that touched upon racial equality, anti-discrimination and inclusion discourses. They supported the anti-discriminatory discourses for migrants, but at the same time they offered limitations and some special conditions (language requirements, visa, and limitations on family-reunification, and quotas for migrant workers) for their integration (Emerson, 2011). However, the increasing number of migrants in EU, enlargement process and terror attacks in mid-2000s led to the raise of nationalist and xenophobic voices once again.

In times of economic crisis in EU, social policies have been developed to speed up recovery and to revitalize economic growth. The main goals of the post-crisis policies are to recover fast from crisis and to achieve a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy as well as social Europe with high levels of employment, social security and social inclusion (European Commission, 2010a; Vandenbroucke, 2014; Yıldırım, 2014).

The importance attached to diversity has had a different extent and scale after the crisis. In EU level, diversity has been seen as a key player in stimulating recovery with the contributions of diverse groups having different skills and experiences

(Dolvik and Martin, 2014). European Commission (2013) highlighted the importance of social expenditures for economic recovery of diverse groups in times crisis and warned countries not to limit or totally abandon their social security and protection schemes. However, many member states introduced austerity measures that heavily affected each of the diverse group in the society and treated diversity as the source of social and economic problems. The opposite poles of diversity perception in EU have resulted in various differences in country practices.

Table 1 shows the social policy discourses and diverse groups covered in policies for each time period in EU. Although the concepts and their sub-topics have changed and the scope and extent of *diversity* differed from time to time, it is likely to say that from the foundation of European Community till now, diversity gained importance and the concept of hyper-diversity has been referred in social policies, recently.

Table 1 Diversity and social policy discourses in EU
Note: ** indicates the primary discourses of given period

Period	Social policy discourses in EU	Diversity in social policies in EU	Social policy approaches in EU
1950-1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Improving working conditions of workers **Economic integration *Equal access to job opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Socio-economic diversity-Worker class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *No policy (subsidiary to economic policies)
1970-1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ** unemployment and poverty *Equality in employment and social security *Common, shared European identity *Economy-driven social integration **Integration of diverse groups in job market *Social cohesion and integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Socio-economic diversity-Worker class and their families *Gender diversity (in worker-class) *Ethnic diversity (migrant workers as guests) *Demographic diversity-Young, elder and handicapped people (in job market) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Assimilation *Multiculturalism (in job market)

1980-1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Common, shared European identity **Cultural policies, exchanges for integration *Social and cultural integration *Social security and better working conditions (early 1980s) **Cuts in social security and benefits systems (globalization) *Social exclusion of migrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Socio-economic diversity-Worker class *Gender diversity-Women as disadvantaged *Ethnic diversity (tension between migrants and host society) *Demographic diversity-Young, children, elder and handicapped people (in labor market)(as disadvantaged groups) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Assimilation *Multiculturalism (in job market)
1990-2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> **Cooperation and social dialogue *Social inclusion and cultural integration *Recognizing cultural and ethnic differences *Social security, equality and better working conditions (improved) *Anti-discrimination **Social exclusion in relation with poverty, integration and employment **Immigration as a social policy field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Ethnic diversity-migrants having different religions and cultures *Gender diversity and sexual orientation (discrimination discussions) *Demographic diversity-Young, children, elder and handicapped people (in social spending and discrimination discussions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> **Multiculturalism (in every field) *Neo-assimilation
2000-2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> **Social and cultural integration *Social inclusion and cohesion **Identity, racism, xenophobia *Common European identity **Diversity in relation with poverty, exclusion, integration and equality *Antidiscrimination and social inclusion **Human capital and education *Border security *Social dialogue and cultural exchange 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> **Socio-economic diversity-Worker class, their families, poor, people at risk of poverty *Ethnic diversity-migrants having different religions and cultures *Gender and sexual orientation *Demographic diversity-Young, children, elder and handicapped people *Cultural diversity *Lifestyle diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Multiculturalism **Interculturalism (as a third-way) *Neo-assimilation (country-level)
2008+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Utilitarian social policies **Cuts in social spending and benefits **Insecurity, unemployment, poverty **Social exclusion of migrants *Discrimination and racism **Border security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Diversity is seen as a key player in stimulating recovery(in EU level) (all types of diversity mentioned above) and also as the source of problems (in country level) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Interculturalism (in theory) *Neo-assimilation (in country practices and society behaviors)

Table 1 (cont'd)

The effects of crisis on diverse groups are better understood when country practices are examined carefully. Although EU and its various institutions developed policies for the favor of diversity and diverse groups, country practices tell a different story. For that reason, Chapter 4 focuses on country practices and differences between EU strategies and country-level policies in economic crisis period.

In terms of socio-spatial policies and diversity in cities, Section 3.2 started with the question of “*How socio-spatial development and social wellbeing of diverse groups in cities have changed with the adoption of neoliberal thinking in urban policies?*”. This was an important starting point because, in previous discussions of the thesis, it is found that social discourses and approaches towards urban diversity have been changed with the changes in economic and political processes. However, it was not very easy to observe spatial outcomes of changing socio-economic conjuncture because of the fact spatial processes need long-time to reflect the motives behind their change. For that reason, the section particularly focused on the period after 1980 to make evaluations from the 30-years’ experience of spatial development in European cities. Throughout the examination of urban policies and diversity-related changes in European cities, the concepts of social/spatial justice and right to the city are used as frameworks to determine both the success and failure of neoliberal urban policies.

Nearly in all country practices in Europe, it was observed that greater attention have been paid to the fair redistribution of resources among different groups in the society. Most of the countries (Germany, Greece, United Kingdom, and Poland etc.) defined the disadvantaged groups covering migrants, women, children, handicapped and elder people to priority them in redistribution processes and to erode the motives making them vulnerable and disadvantaged. Various projects have developed to engage disadvantage groups into society and labor markets to increase their life quality as well as to benefit from their contribution to economic growth processes. Redistribution processes not just cover the distribution of prosperity, social benefits, public expenditures and services, but also cover physical improvement and social

developments in decayed urban lands. In that sense, social mixing and urban renewal processes with a strong social background find legal basis in urban policies. Urban renewal and social mixing policies are developed to combat the high-level concentration of poverty and disadvantage in certain decayed urban lands (as in the cases of London, Milan, Rotterdam, Paris, Warsaw). Although the main motive was to erode the concentrated ethnic poverty in most the cities, countries chose different ways and highlighted different aspects of urban renewal and social mixing. For example, Warsaw and Athens attached great deal to the physical development of areas to increase the living standards and to attract investors who may create new opportunities for the residents of the area. However, Paris favored the development of social housing in richer neighborhoods to increase the social mobility chances for low-income groups. Moreover, Milan emphasized the importance of creating multifunctional places fostering dialogue and social mobility; whereas Rotterdam favored a selective social mixing in which lifestyle diversity was undermined against the overpraise of income diversity for better chances of social mobility.

As the second category on urban policies, recognition processes roughly cover the processes of legally and socially recognizing the differences in society and develop tailor-made policies to their needs and wellbeing. The major challenge against recognition of multiple voices in the society is the dominance of identity politics in decision-making processes. What is meant by identity politics is recognizing the groups institutionally and developing policies for them according to the differences and characteristics attributed to the diverse groups by public authorities. Moreover, public authorities still use the traditional ways of recognition based on race, ethnicity and gender. Fortunately in recent years, with the effectiveness of urban movements of diverse groups claiming their rights, city-level governments are now trying to recognize differences beyond traditional understanding and developing their discourses to cover distinct characteristics in the society including different lifestyles.

In European experiences, it is very likely to trace back the traditional way of recognizing differences. For instance, Germany, Poland, Italy still develops their

recognition policies based on ethnicity. To say that, Warsaw recognized ethnic groups and gave them the right of using their native language in daily life and in naming streets and parks in their neighborhood; while Leipzig went beyond the recognition of migrants in terms of their legal status and developed policies covering within-migrant groups diversity. Rotterdam and Paris adopt more comprehensive understanding of recognition (resembling the discourses on hyper-diversity) both in workplaces and different segments of the society by recognizing differences in socio-cultural lines. Different from the above examples, London and Athens adopt a narrowed framework for the recognition of ethnic diversity, through introducing selective recognition. Depending on the arguments that claim the negative sides of the massive flows of migrants with low-skills and their burdens to national budget, these countries have chosen to recognize high-profile migrants and their rights who are thought to be beneficial for the economy.

In terms of spaces of encounter, it seems that countries more or less adopt the same approaches to the creation of public places and special events (ex: festivals, fairs) in which encounters, daily interactions, share of experiences take place. They favor the importance of publicly-used spaces in achieving social cohesion and reducing intolerance and biases. In the practices of Europe, Paris and Milan support the creation of spaces of encounter to facilitate the integration processes of migrant via organizing special events like Expo2015 or supporting community center or Social Cafes, which increase their chances of network, social mobility and adaption to the societal life. In a similar way, Rotterdam organizes intercultural weeks both to foster integration and to introduce itself as the city of tolerance, multiculturalism and diversity.

Keeping in mind all these different approaches on diversity-related urban policies, it is time to move the European practices in times of crisis and austerity. Although it was mentioned at the beginning that, it was hard to trace the spatial implications of social, political or economic changes in cities in shorter periods; it is known that the economic crisis (2008) itself have spatial implications in European cities. However,

it is hard to define such changes only in a 7- years-period. What is known commonly is that the economic crisis of 2008 is the ultimate sign of the failure of neoliberal thinking and its competitive, ambitious, large-scale development projects based on massive physical construction. As Maloutas et al. (2013) assert when discussing the effects of economic crisis on Greek economy and development patterns, Greek neoliberal economy favoring these large scale property-based projects hit hard since the projects had not resulted in further innovative production, research and development etc as expected. For that reason, nowadays, Greece seems to give up from these ambitious projects and focused on new development styles fostering social development and innovative production. Taking this point of view as a starting point, the next chapter focuses on assessment the crisis-driven urban policies, given their relation with urban diversity.

CHAPTER 4

DIVERSITY IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND AUSTERITY: INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

4.1. Diversity, Economic Crisis and Austerity

Chapter 4 examines *group-based* diversity policies (groupings such as migrants, women etc.) and focuses on the contemporary changes in urban policies in times of economic crisis of 2008. Chapter 4 puts forward and compares the different approaches seized for each diverse group in cities in post-crisis period. Section 1 of Chapter 4 investigates the relationship between diversity, economic crisis and austerity measures. Since the economic crisis of 2008 is one of the most recent breaking points triggering the discussions on social justice and right to the city in EU's policy making; special attention is given to the crisis-driven changes in the field of urban diversity. The aim is to put forward the impacts of crisis-driven urban policies on diverse groups in countries.

Chapter starts with the examination of diversity and its relation to economic crisis and austerity measures, with the lens of three urban policy type discussed in Chapter 2, namely, policies on redistribution, recognition and spaces of encounter. For each group defined in the first chapter, this section continues with the discussion of direct and indirect effects of the crisis and policy changes on diverse groups via determining country- level evidences. This part will be consisted of two sub-categories. First one covers diversity debates regarding migrants, giving specific reference to direct impacts of crisis and crisis-driven policy changes, since migrants are the most hit hard diverse group in cities in times of crisis. Second one deals with non-migrant groups who are thought be affected negatively from austerity measures rather than policy changes. In the final part, group-specific impacts of crisis and

policy responses of countries are compared on a group basis and the gap between EU's social policy discourses (Chapter 3.1.) and country practices is put forward with relevant evidence.

Economic crises are one the shocks that influences not only economic processes of countries like growth, production, import-export or marketing but also social development continuums. From the social side, it is very likely to see effects of crises on the wellbeings of diverse groups with different scopes and extent ranging from their daily interaction with others to their articulation to labor market. It is hard to say that social responses of economic crises are more or less equal in each country. The extent of being affected from crises differs country to country with respect to their distinct social structures (different groups in society in terms of age, ethnicity, gender etc.), legislation and policy systems, economic situation (collapsed economies or less-influenced economies), financial vulnerability and their previous experiences or responses to previous shocks (Eichhorst et al., 2010). For that reason, it's not easy to draw the specific effects of crises on diverse groups that are valid for each country.

This section, in general, discusses what has happened to diverse groups in countries in previous economic crises and what are expected to happen in possible, future crises in a world of rapid changes. Specific focus is given to recent economic crisis of 2008 when discussing European experiences.

International Labor Organization (2012) categorizes the responses of countries to economic shocks into five. The first one, which is generally preferred as an immediate response to maintain social cohesion, is expanding the extent and amount of social spending, benefits, and pensions. Because, social expenditures (unemployment benefits, food and oil support, fiscal assistance) are seen as stabilizers which compensate the loses originating from economic crisis and which protect diverse groups from further suffering in terms of social protection, social security and employment.

Between 2008-2009, many European countries (80% of countries) increased their social spending (which were mainly stable in pre-crisis period) with an average increase of 3, 9% of GDP as a part of their financial stimulus programmes, so as to minimize tensions resulting from scarcity of jobs- resources and to combat with increasing poverty, social exclusion as well as discrimination (Ortiz and Cummins, 2013; Oxfam, 2013; Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015).

Other reasons behind investing in social fields are to maintain the purchase power of people (protecting pre-crisis social structure) and to speed up growth and competitiveness via minimizing social costs of the crisis and maintaining economic investments (Cavero and Poinasamy,2013; Oxfam, 2013). Social spending expenditures mostly cover unemployment benefits, job creation programmes for youngsters, free health services for handicapped and elderly, income security for children, housing and heating supports and health insurances. (Cavero and Poinasamy, 2013, Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015).

The second category of responses is also related to social expenditures but unlike the first category, it allows limited increases in spending in specific areas. It covers immediate responses to the effects of crisis on urgent fields. Two typical expenditures of this category are unemployment benefits and health expenditures for those who are identified as officially vulnerable (low-paid workers, unemployed, people at risk of poverty) or needed urgent support (Finn and Vaughan, 2010; Donald et al, 2014).

Any additional social expenditure is not preferred by governments (mostly by the ones lacking of social policy legacy) because of budget deficits. This response has no root in European practices after the economic crisis. Although the amount and extent of social spending have differed group to group, Europe (between 2008-2010) has invested in all groups to protect them from the devastating effects of the crisis, although the level of investments differed from group to group. Third category of responses is consisting of austerity measures which are, in general, strict cuts in

public expenditures and promulgation of tax increases in many fields. This is the typical response of European countries after implementing two-year Category 1 policies in the aftermath of crisis. In order to rebalance the expenditures and revenues, they made severe cuts in social protection expenditures and increased tax revenues. Third category of responses were widely preferred by Southern Europe countries where social expenditures have not been that much concern of government unlike the Nordic countries.

In Europe between 2010-2012, with the failure of the stimulus programmes of 2008-2009 in preventing the rise of poverty and unemployment; countries like Greece, Spain, Portugal, United Kingdom introduced strict austerity measures (strict cuts, limited social services, erosion of social benefits) to cover public debt and to balance their budget (Ortiz and Cummins, 2013; Oxfam, 2013). According to the statistics of Oxfam (2013), the average percentages of spending cuts in some countries were observed as 11, 5% in UK, 12% in Spain and 20% in Baltic States. Similar to 2010-2012 experiences, the period of 2013-2015 will be the period of intensified cuts and austerity measures (Oxfam, 2013).

The fourth and fifth category of responses can be simply defined as *no-action* policies. The difference between the two is that, the fourth category of responses is valid for high or middle income countries in which resilient and flexible policies are set prior to crisis. This category assumes that economy will eventually lead to equilibrium and social issues will be resolved automatically. Fifth category is basically the no-response category. In this case, countries do not prefer to develop policies prior to crisis or aftermath of crisis. The roots of such responses cannot be traced back in European countries, because of importance they attach to social fields and recovery as a part of European Social Model.

The responses of countries do tell us that social policies differ according to the economic performance and resilience level of countries. Some may prefer to expand their social expenditures to protect the social balance while the others do not take any

action. Social structure of population and demands of diverse groups are also important in analyzing country practices. In general, it is very likely to say that, the groups hit the most by the crisis have become the targets of post- crisis social policies. Every country has defined the crisis-victims and has developed policies addressing their various types of concerns including employment, social cohesion, discrimination or equality etc.

Economic crisis influences every group in society regardless of their socio-economic well-being, age, gender status or ethnicity. However, the extent and level of responses, the ways of responding or the level of being affected from the crisis have differed between groups. For instance, when migrants suffer from unemployment and increasing discrimination, women are more likely to suffer from policies eroding the gender equality achievements. There are some groups that are expected to be affected from the crisis or any change in social- economic or political balances more than the others. These groups are called *vulnerable* or *disadvantaged* and include children, youngsters, elderly, disabled people and to some extent migrants. Vulnerable groups are the first ones that face exclusion from society, community life, social security mechanisms and job markets due to their vulnerability to changes and their inability to recover fast (ICSW, 2009; Eichhorst et al., 2010).

As one of the expected outcomes of crises, poverty becomes a reality affecting millions of people in cities due to wanes in household income, unemployment, reduced fiscal supports and benefits. According to Oxfam statistics (2013), in 2011, 24, 3% of the total population of Europe was at risk of poverty and social exclusion. There is no doubt that, the rate will increase in following years if governments keep preceding austerity measures. As the temporary contracts, flexible-part time jobs with lower wages and little social security become widespread, in-work poverty is very likely to increase in countries including Germany (where relatively witnessed lower unemployment rates and poverty). According to Vaughan-Whitehead (2015), the most significant increases in poverty rates (up to 1% increase between 2008-2011) were observed in Southern European countries (Spain, Portugal, Malta) and

also in Ireland and Latvia where hit hard by the crisis (Oxfam, 2013). In addition, the harsh increases in taxation (for example, Value Added Tax) also push low income people at risk of poverty (Oxfam, 2013).

Following these trends, the level of school attendance, childcare, nursing, healthcare, mentality and social interaction also being negatively affected. Households, for instance, reduced their consumption by renouncing from their basic needs, lowering their children's education expenditure or even not allowing them to attend their school to rebalance their budget till they find proper jobs or get social benefits from government again (ICSW, 2009). ICSW continues by stating that children leaving school may never have the chance to turn back and it also effects the formation of human capital in countries. For many households at risk of poverty, government expenditures and benefits are lifesavers. When they lack from these supports in times of crisis, it is very hard them to turn back. For that reason, the majority of countries expand their spending to mitigate the initial effects of crisis on people at risk of poverty. They also regard the protection of elderly and handicapped people, but there are also some groups that cannot benefit from such social protection programmes such as self-employed, daily workers, domestic or agricultural labors, migrant workers, women in informal sectors etc (ICSW, 2009). Such unprotected groups may think to be the hidden victims of crisis because it is not possible to identify them all officialy and develop policies covering their issues.

When discussing poverty, it is worth to mention the changing conditions for middle class. With the cuts in public expenditures, limited social protection and increased taxes, middle classes lose its economic stability in times of crisis (ILO, 2014; Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). The tax reforms (increased value added taxes and value-based property taxes), that have been restructured to save low-income people from further deterioration and to courage high-income people to invest more with fair taxation, mostly neglected the middle class, especially in Spain and Greece (ILO, 2014). In Spain, Italy and Croatia, the number of middle-class income earners were decreased about 10% between 2008 and 2012 because of high taxation and

privatization, low wages, low social security (ILO, 2014). On the contrary, Baltic countries (Sweden and Finland) that have expanded their social expenditure and investments in times of crisis for the sake of their famous welfare models seemed to protect their middle class from the risk of poverty and social exclusion.

Many people belonging to the middle class stand at risk of poverty or even depend on food or cloth supply by government in the face of crisis as well as having difficulty in paying their life expenses such as education expenditures of children. As the Report of Red Cross highlighted, the increasing poverty among middle-class resulted in an additional 75% increase in people depending on Red Cross's food supplies between 2009 and 2012 (IFRC, 2013; ILO, 2014).

Economic crisis' impact on workers (especially migrant workers) is also worth to mention since they suffer from the Europe's biggest post-crisis problem, unemployment. Increasing unemployment levels in cities, in the long term, have resulted in poverty, homelessness, competitiveness for scarce jobs and inevitably in tensions and social unrest. The tensions between employee-employer and employed-unemployed tend to have grown rapidly in times of crisis. The pressure of maintaining competitive economies force governments to go to wage cuts, to abandon social expenditures, to adopt flexible and temporary working conditions so as to catch up pre-crisis growth rates. On the other hand, some governments take actions to save labor market and create jobs in times of crisis, through making reforms on maximizing the length of temporary work contracts and offer temporary jobs in specific sectors. The reforms on temporary working also favored by employers since it gives them the freedom of lay off labor from work with more flexible procedures of dismissal. Although temporary working seems like a solution to maintain jobs in the market, it is non-sustainable in the long term (Eichhorst et al., 2010). The pressures on labor market also annihilate the bargaining power of workers due to scarcity in jobs and the fear of being unemployed (Busch et al, 2013; Council of Europe, 2013). To minimize such pressures, governments apply unemployment benefits immediate after the crisis, but only a few of them manage to

maintain the benefits. Some countries address to social funds to combat with unemployment and social exclusion and/or to create job opportunities for the most vulnerable (Korkmaz et al, 2013).

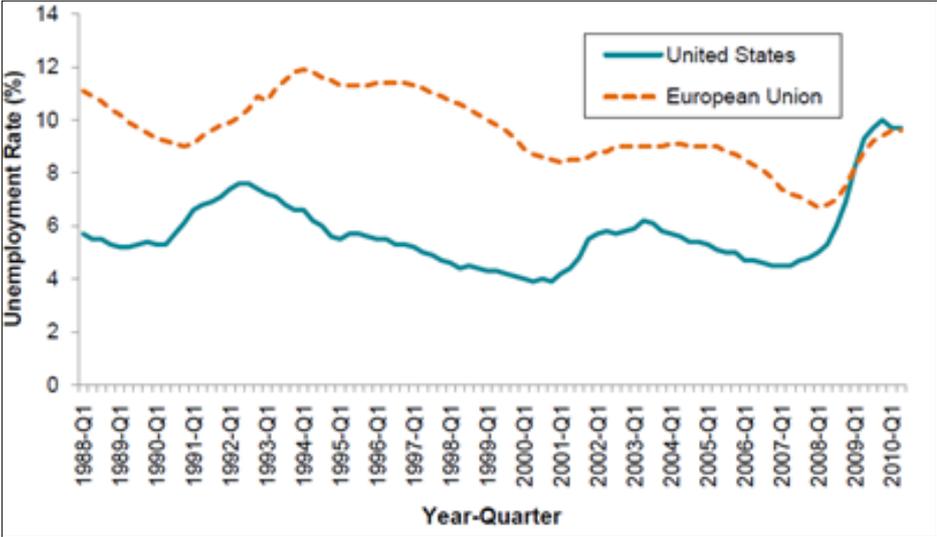


Figure 2 Unemployment levels in EU and US
 Source: OECD, Employment Database

When one looks at the details of unemployment levels of Europe (Figure 2) it is very likely to see the direct effect of economic crisis of 2008 on labor market in terms of unemployment. According to Figure 2, since 1990s, Europe has once again witnessed ever increasing unemployment levels with the 2008 economic crisis by reaching beyond 10%.

A similar trend can be traced in Eurostat’s country-level unemployment data as shown in Table 2, in which Southern European countries (Greece ,Spain, Italy) faced with tremendous increases in unemployment levels when compared other parts of Europe. The unemployment levels of Greece and Spain were nearly tripled (respectively from 8,4 in 2007 to 27.5 in 2013 and from 8.2 in 2007 to 26.1 in 2013) while the level in Italy and Portugal doubled (respectively from 6,1 in 2008 to 12,2

in 2013 and from 8,1 in 2007 to 16,4 in 2013). Denmark, Netherlands and United Kingdom also saw increases in their unemployment levels, but they were far lower than the EU average. Belgium, France and Switzerland witnessed moderate changes with an average of 1-2%. Despite the increases in many countries, only Germany managed to decrease its unemployment levels between 2007 and 2013 due to its strong economy, resilient sectors and accurate labor market and social protection policies. Although worker classes in the majority of countries affected negatively from increasing unemployment levels, there exists one group that hit harder than the others by the instability in labor market in crisis period. As might be expected the group is called migrant workers.

Table 2 Unemployment levels in European Countries
Source: Eurostat, Employment Statistics

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
European Union (28 countries)	9.2	9.0	8.2	7.2	7.0	8.9	9.6	9.6	10.5	10.8
Belgium	7.4	8.5	8.3	7.5	7.0	7.9	8.3	7.2	7.6	8.4
Denmark	5.2	4.8	3.9	3.8	3.4	6.0	7.5	7.6	7.5	7.0
Germany	10.7	11.2	10.3	8.7	7.5	7.8	7.1	5.8	5.4	5.2
Estonia	10.2	8.0	5.9	4.6	5.5	13.5	16.7	12.3	10.0	8.6
Greece	10.3	10.0	9.0	8.4	7.8	9.6	12.7	17.9	24.5	27.5
Spain	11.1	9.2	8.5	8.2	11.3	17.9	19.9	21.4	24.8	26.1
France	9.2	8.9	8.8	8.0	7.4	9.1	9.3	9.2	9.8	9.9
Italy	7.9	7.7	6.8	6.1	6.8	7.8	8.4	8.4	10.7	12.2
Hungary	5.8	7.2	7.5	7.4	7.8	10.0	11.2	10.9	10.9	10.2
Netherlands	4.7	4.7	3.9	3.2	2.8	3.4	4.5	4.4	5.3	6.7
Poland	19.1	17.8	13.9	9.6	7.1	8.2	9.7	9.7	10.1	10.3
Portugal	6.4	7.7	7.8	8.1	7.7	9.6	11.0	12.9	15.8	16.4
Finland	10.4	8.4	7.7	6.9	6.4	8.2	8.4	7.8	7.7	8.2
Sweden	6.7	7.8	7.1	6.2	6.2	8.4	8.6	7.8	8.0	8.1
United Kingdom	4.6	4.8	5.4	5.3	5.6	7.6	7.8	8.1	7.9	7.6
Switzerland	4.3	4.5	4.0	3.7	3.4	4.1	4.6	4.1	4.2	4.4

Apart from the direct impacts of economic crises on socio-economic wellbeing and economic conditions of countries, it is time to move the impacts of austerity measures on diversity. Austerity measures are known as the economic policies that are used to rebalance the budgets and reduce budget deficits via implementing cuts, freezes or restrictions on various expenditures (Oxfam, 2013). In times of crises, austerity measures are seen as one of the lifesaver options that limit the public expenditures and help governments rebalance their budgets. What are expected at the end of austerity, are to recover the economy and to catch up with pre-crisis growth rates with serious achievements in labor market and social issues regarding poverty and unemployment. For the long term, it is also expected that the period after austerity would be the period of economic growth in which new jobs are created and social expenditures expanded to cover the losses in times of crisis (Cavero and Poinasamy, 2013) However in Europe, evidences so far (like in Latin America and South Asia) have shown that, austerity measures have been fallen behind the desired goals, and even worse, they have deteriorated the achievements of pre-austerity periods. Because, austerity measures have brought up new economic and social problems (unemployment, poverty, social polarization etc.) instead of economic prosperity and better social conditions.

The results of Cavero and Poinasamy (2013) put forward that the impacts of austerity are not limited to period that are being practiced. For the Europe case, if governments insist on austerity measures, it is expected that inequality between diverse groups and social exclusion will still be the major social problems as new people will be added to the poverty list (estimated as 15-25 million people by 2025). Three years of austerity experience in European countries has revealed that, austerity has not reduced budget or public deficits. In additions, many diverse groups have been negatively affected by austerity since the measures have been implemented rigorously without proper social back-ups.

Austerity measures, in general terms, cover cuts in spending and wages, wage freezes abolishment or freeze of social benefits (unemployment, housing and care benefits),

limitations on access to basic public services such as education, health, tightening eligibility criteria for pensions or benefits and increases in taxation (VAT) and fees (health and transportation) (Council of Europe, 2013; European Commission, 2013; Donald et al, 2014,). Most of the countries in Europe practiced reforms on taxation in order to increase the revenues of budget. However, they ignored that both the cuts in expenditures in services and taxation reforms put heavier burdens to people, especially the most vulnerable.

Council of Europe (2013) evaluates austerity measures in four categories, namely, public spending cuts (mostly social), taxation reforms (increasing the amounts or introducing new), regulations on labour market, and reforms in specific fields like health or pension systems. The measures taken to recover economy have also failed in Europe. Even the Troika (IMF, European Central Bank- strongest defender of austerity) admitted the social costs of regressive cuts and taxation on the society (Council of Europe, 2013). Troika also discovered that economy was not going well; and the increasing nationalist and discriminatory voices are now challenging the social fundamental of Europe such as equality, solidarity and inclusion. To repossess the atmosphere of Social Europe, member states have tried to find out better options to ameliorate the social effects of austerity and try to develop tailor-made policies for each diverse group, with reference to Europe 2020 strategies. However, the national practices so far have shown that these *fancy* discourses on redeveloping Social Europe are mostly on paper.

The majority of the austerity measures are based on the cuts in social protection expenditures. Although the majority of countries had witnessed serious changes in their social protection systems due to demographical changes or systematic failures prior to the economic downturn; the crisis had changed the extent and structure of these reforms in the worst way possible (ILO, 2014).

In terms of employment, many countries (Portugal, Ireland, and United Kingdom) limited or totally abolished unemployment benefits or introduced highly-selective

eligibility criterias (ILO, 2014; Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). At EU level, the rate of people receiving unemployment benefits in Europe had decreased to 46% in 2012 from 61% in 2008 (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015) after the restrictive reforms. Moreover, the duration of enjoying unemployment benefits has been reduced as in examples of Ireland (15 months to 12) and Hungary (9 months to 3) (ILO, 2014). The majority of states announced that they would cut wages in public sector as well as applying limitations on the coverage of health insurances or other benefits (sick leave, maternity leave, limited health services for specific illnesses etc.) (ILO, 2014).

The deterioration of working conditions after crisis has been a serious obstacle in achieving competitiveness and growth, since it is corrupting human capital, workers' productivity, skills and motivation. When the effects of the reforms in labour market doubled with the deterioration of educational services; the competitiveness goals of countries has become an utopia. According to Council of Europe (2013), in the one third of OECD countries, expenditures on education fell dramatically in 2009 and 2010 as a consequence of austerity measures. A remarkable change in educational expenditures (fiscal support for education, scholarships, university fees, investments on schools) was observed in Spain, where education budget fell about %21 between 2011 and 2012 (Council of Europe, 2013).

Penny (2013) states that cuts can be observed in many fields including elder or childcare services, youth employment and training programmes, health services covering mental illnesses, housing and legal services. The most vulnerable groups are the ones hit hard from the cuts as expected; since they heavily depend on fiscal or non-fiscal supports of government. Because, social transfers are acting as lifesavers or shock observers in many fields for vulnerable groups ranging from fighting poverty and discrimination, fighting diseases, caring people in need, proper nutrition and getting adequate education etc (Caracciolo, 2011). Social transfers can save millions of people from vulnerability to externalities, but however, austerity-driven cuts necessitate serious reductions in social transfers. In such a world, it's not very easy to say that everybody equally affected from economic crisis. The deterioration

of living standards and being vulnerable to externalities altogether resulted in increasing poverty, social exclusion and inequality between diverse groups. Thus, it is likely to say that each diverse group affected from the austerity cuts and from the crisis itself. To better understand the effects of austerity measures on urban diversity, diverse groups in Europe are discussed at the following parts of this section. The examination is held under two sections, namely, migrants and non-migrants.

4.2. Migrant Groups and Minorities in Times of Economic Crisis And Austerity (2008)

Migrant workers are the most fragile ones in labor market. They are the first ones to be laid off in times of crisis, since they are mostly not documented and working in informal sectors (Taran, 2011; Kuptsch, 2012). In most of the cases, they accept the jobs without legally-binding contracts, or proper social security at first place in order to stay in the host country and earn money to survive (ICSW, 2009). Moreover, the sectors that migrants are mostly working like construction, infrastructure and service are more vulnerable to economic shocks than relatively resilient sectors like health services, private nursing services (IOM, 2010). Such conditions make migrant workers the real victims of the crisis, to say that, they are the first ones to be fired and the first ones to be hired for jobs without proper wages or social security in times of crisis (Taran, 2011). They are also the ones that affect from the increases in unemployment levels at the highest level among other diverse groups. The changes in unemployment levels depend on the countries' economic and social responses to crisis.

With the crisis of 2008, the gap between native-born workers and foreign-born workers increased gradually from 2008 to 2012. According to statistics of European Commission (2009), Europe witnessed a 1, 8% increase in native-born unemployment levels in 2008 when compared to 2007, whereas 5% increase was observed in foreign-born workers for the same period. Moreover, in 2009, the gap between natives and foreigners reached to 11% (European Commission, 2009.)

As seen in Figure 3, in all countries migrant unemployment increased with the initial effects of crisis depending on their economic structure and their resistance to externalities. Again, sharp increases in migrant unemployment level are seen in Southern European Countries (Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy). Switzerland and Sweden experienced moderate changes which were below EU average.

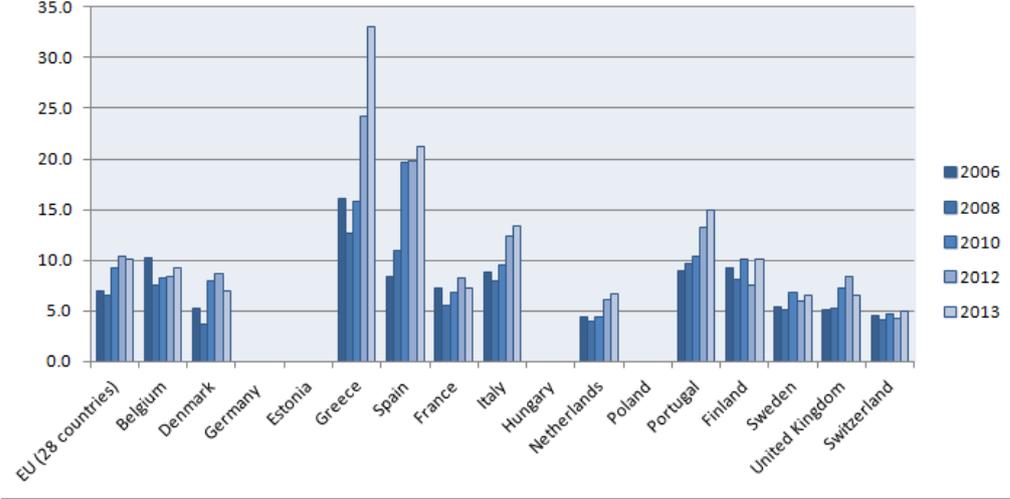


Figure 3 Unemployment levels according to the country or origin (migrant workers)
 Source: Eurostat, Migration Statistics

Women migrant workers face more jobs losses than their native-born counterparts (OECD, 2013). According to OECD statistics, the narrowest gaps in unemployment levels between foreign and native born women workers were seen in Greece, Spain and Estonia; however, it does not necessarily mean that women migrant workers enjoy the advantage of closing the gaps with native workers in these countries (OECD, 2013). However, in most of the countries, women migrant workers suffer from highest dismissal rates than their local peers, if they are not working in resilient sectors like private nursing or care services. (OECD, 2013). What is surprising is, women migrant workers are less likely to suffer from changes in labor market than men. That is because, women migrants are mostly working in health, nursing and social services, and these sectors are known to be permanent and resilient to

externalities since they mostly depend on individual necessity (OECD, 2009; IOM, 2010). Although they suffer from job losses, they are less likely to be dismissed from jobs than men. Therefore, for some countries, it is likely to trace the convergence in unemployment levels of women and men migrant workers. However, it should be noted that, such a convergence is not sign of empowerment of women migrant workers in labor market, instead, it's the sign of the disempowerment of male migrant workers.

Table 3 Unemployment levels according to the country of origin
Source: Eurostat migration statistics

	2006		2008		2010		2012	
	male	female	male	Female	male	female	male	Female
European Union (28 countries)	6.1	9.3	6.7	9.2	11.4	12.0	12.9	13.3
Belgium	8.4	13.0	7.1	9.1	9.6	10.1	10.4	9.0
Denmark	:	:	:	5.7	10.8	6.8	8.6	13.5
Greece	:	14.3	5.0	11.7	10.2	16.5	26.3	25.3
Spain	7.1	11.6	12.9	18.0	25.4	26.0	30.0	29.0
France	6.4	10.0	5.7	6.7	6.5	8.8	8.6	9.1
Italy	5.8	11.5	5.2	11.2	8.7	12.9	12.3	13.8
Hungary	:	9.9	7.6	:	:	:	11.7	8.7
Netherlands	4.6	5.2	3.9	4.4	5.0	5.6	6.1	6.8
Portugal	:	12.5	:	15.0	:	17.4	14.2	15.7
Finland	:	11.9	10.8	:	13.3	:	8.1	8.8
Sweden	6.3	7.3	5.9	6.7	8.7	8.0	7.4	8.1
United Kingdom	5.1	6.0	4.0	5.5	6.8	6.3	7.0	8.4
Switzerland	4.8	5.1	4.0	5.1	4.9	5.1	4.3	4.9

Table 3 provides evidences for such a statement, for the most of countries (with exceptions of United Kingdom and Switzerland) for 2012. When compared to 2006, the gap between male migrants' and female migrants' unemployment levels have decreased. As stated above, the convergence between levels is the result of

increasing unemployment levels of male workers. Moreover, only in Belgium, Hungary, Finland, Switzerland and France female migrants' unemployment levels were decreased.

Young migrant workers have also negatively influenced from crisis when compared to their native born-peers in terms of employment and access to job market (OECD, 2013). In Spain and even in Sweden, the unemployment levels reached beyond 30%, respectively 41% and 37% (Papademetriou et al, 2010).

Migrant workers are at the risk of being abused by the host society since they are seen as the ultimate competitors in job market and the source of crimes and social tensions, by the society (Sides and Citrin, 2007; Taran, 2011; Triandafyllidou, 2011; Duffy and Frere-Smith, 2014; Maatta, 2014). Individual concerns and tendency to self-protection from negative impacts of crisis have resulted in negatively changing attitudes to *others*, in other words, to *migrants* (Awad, 2009). Moreover, xenophobia and discrimination have been increasing in countries where economic crisis hit most. Increasing unemployment levels, competition for limited jobs and the fear of losing status make host societies target migrants as the scapegoats of worsening economic conditions or exploiters of social services, jobs and all other infrastructure (Çetin and İnanç, 2011; Council of Europe, 2013; Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). Such nationalist and anti-migrant voices in the society strengthen the discourses of far right parties and increased their power in decision making (Mayfield, 2013; Maatta, 2014). The rise of Golden Dawn of Greece, New Flemish Alliance of Belgium, Jobbik Party of Hungary and Front National of France (rise of anti-migrant, nationalist far-right parties) coincide with the changing public attitudes towards migrants, especially after the economic crisis (Mayfield, 2013; Maatta, 2014).

The 2012 Round of ESS (European Social Survey) results covering public attitudes towards migrants justifies the theory that claims *migrants are the scapegoats of economic crisis* and *migrants are not welcomed any more by the majority of host society*. Figure 4 (taken from Duffy and Frere-Smith, 2014) shows the reaction of

host societies to the following statement: “Immigration is bad or good for country’s economy”.

Figure 4 shows that larger and relatively resilient economies (Germany, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Switzerland) tend to appreciate the contributions of migrants in economy even in times of crisis. Although Spain hit hard by the crisis, it seems that public opinion towards migrants is less likely to be influenced from the economic downturn. Spain still appreciates the migrant workers contributions to labor market, but not the existence of illegal migrants or asylum-seekers in community life. Portugal and Cyprus, as the other countries that affected from crisis, mostly stated that migrants are bad for the economy. What is interesting is the change in perception of migrants in multicultural United Kingdom, which is, the majority of society seems not in favor of migrant labors in times of economic crises.

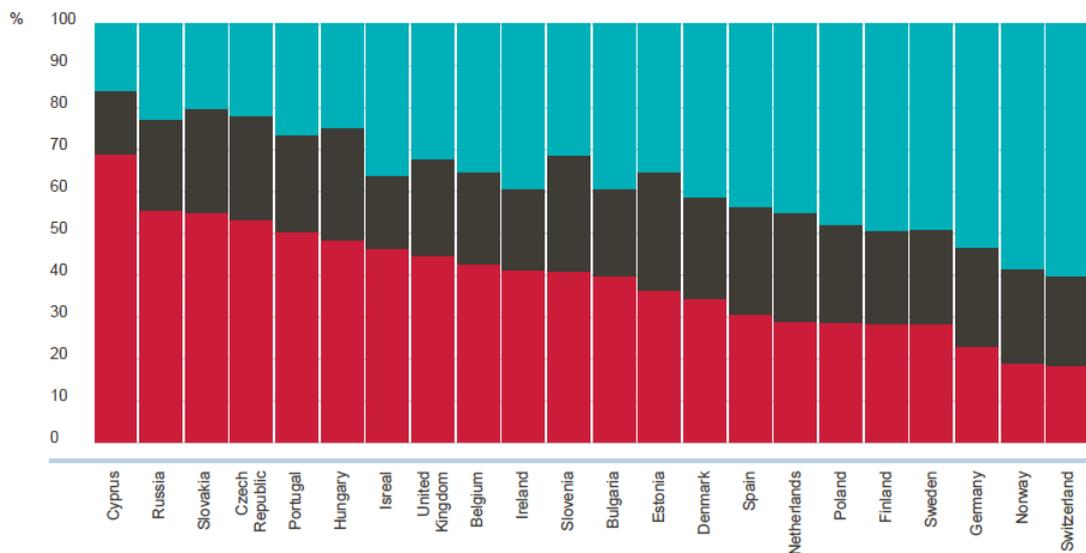


Figure 4 Immigration is good or bad for country’s economy

Source: ESS, 2012 Round (taken from Duffy and Frere-Smith, 2014)

Notes: Claret red indicates “bad for the economy”, black “middle” and blue “good for the economy”

The tension between migrants and host society is also reflected in integration and immigration policies of countries. In Mau and Burkhardt's (2009) words below, the aims of integration policies are now reviewed in Europe.

To preserve the balance between the openness and exclusivity of the welfare system without endangering the universal consensus of the welfare state to protect the right to entitlements of both the native population as well as the various immigrant groups.

As understood from the statement, integration policies in times of crisis take into account the tensions between the two groups (migrants and host society) and focus on eliminating the reasons behind it for the sake of social cohesion and equality as well as granting basic human rights for both groups.

Besides the direct effects of crisis on migrants in terms of poverty, unemployment and changing public attitudes; migrants are likely to suffer from the policy changes that have occurred aftermath of the economic crisis. For example, families of migrants, asylum-seekers, potential migrants waiting for family unification are getting harmed by the economic crisis, but they mostly suffer from post-crisis migration policies of countries rather than the direct impacts of crisis on them.

4.2.1. Migration Policies in Europe

Migrants have always been the central core of social policies. The motives behind their movements, their influence on host societies and social patterns, their contributions to job market and their creativity have captured the attention of policy-makers for decades. It's not surprising that, for many countries, the development of social policies started with the debates on the situation of migrants and their rights to basic social services. Even today, migrants and migration policies consist the heart of social concerns of urban agendas.

Migrants' structural characteristics also constitute a great deal in policy making. Since migrants are the most sensitive ones to short or long term political, social and

economic changes, the arguments and policies on them also changes so fast. Migrants' greater sensitivity to such changes or externalities arises from their diverse characteristics (various ethnic or cultural backgrounds, traditions, change, and expectations) and their dependency on the other's (host societies') acceptance. No matter what they achieve or do, their existence in host societies mostly depends on how and to what extent they are accepted by the host community.

The migrant story in Europe so far tells us that, their acceptance in societies, their roles and their missions have undergone drastic changes with reference to the countries' interests. For some cases, they are seen the main contributors to economic growth processes and are held in high esteem as creative minds; but however, for some cases they are seen as the sources of crime, poverty and social unrests. In accordance with such distinct opinions towards migrants, member states have developed various distinct policies towards them and for their basic rights.

Immigration, naturalization and migrants' integration policies are interconnected with the economic changes and processes. During growth periods in relation with rapid, mass production and innovation and research; migrant workers are demanded by countries. Moreover, they are welcomed by host communities since they are contributing the growth process as the local ones. However, during crisis or recession, migrants are seen as the main reasons behind economic downturns, unemployment and social unrest (Mau and Burkhardt, 2009; Oxfam, 2013). They are more likely to be excluded from social interactions and welfare mechanisms, since they are the inevitable burdens on national budgets. As Boeri et al. (2002) assert, host communities believe that migrants are more dependent on welfare services than they are; and especially in crisis periods, their demands and expectations from social spending increase. Host communities accuse migrants for the inappropriate use of social budget and limited services especially in time of crisis (Mau and Burkhardt, 2009). Regardless of getting a residence permit or naturalization or any process legally granting their existence in the country; migrants' welfare, inclusion and acceptance in community life heavily depends on public opinion. It is also possible

to approach the economic progress-migrant issue from a nationalist viewpoint. In economic growth periods, host communities and migrants are more likely to celebrate the differences between them and support multiculturalist policies (Scheepers et al., 2002; Mau and Burkhardt, 2009). Even host societies agree on equal distribution of resources of government and more likely to support the facilitation of naturalization processes. In a world that everybody benefits from the prosperity of growth, it is less likely to witness tensions regarding the different races, ethnicity or cultures. Whenever the economic situation changes oppositely, ethnic diversity becomes a source of tension and exclusion. During growth process, host countries regard migrants as new-born or new generation, because they share the same public areas, houses, parks and even breathe the same air. Since they are living all together and serve for country's benefits, everyone is equal and has right to enjoy the human rights. For such periods, the motive behind become a citizen lays upon residency, not nationality or ethnicity (Guiraudon, 2002; Mau and Burkhardt, 2009). On the other hand, in times of crisis, limited jobs, cuts in spending and benefits, less production and consumption overrule the balance between migrants and host societies. Migrants become the scapegoats of the recession process and a threat to both individuals and governments' wellbeing (Huang, 2009; Vezzoli and Castles, 2009; Lirola, 2013).

The dilemma on acceptance of migrants in growth and recession periods challenges with governments' migration policies. For the last decades, governments both consider human rights perspective in terms of granting basic rights, treating everyone equally and develop policies to decrease the tension between host societies and migrants via enforcing integration (Mau and Burkhardt, 2009). The first side of the coin reflects the openness to migrants (providing equal welfare services and rights with local citizens) and various diverse groups in society, while the second approach is an implicit sign of refusing any structural or demographic change in society. The struggle in developing integration policies, that are granting migrants' rights as well as satisfying the expectations of local citizens, still continues in migrant-receiver countries, especially in European ones.

Besides economic motives behind migration policies, political environment and terror attacks are also important in the perception of migrants by host communities. Terror attacks based on religion, ethnicity or protests increase the negative attitudes towards migrants and make migrants the major threat against societal wellbeing. Due to the fact that the terror attacks increase the level of tensions ethnic groups, discriminatory actions and the level of xenophobia (most cases islamophobia) increase in an irreversible way in Europe, just like the cases of Danish cartoon crisis (2006), terrorist events in the name of Islam in Spain (2004) and United Kingdom (2005) (Triandafyllidou, 2011). When the effects of such destructive acts double with negative attitudes in economic downturns, the efforts on balancing the migrant-host society tensions via comprehensive integration policies get difficult. The most evident examples of the above mentioned migration policy struggles can be found in European countries after the economic crisis of 2008.

The developed countries of Europe (ex: United Kingdom, Germany and France) have always been the places of attraction due to their developed industrialization and technology, their prosperity and social opportunities. It's a not surprise that the continent has witnessed massive migration flows from less-developed countries. Thus, managing migration flows and ethnic diversity has always been a matter of discussion in EU policies.

Diverse policies have been developed so far had undergone serious changes as a result of economic fluctuations, wars, politic conflicts and social tensions. What remained unchanged in Europe has been the need to develop a common policy framework that diminishes the potential threat of international migrant flows and combats with tensions originating from the ethnic diversity in countries. The discussion so far reveals that European migration pattern and policies are interrelated with the changes in economic and political processes. Especially, it is very likely to see the changing attitudes towards migrants when economic progress shifted from growth to recession. The hypothesis in previous section which was "*in economic crisis and recession periods, migrants are more likely to be excluded from societal*

life and welfare services” has been actualized in European experience. Governments have been challenged by how to develop migration policies. From the human rights perspective, they are perfectly aware of the necessity to policies granting migrants’ rights and policies not threatening the wellbeing or security of migrants. However, they are also aware that they should concern the increasing public attitudes that claim “*migrants are the sources of crimes, unemployment, poverty, social tension and social disorder*”. This conflict makes governments hesitant in whether develop *open* or *control* policies (Özkan, 2008; Mau and Burkhardt, 2009). It seems like European countries are more close to *control* policies in order to limit the inflow of migrants and take serious security measures to satisfy the nationalist voices in the society. European governments do not want to abandon open migration policies since they still need high-skilled or experienced foreign labor force in their ambitious growth scenarios. Therefore, they develop restrictive policies towards the ones that they do not need or benefit anymore and opens its door for only skilled migrants. The wellbeing of migrants, their chances in job and housing market, their integration in society without losing their distinct characteristics are shaded by the dominancy of restrictive policies in EU’ social policy making processes.

4.2.2. Migrants and Migration Policies in Times of Economic Crisis (2008)

With the initial effects of economic crisis in 2008, Europe once again witnessed a severe economic downturn with the doubling effects of strict austerity measures. Just like the ones in 1973 crisis, the attitudes towards migrants had changed significantly and once again migrants blamed for increasing unemployment and poverty. This time not only migrant workers but also their families, relatives were treated as the scapegoats of economic recession. The positive, multicultural and even intercultural attitudes towards migrants and inclusive policies granting their basic rights (access to social services, equality in benefiting from government spending etc.) of early 2000s were replaced with restrictive and assimilationist ones. As OECD’s International Migration Outlook (2013) asserts, governments became more careful and restrictive in migrant recruitment and naturalization processes. The main motives behind such

efforts were once again protecting domestic work force and minimizing social tension originating from increasing unemployment, just like the 1973 crisis. On the contrary, in order not to totally ignore policies favoring migrants' rights and wellbeing, governments took some measures to prevent them from poverty (ex: providing additional time for migrants who lost their jobs to search a new one). The dilemma of excluding or including migrants is perfectly seen in Europe's social policies after the 2008 crisis. Such a dilemma has influenced the approaches towards integration policies, as well. The inclusive, comprehensive and multicultural understanding of integration of 1990s, gave floor to assimilationist integration policies in late 2000s (OECD, 2013). Assimilationist policies have two main aims.

The first one is to modernize existing systems or developing new ones to regulate migration flows via introducing clearer selection criteria or quotas. With such regulations, they would be able to select new-comers according to their economic and social interests (like favoring high-skilled migrants or entrepreneurs). The second aim is to ensure the full integration of new comers to host countries (both labor market and community life) in order to make them enable to benefit from equal rights and services just as the local ones. However, it is not clear that how countries would be able to ensure full integration without eroding migrants' unique cultural and ethnic characteristics.

European countries, in general, have made several improvements in their legislations and policies on high-skilled foreign workers, foreign investors and entrepreneurs for whom can contribute to the economic recovery period. On the other hand, through concerning hostile attitudes of native societies with their economic interests; many countries developed restrictive migration policies for low-skilled workers, asylum seekers and potential migrants seeking family unification. Such a practice of double standard has shown itself in integration policies and social protection programmes.

Migration policies of European countries have differed from country to country due to countries' different migration histories, economic conditions, political and social

environment. Moreover, lacking of a comprehensive, common migration policy in Europe leaves floor to the different practices of countries. Migration policies of European countries can be examined under two categories, as Lytvniuk (2011) suggests, namely *filter policies* and *barrier policies*. Filter category covers policies that restrict the migration flows with selective criteria and quotas (like and new conditions in working and residence permits, language proficiency and quotas); while barrier policies include policies preventing or punishing illegal migration flows, illegal unemployment and policies for increased border security (harsher visa requirements, highly secured borders, punishment of intermediary agents helping illegal migration).

To start with the *filter* policies, it is worth to mention the increasing focus on selective criterias to recruit high-skilled workers or students while eliminating low-skilled ones with the high standards introduced. For example, highly-selective conditions were introduced in United Kingdom. According to new regulations, potential workers should have a degree from a reputable university, proficiency in English at intermediate level and should meet the minimum salary requirements to get a work permit (OECD, 2013). Moreover, with the first signs of crisis, United Kingdom introduced a *tier* system (points based system) in order to categorize the jobs according to skill level they required just like the systems in Denmark and Netherlands (Tier 1: high-skilled, Tier 2: entrepreneurs, Tier 3: low-skilled or seasonal workers, Tier 4: students, Tier 5: contemporary flows which are not for employment).

Tier system was developed to determine the new-comers who are to be granted residence or work permits at the end of the selection process (Kuptsch, 2012; OECD, 2013). To make the selection process even more selective, United Kingdom decreased the number of tiers (which enable migrants to get permits) from 80 (before 2008) only to 5 in 2012 (Kuptsch, 2012). It means that only a limited number of new comers would be accepted to the country. Even more, United Kingdom introduced high standards for Tier 1 level to reduce the overall migration to UK; such as the

necessity of meeting the high levels of adequate educational background, experience, skills and having a minimum income level of GBP 20.000 (Awad, 2009; IOM, 2010). For Tier 2 level, UK introduced a specific condition that “*only when UK lacks of native-born entrepreneurs and investors; the foreign-born entrepreneurs are welcomed*” (UK Visas and Migration, 2014). Germany also has followed a similar path in selection of workers. After the crisis, Germany updated its Migration Law and introduced sectors that need foreign high-skilled workers and investors (FFO, 2012). According to law, IT specialists, highly-experienced engineers in fields like nanotechnology and widely known investors are not to be tested for their knowledge of German history, integration steps or language. Moreover, they can get limitless residence permits (FFO, 2012). Similarly Hungary and Slovak Republic have eased their procedures on obtaining work permit and even citizenship for high-skilled workers, investors and entrepreneurs (OECD, 2013).

Besides high-skilled workers, countries also welcomed international students with good educational backgrounds and post-doc researchers as potential high-skilled workers that would contribute the recovery process. Although some universities abandoned their international programmes and fundings, universities in Finland, Sweden and Germany introduced favorable offers for qualified international students. As OECD (2013) put forward, Finland invested for the internationalization of its higher education programmes to attract qualified students. Finnish government, with the Nationality Act of 2011, grants Finnish citizenship to foreign-students according to their duration of education (OECD, 2013). In a similar vein, Germany extended the duration of job-search for post-graduates to 18 months, in order to create a pool consisted of high-skilled work force (OECD, 2013).

The second selective migrant policy restricting the entrance of migrants to labor market is the *shortage list* application (Chaloff, 2014). The main aim of shortage lists is to enable the recruitment of migrant workers for given sectors that are in need of labor. Workers in shortage lists are exempted from technical tests, language and labor market tests and they are offered faster recruitment. Aftermath of crisis, United

Kingdom decreased the number of sectors that are applying shortage lists from 80 in 2007 to 19 in 2010. The third type of post-crisis policies are the quota systems that countries apply for restricting massive flows of migrant workers by decreasing the number of applications to be processed. This policy was mainly observed in Southern European countries which are receiving high levels of asylum applications. For example, Italy decreased the maximum level of immigration applications from 170.000 (in 2007) to 150.000 in 2008 with the initial effects of crisis (OECD, 2009).

The fourth type of migration policies covers the regulations on seasonal flows of low-skilled migrants. Although countries tend to focus on high-skilled flows to speed up recovery; they still need low-skilled workers in various fields ranging from agriculture to private care. After the crisis, they put some restrictions on the number of migrant workers to be welcomed and their duration of stay in host countries. For example, Denmark and Norway's harder conditions (experience, salary level etc.) on childcare and nursing have resulted in a decrease in the number of applications, since they are hard to meet (OECD, 2013). In terms of duration of stay, Netherlands restricted the entrance of temporary labors outside EU, whereas Spain reformed its seasonal employment schemes in a way that obliging temporary workers to go back to their country of origin once their job is done (OECD, 2013).

Apart from migrant workers and international students, European countries applied *filter policies* for asylum-seekers and potential migrants seeking family unification as well. However, they can not take strict measures against such flows (unlike filter policies for migrants) because of their commitment to international agreements, legislations and treaties on human rights. Hence, they are able to make fewer policy changes when compared to migrant workers (Papademetriou et al, 2010).

Especially after the crisis, countries have tried to prevent the potential new comers (via increasing the required income criteria, introducing language requirements for families) and to encourage them to return back to their country of origins

(Papademetriou et al, 2010; Collett, 2011; OECD, 2013). They have also tried to limit the number of people granting asylum (Bauloz et al., 2011).

Although the economic wellbeing of European countries is beyond desired and job opportunities limited, migration flows outside the Europe have continued after the crisis and fewer of them have been able to get an asylum status. According to Eurostat database (2010), asylum applications to Europe increased about 1, 8% in 2009 when compared to 2008, but the applications accepted by Europe decreased by 2, 3%. This is an explicit sign of what's going on for asylum seekers and potential migrants in contemporary Europe.

Hungary and Netherlands accelerated their asylum processes to prevent the illegal stay of asylum-seekers waiting for the application process to end up. In addition, Netherlands now accepts applications for family unification and residence permit requests from abroad to keep them away from its territories till the process is over (OECD, 2013).

Many countries like Italy, Spain, Germany, France and Denmark made migrants return back to their country of origin with *voluntary return* or *pay to go* schemes aftermath of the economic crisis. For example, Italy offered to pay the organization, transportation and resettlement costs of migrants who want to return voluntarily to his/her country of origin (Collett, 2011). Spain adopted pay to go schemes to provide fiscal support for unemployed migrants to make them return their homeland countries (Papademetriou et al, 2010).

In terms of family migration, countries have taken new measures to minimize the number of migrants seeking for family unification. For example, United Kingdom and Denmark introduced new conditions to be met by family member such as, proof of family life, proof adequate the level of financial support to family members, successful integration to local society via passing tests on language and knowledge about countries (Papademetriou et al, 2010). France and Netherlands have monitored

and punished families, who deceived government with their fake marriages or unifications and did not renew their residence permits (Papademetriou et al, 2010). Not all countries have taken serious measures against family reunification. For instance, Hungary and Austria have facilitated conditions for family migrants in entering country and labor market (Papademetriou et al, 2010).

As the second category of post-crisis migration policies, barrier type of policies are consisted of better information and monitoring systems for irregular migration, penalties for intermediating irregular migration and harsher visa requirements. European countries have adopted these policies to prevent irregular migration and employment. In terms of monitoring regulations, some member states (Ireland, United Kingdom and Switzerland) cooperated with each other to exchange information about migrants or people at border gates such a biometric photographs and fingerprints (OECD, 2013).

United Kingdom, in 2008, introduced Civil Penalty Regime to impose fines (up to GBP 10.000) and penalty of imprisonment (2 years) to employers hiring illegal migrants. In the first year of the regime, more than 1000 tainting (was only 37 between 1997 and 2006) was detected and fines more than 10 million GBP were collected (UKBA, 2009). Italy also introduced a similar penalty system to fight with irregular migration (IOM, 2010).

The last measure in barrier policies is the aggravation of visa requirements. Countries expect to know more about applicants (especially after the crisis) and want to learn their savings, owned properties, occupations, previous experiences in abroad etc. Harsher visa requirements have resulted in lesser applications because of the emergence of new modes of illegal migration (Chetail et al., 2011, UNHCR, 2009). To deal with intermediaries that carry immigrants in illegal ways are to be imposed harsh fines with new regulations.

The last topic to be covered under migration policies is integration policies of post-crisis period. The majority of European countries has attached great importance to immigrant integration (besides countries newly experiencing immigration such as Czech Republic, Poland and Bulgaria) and with the initial effects of crisis, has approached differently to the issue (OECD, 2013). For example, Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Switzerland (countries with a long immigration history) upgraded their integration policies and increased their integration budget and introduced harsher requirements to finish the integration process successfully; while Netherlands and United Kingdom decreased their integration budgets and gave the majority of responsibility to local governments, NGO's and individuals (Collett, 2011; OECD, 2013). United Kingdom's famous project of *Big Society*, which gives the major responsibility of integration to local authorities, voluntary actions and individuals to reduce the public sector deficit, perfectly justifies the progress in the country (Coote, 2010).

The main motives behind the stricter integration procedures of Germany and Denmark are “*to achieve community cohesion in which discrimination towards immigrants and social tensions minimized at ultimate levels and to integrate the immigrants successfully to labor market*” (Collett, 2011). Denmark increased its integration budget from 163, 6 million euros (in 2008) to 241, 4 million dollars (in 2011) (Collett, 2011). Denmark also introduced harsher procedures for immigrants especially for getting permanent residence permits. The procedures, in general, cover the proof of the active citizenship (through tests of proof of at least one year of community work), proof of proficiency in host societies' language, proof of not benefiting from government's social assistance programmes before the application of residence permit (Collett, 2011).

In a similar vein, Germany increased its investments on language skills and training programmes to facilitate the entrance of immigrants to labor market and to make them learn the required level of language as well as to achieve social cohesion and active dialogue between individuals and agents (Collett, 2011).

In Norway, in order to foster the integration of migrants to economic and social facilities of the country, The Directorate of Integration and Diversity developed a strategy set the ensure equality between immigrants and native citizens in reaching the public services of country (OECD, 2013). Norway attaches great importance to ensure the equality in accessing public services prior to provide language courses or trainings for adapting local life, unlike the rest the European countries.

In Netherlands and United Kingdom experiences, it is very likely to see the efforts of making integration process two-sided. Although they decreased their integration budgets, they did not give up from introducing new requirements or making conditions harsher. For example, Netherlands cut its budget for the integration of non-western immigrants up to 80% in two years, and cut its funding for language and orientation courses. On the contrary, The Dutch government imposed extended integration courses for new-comers and introduced *civic integration test* for potential immigrants before their arrival to Netherlands (Triandafyllidou, 2011). Immigrants are now responsible from covering their own integration expenses. However, it does not mean that Netherlands has loosened its integration policies. What the policy-makers want is to include both the immigrants and host societies into integration process via giving more power to joint projects and programmes of local governments, NGO's and individuals. The sustainability and efficiency of the system are still debated in Netherlands. In a similar vein in United Kingdom, the severe cuts made in 2009 in integration funding are now tried to be compensated by the introduction of new community cohesion programmes at local level that aim to foster integration of immigrants to British society (OECD, 2013).

The countries harshly affected from crisis and austerity like Spain, Greece and Portugal cut their integration budgets at highest level (OECD, 2013). For example, Spain abolished its main integration fund (The Fund for the Reception and Integration of Immigrants and Educational Support, 2005) in 2012 and limited some basics rights of immigrants which were guaranteed in the funding programme, such as free access to health services and social assistance (OECD, 2013).

Integration practices of countries can be roughly evaluated in two categories, namely, integration policies towards cohesion and integration policies towards assimilation, although it is very hard to distinguish one from another. Assimilationist type of integration policies impose very strict rules to be obeyed by immigrants in terms of adapting local culture, language, traditions and force immigrants to adopt their new identity by giving up from others (Triandafyllidou, 2011). According to Aleksynska and Algan (2010), assimilation can be observed in different fields such as in language, religion or ethnicity and its level can be changed to place to place. Assimilationist integration seems like a one-way process when compared to the cohesion-based integration, since it heavily depends on the efforts and success of immigrants (Triandafyllidou, 2011). In both of the approaches, economic integration of immigrants (in terms of wages, jobs), their social and cultural integration (acceptance or rejection of new identities, learning native language) and citizenship acquisition requirements constitute the core debates of integration (Chiswick and Miller, 2009; Manning and Roy, 2010).

In terms of economic integration, Denmark developed various policies and programmes to integrate immigrants into labor market and to increase their skills and technical knowledge via courses and trainings (Collett, 2011). At the end of the courses and language tests, immigrants' full engagement to labor market is highly expected. In 2012, Denmark gave opportunities to asylum-seekers in refugee camps (protective refugees) to foster their integration to labor markers, via allowing them to reside outside the camps (after a 6 months obligatory stay in camps) to get used to working environment and societal life (OECD, 2013). Economic integration policies, in general, are less likely to include assimilationist thinking, since they give priority to the willingness of immigrants whether integrate or not integrate into labor market when compared to other types. However, for the linguistic integration, the situation is reverse.

The majority of European countries introduced even harder requirements for migrants in terms of their skills in native languages immediate after the economic

crisis. For example, United Kingdom, in 2010, introduced new requirements for prospective migrants who want to live in UK. United Kingdom distinguished the required level of English for migrants seeking long term residence and for the ones seeking family unification. Migrants seeking settlement must pass the *Life in United Kingdom* test and *English for Speakers of Other Languages* (OECD, 2013). Even more, the required points for passing the tests had been increased in 2013 for speaking and listening (OECD, 2013). Germany also increased the required level of language skills (Deutschtest für Zuwanderer) and introduced various tests evaluating the migrants' knowledge on societal life in Germany (Triandafyllidou, 2011). Norway, in a similar vein, increased the required time for language and social integration courses from 300 to 600 hours in 2012, so as to increase the immigrants proficiency in Norwegian (OECD, 2013). The obligatory nature of integration and language courses give floor to assimilationism debates in such countries.

In terms of naturalization or citizenship acquisition, most of the countries tightened their policies to make the best selection among applicants. For instance, in Belgium in 2012, the duration of residence prior to citizenship had increased from 2 to 5 years (for some cases to 10 years depending on the level of integration (OECD, 2013). Denmark both tightened its naturalization requirements (for example, increased the required level of self-financial support) and tightened its language requirements in acquisition of citizenship (OECD, 2013). However, France softened its language requirements in naturalization process (OECD, 2013).

There are also differences in the naturalization processes of old host countries (France, Germany, Sweden and United Kingdom) and new host countries (Greece, Ireland, Italy and Spain). In the former category, the importance attached to national or even religious identity has been degraded through time and ethnicity is no longer the major determinant in public life. However, new host countries still committed their national identities and thus, introduce harsher naturalization requirements. For the first category, integration is more vital than naturalization while the second category sees citizenship as a step for integration (Triandafyllidou, 2011). The

countries (old host countries) introducing harder conditions in integration may prefer softened requirements in granting naturalization. With the initial effects of crisis both approaches have been observed in country practices. However, it seems that the negative public attitudes towards migrants have altered the direction of integration policies and resulted in the adopting of assimilationist thinking in policy-making. Also with the crisis, the debates on national identity came into the core of urban practices via giving specific reference to increasing concerns about integration of religious minorities and extremist-radical groups who put ahead their social identities beyond national (Aleksynska and Algan, 2010).

Besides migrants, other diverse groups have also detrimentally affected from economic crisis of 2008 in Europe. However, they are mostly affected from the austerity measures and severe cuts rather than the direct effects of crisis and crisis-driven policy changes.

4.3. Non- Migrant Groups in Times of Economic Crisis and Austerity

4.3.1. Women, LGBT And Gender Policies in Times of Economic Crisis (2008)

Gender inequality is also a matter of discussion in times of crisis since women hit hard by the crisis in various ways in accordance with their multiple roles in society like worker, housewife, mother etc. To better analyze the failures and policy changes in gender field, we should look at the perceptions of gender diversity in Europe in brief.

European Union's attempts since 1957 have not gone beyond the gender equality directives on employment issues, education and equal working conditions. Although strategies ensuring equal opportunities or positive discrimination with reference to women's distinct roles in society have developed in Europe, they have been shaded by the dominancy of policies for women equality in employment. Even the attempts in 2006 by developing the *Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men* to ensure

gender equality in public policies; have failed to discuss equality beyond employment policies (Akbaş, 2010). The following documents and strategies like The Europe 2020 strategy have adopted a similar understanding. To say that, The Europe 2020 Strategy focused on the empowerment of skilled women out of the work force, elder women, handicapped women, lone parents and migrant women to make them participate in labor market. It seems that the attempts aiming to move gender discourses beyond the employment and labor market discussions have failed before the economic crisis and further deteriorated with the impacts of crisis.

With the economic crisis, severe changes and reforms have been observed in gender equality agendas of European countries. While some countries (Belgium, Spain, Ireland, Romania, and United Kingdom) preferred serious cuts and limitations on expenditures on women and degraded institutions working for gender equality; some countries (Poland, Denmark and Sweden) introduced even better policies in reducing the gender gap in times of crisis (European Commission, 2013). As an example of degradation of gender-based institutions, Spain withdrew its The Ministry of Equality in 2010 which was responsible from developing gender equality and anti-discrimination policies (European Commission, 2013) to reduce its public deficits. Likewise, United Kingdom has cut (around 15%) the budgets of various institutions responsible for gender- policies like Government Equalities Office (European Commission, 2013). However, Sweden announced that they would not go cuts in gender-based spending, but instead, they would allocate more resources for the further development of gender equality projects (European Commission, 2013). According to Corsi (2014), in countries where expenditures cuts and strict austerity restrictions have been witnessed the most (Spain, Greece, Ireland), women have been suffering from deteriorated conditions of employment, education, health and family services. Moreover, they suffer from increasing poverty and social exclusion. Evidence reveals that the rate of women at risk of poverty has increased to 17, 4% in 2009 from 15, and 7% in 2005 throughout Europe (European Commission, 2013).

In terms of employment, for some cases, women workers are more likely to lose their jobs since they work in less secured jobs when compared to men and have less protective and flexible contracts (UN Women, 2013). For example women working in 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and degrading) or sectors dependent of export are more likely to be fired from their jobs than men, since men dominancy on labor market still continues even in developed countries in some sectors (Taran, 2011; UN Women, 2013). Moreover, in times of crisis women are more prone to part-time, temporary and flexible-type of jobs due to the lack of full-time jobs (Mills, 2014). Evidence suggests that the number of women working in temporary jobs (14, 4%) is more than men (13, 3%) in Europe after 2008 (Mills, 2014).

However, not all women have suffered from the job losses in times of crisis. Women working in sectors that are resilient to economic shocks and externalities (health, social services of private nursing) tend to hold their jobs and even become more lucky than their male counterparts in times of crisis (IOM, 2010; Taran, 2011; Belet, 2013; Villa and Smith, 2014). In addition, some sectors (especially informal ones) prefer to hire women workers during crisis, due to women's tendency to accept jobs with low wages, low social protection rights (or even zero social rights) when compared to their male peers (Belet, 2013). Such a trend in times of crisis, oftenly, results in increasing women employment levels in countries, but it does not mean that women are better off than men or women benefit from crisis-conditions.

In many European countries (like Ireland), male unemployment levels go beyond the levels of women, since men are working in most vulnerable jobs like construction or manufacturing. The differences in unemployment levels are sometimes interpreted as *crisis decreases the gender gap in employment, wages and wellbeing* (Barry, 2014). However, it is not the case. Both women and men suffer from poverty, unemployment, reduced benefits and reduction, but men's situation is more visible because of the sectors they are involved (Barry, 2014; Corsi, 2014).

The decreasing gaps in unemployment between 2008- 2010 are not a sign of achieving gender equality but it's a sign of more deteriorating conditions for men. Moreover, ILO (2012) estimates that in following years, an increase in the number of unemployed women around 22 million will be witnessed and women unemployment will exceed the male's level.

Besides the discussions on decreasing gaps in the initial years of crisis, increasing gaps between men and women revealed themselves in wage and pension payments differences, public sector jobs, the extent of social security and public services (family payments, housing benefits) (UNAIDS, 2012; European Commission, 2013; Barry, 2014; Mills, 2014; Unison, 2014). To start with wage gaps, as Eurostat statistics put forward, the wage gap between men and women rose 5% in Romania and 4, 2% in Latvia between 2008 and 2010. In terms of pension levels, according to Barry (2014), in 17 of European countries the gaps between men and women pension levels are now above 30%, and more specifically 47% in Luxemburg and Germany. The huge gaps in pension systems might also be related to the depowerization of states in pension payments and the privatization of pension services since privatization reduces wages and level of social services in times of crisis (Barry, 2014; Mills, 2014).

In terms of employment in public sectors, women also hit hard. Although the majority of women have preferred to work in public sector jobs (where women can work for high wages in good positions and benefit from social protection), the economic crisis seemed to overrule the general tendency. A shocking evidence comes from Greece where the level of unemployment in public sector for women increased to 22,8% while the increase of the level for men was 6,3% (from 2008-2012) (EPSU, 2013 cited in Mills, 2014).

Women also negatively affected from reforms and policy changes in public services and social protection. They substantially depend on public services to cover their own and their family's needs, since they are highly participated in unpaid housework

or low-paid jobs than men (Stavropoulou and Jones, 2013; Villa and Smith, 2014). The most common changes in women's benefits were the abolishment of maternity leaves and benefits and the abolishment of kinder garden facilities at workspaces for children (mostly in Southern Europe countries Greece, Portugal and Italy) (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). In many countries including Ireland and United Kingdom, the discrimination against pregnant women has become visible and maternity leave and pregnancy benefits for working women have been restricted or totally abandoned (Barry, 2014). As ELFG (2012) asserts, the payment (GBP 190) made to 25-week pregnant-women for their maternal needs was abolished in UK in 2011. UK also introduced new requirements and reductions in lone-parent benefits. Women, now, have to seek for a job and give up from their unemployment benefits to benefit from lone-parent payments (ELFG, 2012). In a similar vein In Italy, a national survey put forward that young mother workers came across with discriminatory acts in workplace more frequently after crisis (8,7% of working women) and were offered low wages and low standard jobs below their skills because of their maternity (European Commission, 2013). In Germany, the reductions in social payments as a result of fiscal stabilization policies resulted in reduced pregnancy benefits for working mothers and reductions in parental leave allowances for women (European Commission, 2013).

For some cases (although there is not enough evidence) it is believed that increasing violence and discrimination against women are interrelated with the level of stress and mental illnesses originating from the increasing poverty, insecurity and social exclusion in times of crisis (Unison, 2014). It's not a surprise that, more and more women are suffering from violence from their partners since they have limited money to escape or limited confidence to resist. The degradation of public services and social protection make women more prone to accept violence in times of crisis.

For the last decades, gender issues have widened to cover LGBT individuals. Although recently, policies addressing such groups' needs and expectations have been developed, it is very likely to say that crisis has changed what was achieved

before the crisis like *Section 28* initiative and various anti-transphobic and anti-discriminatory attempts (Mitchell et al, 2013). It is known that LGBT individuals are dependent on public services and public projects (services for housing, health, information and advice, LGBT forums, hate crimes, social discrimination and social inclusion; projects to prevent biases toward LGBT groups at schools or at public institutions) to integrate into society and to avoid from biases and discriminatory actions against them (Rankin et al, 2010; Mitchell et al, 2013; Unison, 2014). Therefore, any change in public spending or services result in further suffering of these people (Unison, 2014). Services for LGBT individuals are one the services that are discarded at first place in times of crisis. Because, according to Mitchell et al (2013) services for LGBT groups are thought to be a *nice thing to do* rather than necessitated services for their wellbeing. Moreover, public attitudes claiming that “*LGBT groups have granted various legal and social rights, so they do not need further services or benefits any more*” has influenced the actions of governmental authorities in times of crisis (Mitchell et al., 2013). However, in post-crisis periods some further achievements in LGBT rights has also been witnessed like, Marriage Act of UK (2013) now enabling the marriage of same sex couples in so-called *multiculturalist* countries (Mitchell et al., 2013).

LGBT individuals, like the other groups, have suffered from unemployment, wage cuts and many of them believed that their dismissal from jobs is because of their sexual orientation. According to a survey conducted by Unison (2014), the majority of LGBT individuals claimed that discriminatory, transphobic discourses of early 1960s has come back again. What’s more, with the closure of special centers (for sexual and mental health services funded by governmental authorities); LGBT individuals even become more marginalized from societal life. Societal exclusion not only results in unhappiness, unrest or feeling insecure but also serious mental problems originating from loneliness (Mitchell et al, 2013; Unison, 2014). LGBT forums, special events, organizations of lesbian and gay networks are also affected from crisis and become lesser due to the lack of NGOs’ and local authorities’ supports.

Absence of such events highly influence LGBT groups since their social interaction and cultural exchanges mostly take place in these special organizations. Likewise, degradation of help lines and consultation services also affected LGBT groups negatively (Mitchell et al, 2013). For LGBT individuals having a second ethnic, racial or socio- economic identity, the situation is even worse. They are exposed to further discriminatory acts. For example, the closure of a center of sexual consultancy may affect LGBT individuals who cannot take any information from other sources and may affect their mental health in such an environment that does not approves such sexual tendencies; like radical religious ethnic minority groups (Mitchell et al, 2013). The above mentioned austerity impacts on LGBT groups can be traced back in various countries including United Kingdom, Denmark, Germany and Spain.

4.3.2. Children and Child Care Policies in Times of Economic Crisis (2008)

Economic crises affect children's wellbeing, their security, education, health in various ways since children are highly vulnerable to changing conditions. Any small change in family income or in cash and material supports may result in worsening conditions for children. In times of crisis, children may feel insecure and unrest due to financial problems of their families or may be taken from school due to fiscal concerns. Moreover, they may prone to social exclusion and poverty (ChildONEurope, 2011). It is possible to observe the negative impacts of crisis on children in European practices. According to Eurostat statistics, in Europe between 2009 and 2012, the rate of children at risk of poverty increased from 19, 8% to 21, 4%, which also valid for the material deprivation rates (from 19, 6% to 22, and 3%). At country level, the highest increases in children at risk of poverty can be experienced in countries hit hard by the crisis (Greece, Spain, Italy, and Romania) and the countries that did not have effective social support and spending mechanisms. According to Eurostat database, in Greece, the rate of children at risk of poverty rose from 23% to 26, 9%, and the rate of material deprivation rose from 18, 7% to 34, 8% between 2008 and 2012. The main motives behind these increasing

rates were undoubtedly the cuts in child-care spending and family allowances as well as increased tax values. Not all the countries (Finland and Hungary) experienced increasing children at risk of poverty rates. For example, Finland, with respect to its long lasting welfare system, expanded its social assistance to families and in cash benefits and kept the poverty rate at low levels around 5% (ChildONEurope, 2011).

The importance of government investments on children in European countries can be observed in two different stages of post-crisis policies which are fiscal stimulation (2008-2010) and austerity (2010-2012). During expansion, Bulgaria, Greece and Italy increased their family and school allowances and childcare benefits; Austria, France and United Kingdom implemented tax credits for low- income families; Netherlands and Poland increased its spending for fighting child poverty; Slovenia, Italy and Ireland introduced mandatory, free pre-school programmes and relevant allowances. However, in austerity period (2010-2012), many of these countries abolished their family and child allowances and decreased their social investments.

For example, Greece and Estonia abolished or suspended its family allowances, United Kingdom, Latvia froze its tax credits, and Netherlands no longer invest on fighting child poverty (Mau and Burkhardt, 2009, ChildONEurope, 2011). It is very likely to see the upside down situation in children policies of countries especially in times of austerity. From Table 4, for the majority of countries, it is possible to see the effects of decreased government allowances on the increasing rates of children at risk of poverty rates.

Table 4 Children at risk of poverty 2008-2013

Source: Eurostat, People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by age and sex

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
European Union (28 countries)	:	:	23.7	24.3	24.7	24.5
Belgium	20.8	20.2	20.8	21.0	21.6	20.8

Denmark	16.3	17.6	18.3	18.9	19.0	18.9
Germany	20.1	20.0	19.7	19.9	19.6	20.3
Estonia	21.8	23.4	21.7	23.1	23.4	23.5
Ireland	23.7	25.7	27.3	29.4	30.0	29.5
Greece	28.1	27.6	27.7	31.0	34.6	35.7
Spain	24.5	24.7	26.1	26.7	27.2	27.3
France	18.5	18.5	19.2	19.3	19.1	18.1
Italy	25.3	24.7	24.5	28.2	29.9	28.4
Hungary	28.2	29.6	29.9	31.0	32.4	33.5
Netherlands	14.9	15.1	15.1	15.7	15.0	15.9
Poland	30.5	27.8	27.8	27.2	26.7	25.8
Portugal	26.0	24.9	25.3	24.4	25.3	27.5
Romania	44.2	43.1	41.4	40.3	41.7	40.4
Finland	17.4	16.9	16.9	17.9	17.2	16.0
Sweden	14.9	15.9	15.0	16.1	15.6	16.4
United Kingdom	23.2	22.0	23.2	22.7	24.1	24.8
Norway	15.0	15.2	14.9	14.5	13.7	14.1
Switzerland	18.1	17.9	17.2	17.2	17.5	16.3

Table 4 (cont'd)

In the absence family allowances and child care benefits, it is very likely to expect to observe increases in the number of child labors and increased levels of abuse, violence and discrimination against them (Stavropoulou and Jones, 2013).

In terms of equal education opportunities, crisis tends to lower the school participation of children, especially girls. Gender differences become more visible in times of crisis, since families have limited incomes and sources to support their children's education costs. For some cases, families may obliged to choose one of their school-age children, since they are able to cover the expenses of only one of them and in general due to cultural reasons boys are chosen (Oxfam, 2013; Stavropoulou and Jones, 2013; Barry, 2014). Girls may be forced to stay at home, do the housework so as to share the burden of their mothers and create more time for

their mothers to seek for a job (Stavropoulou and Jones, 2013). Evidence from Europe (Table 5) shows that, in the initial years of crisis, the rates of early leavers from education and training were higher (1-20%) than the rates of the following years. Higher rates were observed in countries hit hard by the crisis, especially in Portugal and Spain.

Table 5 Early leavers from education and training (up to age 24)
Source: Eurostat, education and training statistics

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
European Union (28 countries)	14.7	14.2	13.9	13.4	12.7	11.9	11.3
Belgium	12.0	11.1	11.9	12.3	12.0	11.0	10.0
Denmark	12.5	11.3	11.0	9.6	9.1	8.0	7.6
Germany	11.8	11.1	11.9	11.6	10.5	9.8	9.7
Estonia	14.0	13.5	11.0	10.6	10.3	9.7	10.7
Ireland	11.3	11.7	11.5	10.8	9.7	8.4	7.2
Greece	14.4	14.2	13.5	12.9	11.3	10.1	9.3
Spain	31.7	30.9	28.2	26.3	24.7	23.6	22.3
France	11.5	12.2	12.5	11.9	11.5	9.7	9.7
Italy	19.7	19.2	18.8	18.2	17.6	17.0	15.6
Hungary	11.7	11.2	10.5	11.2	11.5	11.8	11.1
Netherlands	11.4	10.9	10.0	9.1	8.8	9.2	8.7
Poland	5.0	5.3	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.6	5.4
Portugal	34.9	30.9	28.3	23.0	20.5	18.9	17.7
Finland	9.8	9.9	10.3	9.8	8.9	9.3	9.4
Sweden	7.9	7.0	6.5	6.6	7.5	7.1	6.9
United Kingdom	17.0	15.7	14.9	15.0	13.6	12.3	12.1
Switzerland	7.7	9.1	6.6	6.3	5.5	5.4	5.5

On the other hand, not all the child-related policies have been affected from crisis. For instance, policies on education, local safeguarding, services for handicapped children, special supports for children in need remained more or less unchanged when compared to pre-crisis periods (European Commission, 2013). In order to

maintain the contributions of women work force to speed up economic recovery and to increase the skills of children from early ages; the majority of governments (Estonia, Netherlands, Germany, Finland, Austria) unchanged or even increased their budget for education programmes and investments on schools despite the economic crisis and strict budget cuts (European Commission, 2013). For instance, Austria, in 2009, introduced free access to kinder gardens and obliged pre-school children to attend kinder gardens at least one year. Germany increased its child daily care supports and made more children benefit from daily services (from 13,6% of 0-3 aged-children in 2006 to 23,1 % in 2010) (European Commission, 2013).

4.3.3. Youngsters and Young Age Policies in Times of Economic Crisis (2008)

Youngsters also affected from the economic crisis in terms of increasing unemployment levels and costs of education (Vandenbroucke, 2014). Many of them turned back to their family houses to reduce their life spendings and lost their interdependency. According to Vandenbroucke (2014), in 2012, the unemployment rate of young people doubled the rates in 2008 in Greece and Spain and rose around 23% in the whole EU. Youngsters have various missions in countries. Firstly they are the excellent candidates of new leaders, engineers, entrepreneurs, or anything comes into one's mind that contributes to the economic development of their countries. Secondly, since youngsters are more familiar with the necessities and advancements of their generation, they are seen as creative minds. Moreover, their existence and personal development are highly important to have a strong potential work force.

Countries that can increase the participation of young brains in economic processes seem more innovative and developed than the others. Thus, to what extent that the youngsters find place for themselves in job market is one the indicators of sustainable economic development. For that reason, countries develop various projects and programmes (ranging from high qualified education and training systems) to keep these creative minds in labor market. However, it seems that these efforts are quite vulnerable to changes in economic, social or political environment.

Europe witnessed that, its well established education system and its sustainable investments for youngsters have been negatively affected with the first waves of economic crisis and youngsters become the victims. For example, United Kingdom cut back its famous *Future Jobs Fund* which was known to place the youngsters into suitable job positions and trainings to prevent youth unemployment (McQuaid, 2010).

The economic crisis of 2008 in Europe first showed itself on the unemployment rates of youngsters. According to Eurostat statistics, youth unemployment rate rose to 9, 9% (corresponds to 5.7 million people) in 2013 (January calculations) from 6, 9% in 2008, although the rates differ for each member state. During the stimulus period (2008-2009) states kept on supporting youth employment, increased their benefits in order not to push them to the poverty lines but unfortunately, the austerity measures introduced in 2010, resulted in deteriorating conditions for youngsters. Evidences show that, even in a one year period significant increases were observed in Southern Europe countries like Greece (from 13% to 16,1%), Spain (from 18,9to 20,6%) and Italy (from 8% 10,1%) between 2011 to 2012 (Eurostat Database).

Table 6 Young people at risk of poverty or exclusion
Source: Eurostat

	2006	2008	2010	2012
European Union (28 countries)	:	:	29.5	31
Belgium	24.2	25.4	23.3	25.6
Denmark	20.3	15.5	18.4	25.4
Germany	21.1	22.5	21.5	20.2
Estonia	24	21.2	26.6	28.6
Ireland	26.7	27.9	34.7	40.5
Greece	35.7	35.5	34.2	45.5
Spain	29.1	29.9	35.5	40.5
France	21.9	25.7	25.7	27.8
Italy	32.8	33.5	33.2	35.8
Hungary	39	38.7	39.3	43.3

Netherlands	16.6	14	22.2	18.6
Poland	47.4	36.3	33	35.5
Portugal	31.3	34.3	35.1	34.8
Finland	19	17.9	19.1	16.1
Sweden	26.2	22.3	24.1	21.8
United Kingdom	25.3	26.7	28.3	30.1

Table 6 (cont'd)

According to OECD (2013), youngsters with high-level of education tend to be less affected from the crisis than their low-educated peers. Therefore, as in shown in Table 6, in countries (Finland, Netherlands, Denmark) where education and training programmes are highly valued in pre-crisis periods, youngsters have been less affected from crisis in terms of poverty and social exclusion. For these countries youngsters at risk of poverty and social exclusion rates differ according to national programmes and educational structures of countries regardless of the effects of economic crisis.

Besides suffering from unemployment, youngsters have also influenced from changing working conditions and severe cuts in education investments. European Commission (2013) declared that the rate of youngsters working with temporary contracts has reached its peak level in European history and reached above 40%. The widespread use of temporary contracts makes youngsters to question their near future in an unstable economic environment and these concerns directly affect their productivity and creativity. European Commission (2013) adds that the number of youngsters not in employment, education or training (NEET) has been also increasing from 2009 as a result of severe cuts in education spending all over the Europe. In order to stop this trend, various countries that are incapable of creating job opportunities in times of crisis, introduced new training and internship programmes for youngsters. For instance, in 2013, Greece introduced a special programme of internship for 45.000 youngsters who are unemployed in the lack of job opportunities (Leahy et al, 2014).

4.3.4. Elderly People and Benefits in Times of Economic Crisis (2008)

Just like the other diverse groups, elder people in society are also being negatively affected by the changing regulations and policies after the economic crisis of 2008. The debates about their situation evolve around pension systems, retirement and working conditions, social and health services and older-age benefits (Busch et al., 2013; Duffy, 2013). However, unlike the other vulnerable groups, elderly people are less likely to suffer from the policy changes or cuts.

Table 7 Pensions - Euro per inhabitant (at constant 2005 prices)
Source: Eurostat

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
European Union (28 countries)	:	:	2,843.13	3,005.38	3,023.89
Belgium	3,207.82	3,256.95	3,362.94	3,576.44	3,579.66
Denmark	4,077.45	4,221.14	5,040.52	5,305.14	5,443.82
Germany	3,645.35	3,605.06	3,591.28	3,686.66	3,706.27
Estonia	442.44	558.37	699.14	772.32	757.28
Ireland	1,833.19	2,039.55	2,277.59	2,555.50	2,612.94
Greece	1,941.21	2,199.93	2,386.74	2,381.58	2,509.15
Spain	1,852.60	1,915.49	2,023.47	2,208.20	2,248.20
France	3,547.57	3,627.91	3,769.03	4,098.84	4,209.69
Italy	3,609.17	3,644.98	3,679.30	3,828.30	3,772.29
Hungary	796.64	918.48	1,008.27	934.00	784.49
Netherlands	3,938.04	3,973.67	4,125.25	4,301.42	4,303.30
Poland	806.63	847.22	883.40	964.49	924.69
Portugal	1,743.78	1,868.17	1,975.09	2,155.21	2,075.64
Sweden	3,911.50	4,069.27	4,180.51	4,236.58	4,240.36
United Kingdom	3,176.72	3,340.15	3,401.20	3,536.33	3,600.49

In Table 7, as Eurostat statistics put forward, there have been serious improvements in the pension levels despite the crisis. In pension reforms of countries after crisis (besides the retirement age conditions) the majority of articles were for the sake of

elder people like equal calculation systems for women and men, removal of job-specific discrepancies, broadening the scope of insurance systems both in terms of years and services offered etc. (Busch et al., 2013).

Thus, it's not very likely to say that *“income conditions have become deteriorated for elder people after the serious cuts in crisis”* or *“elder people are suffering from the new post-crisis reforms on pension systems and social security”*. The rates of elder people at risk of poverty justify the above-mentioned claims (Table 8).

Table 8 People at risk of poverty or social exclusion (55 and older)
Source: Eurostat Population Statistics

	2006	2008	2010	2012
European Union (28 countries)	:	:	22.1	22.2
Belgium	27.6	25.6	22.5	23.0
Denmark	15.9	16.4	16.3	14.4
Germany	18.2	19.7	18.8	19.8
Greece	33.7	29.7	27.8	29.0
Spain	28.4	26.8	23.3	20.3
France	20.5	17.5	15.7	15.5
United Kingdom	24.9	25.2	21.7	19.7
Norway	15.7	12.5	11.7	9.7

In most of the European countries, serious declines in the rate of at risk of poverty were observed despite the economic crisis. Even between 2008-2010, in all of the countries, it seems that crisis itself and post-crisis conditions did not pushed elder people at the poverty line under favor of the effectiveness of increased pensions and social security expenditures for them. When compared to other vulnerable groups discussed above, it is very obvious that social transfers and expenditures as well as cuts are determinants of the living conditions of certain groups in times of crisis. The best example of contributions of public spending and benefits on the increased

wellbeing of certain groups are seen the wellbeing of elderly people in times of crisis.

The crisis-driven changes that can be considered as *bad for elder people* have been observed in the regulations on retirement age, unemployment benefits and social care. Many European countries have rarified the conditions for early retirement and/or increased the retirement age in order to keep the elder workers in labor market to speed up the economic recovery process. Between 2010-2012, Germany, Hungary and Italy increased the retirement ages for men, respectively from 65 to 65,083; 62 to 63, 5 and 65 to 66 (OECD, 2012). Some countries preferred the increase the retirement age of women including Greece from 60 to 63, 5 and United Kingdom from 60 to 61, 2 (OECD, 2012).

In terms of benefits, in 2011, Spain restricted the access to unemployment benefits of elder people and introduced new measures to acquire a full retirement status (like increasing the required years of working for specific sectors) (Leahy et al., 2014). Moreover, Spain has been planning to increase the retirement age from 65 to 67 by 2015, in order to extend the working age period. Although most of the countries did not introduced any serious cuts in pension levels, elder workers concern about their productivity at work and afraid of being unemployed before reaching the required age of retirement; due to the fact that they are too old to work in competitive jobs and too young to grant a retirement status. With such a fear, many elderly workers agree on to work in low-wage and low-secured jobs below their skills and experiences in the cause of survival and keeping their living standard stable, till the retirement age. In terms of social care, fewer countries imposed dramatic cuts in services for elder people. For example, United Kingdom, made the most severe cuts on elder social care (40, 3%) among the other fields like child care (21, 6%), environment and regulatory services (15, 4%) (Duffy, 2013).

4.3.5. Handicapped People and Disability Policies in Times of Economic Crisis (2008)

Disability has always been a debated issue in social inclusion and economic integration processes in European countries. Increasing the well being of handicapped people and their social economic empowerment, ensuring eligible and accessible public services for them, providing special trainings and courses to support their participation to labor markets have been associated with equality and inclusion discussions. European Union has been developing disability-sensitive social policies from its foundation and came a long way in integration handicapped people in labor markets. Various reforms and programmes have been made to ensure better working and living conditions via special care projects and vocational training. European Union comprehends a great deal in the idea of social integration of handicapped people into society, as well. However, handicapped people's vulnerability to any change in social, economic or political manners as in the case of 2008 economic crisis have hampered the integration process of them in EU (European Foundation Center, 2012). They are more likely to get harmed from severe austerity cuts rather than the inevitable direct implications of crisis on jobs and incomes. Because they heavily depend on public services (health and transportation services, care and treatment services) and benefits (benefits for physical treatment) more than other vulnerable groups.

It is widely argued that, serious cuts in disability services (including physical treatment, vocational courses, care services, representative associations) have put the previous achievements in European Union in jeopardy. Economic crisis have also altered the future of policies set in Europe 2020 strategy for handicapped people enabling full integration of handicapped people into labor market as a priority group. To recover the crisis-driven losses of handicapped people, European Disability Strategy 2010-2020 was developed as a supplementary of Europe 2020 Strategy. Strategy focuses on how to regulate the social services and disability-based social benefits to protect handicapped people from increasing poverty without putting extra

burdens on government budget in times of austerity (European Foundation Center, 2012). It is highly debatable that to what extent the strategy be successful at solving disability-driven problems in Europe after crisis.

During the stimulus period (2008-2009) member states overexerted to improve disability-driven policies (via using European Structural Funds) to maintain the social benefits and social protection systems for handicapped people as well as ensuring their inclusion and integration. However, by 2010, with the introduction of austerity measures, they unwillingly implemented serious cuts in disability services (European Foundation Center, 2012). Severe cuts as well as the deteriorated economic conditions had several negative impacts on handicapped people. In many member states, the rate of participation to labor market had decreased and respectively, several increases in the at risk of poverty risk for handicapped people have been observed such as the cases in Ireland (+26, 16%), Denmark (+21, 27%) and Spain (+11, 35%) (European Foundation Center, 2012). Moreover, according to Eurostat statistics, by 2010, 20% of the handicapped population in whole Europe had become at risk of social exclusion and poverty.

In a similar manner, employment rates have also fallen below 50% for handicapped people after the crisis in many member states (Hungary, 31%; Poland, 31,6%; Greece, 34,3%) (European Foundation Center, 2012). For some states the gap between employment levels of handicapped people and people without disabilities has widened (Romania, Czech Republic, Greece) while in some states the gap has narrowed (United Kingdom) (European Foundation Center, 2012). The differences between country practices reflect the blurred situation of disabled people in times of crisis. On one hand, handicapped people are more likely to be fired at first place (like the case in migrant workers) due to their disability that might affect their performance on harder times. Moreover, they are blamed for being a burden to government budgets and are subject of discriminatory actions by media and some groups in society. On the other hand they are also more likely to recruited in low waged, low-secured temporary jobs than their non disabled peers due to their

dependency to fiscal support to meet their needs and treatment costs. For both sides, handicapped people suffer from lower income and insecurity and when these conditions double with severe cuts in social expenditure, the situation becomes even worse. Because, the majority to handicapped people are not eligible to work and depend on government allowances and disability pensions.

The cuts in *personal budget schemes* that enable handicapped people to take care of themselves without depending on any residential care have undergone serious cuts or have been totally abandoned (European Foundation Center, 2012). For example, in 2010, UK announced the closure of Independent Living Fund (the major fiscal support for disable people) to new applications due to budgetary savings; Netherlands, in 2012, proposed a 90% curtailment in the number of recipients by 2014 via introducing harsher eligibility requirements (European Foundation Center, 2012). Portugal also limited its budget given to assistive technology systems for handicapped people. In a similar manner, Ireland that repealed its fund for granting technologic devices to handicapped people in need (European Foundation Center, 2012). The most severe cuts in assistive technologies and devices were seen in Greece, respectively, 50% cuts in supportive equipment, 30-50% in medical services (European Foundation Center, 2012). In terms of disability pensions, in a four years time, Ireland reduced the amount of pensions about 7% while Greece proposed cuts around 30% depending on age and pension levels (European Foundation Center, 2012).

Budget cuts have also affected the operations of NGOs and associations that are funded by governments for handicapped people. For instance, Portugal reduced the fee given to early intervention services (from 240 euro to 160 per person) as well as its funding for social care services; Ireland and Spain reduced their allowances for social service associations as an average of 20% (European Foundation Center, 2012). For Greece, Portugal, Bulgaria, it was reported that from 2010, the majority of home care services, vocational courses, rehabilitation centers, specialized nursery

services had been closed or merged with other types of social services (European Foundation Center, 2012).

As budget cuts have continued, the number of services and staff working for them has decreased proportionally. Thus, access to public services have become harder for disabled people as services become scarce and operations become lesser (European Foundation Center, 2012). All of these cuts and policy changes have totally changed the way of social care systems of member states (Ireland, Greece, Hungary, United Kingdom) and resulted in the introduction of expensive special care services which are not affordable for the majority of people with disabilities. It seems that economic crisis not only affected the economic situation of handicapped people but also their well-being, treatment and social acceptance in society. Only recently, the seriousness of the situation have prompted governments to introduce extra payment schemes for handicapped people and to soften the level and the extent of social spending cuts to enable the personal care of disabled people.

4.4. Mismatch between EU's Discourses on Diversity and National Practices in times of Economic Crisis and Austerity

Throughout the first parts of this chapter, how the European Union have perceived the notion of urban diversity and to what extent they included the term with its various forms in treaties, directives and strategies are examined in detailed. Including the oil crisis of 1973 and increased terror attacks period (early 2000), European Union developed various comprehensive and inclusive directives praising diversity as a source of social and economic wellbeing. Sometimes they changed their attitudes towards different groups, especially migrants, in a negative way but they have stuck to their European Social Model goals to fight discrimination and social exclusion. They have followed the multiculturalist and even interculturalist movements in the world and reorganized their policies according to them. However, European Union's discourses could not be matched with the member states' practices. Such a mismatch can be perfectly traced in the period of austerity when

each country developed their own crisis-driven social and diversity policies. It seems that economic crisis and austerity has overruled the attempts to minimize poverty, unemployment, discrimination and social exclusion. As opposed to goals of European Social Model, severe cuts have been made in social security, protection, education, health and care services which are thought to be the backbones of the model. Country level evidences reveal that many of the UN-level treaties, EU-level directives has been put aside or totally forgotten by the policy-makers in times of crisis. For example, for each type of urban diversity, the following statements from Action Plan against Racism (European Commission, 1998) and from the Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Commission, 2000) seem to be overruled with the economic crisis of 2008: *“European societies are multicultural and multi-ethnic and their diversity, as reflected by the range of different cultures and traditions, is a positive and enriching factor”* and *“The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity”*. Evidences from crisis period show that, diversity is no longer seen as an asset in the majority of countries where the term is associated with ethnic diversity. Although European Commission prefers integration over assimilation and grants full respect for different ethnic cultures and languages without any distinction; it seems that countries still prefer assimilationism. While European Commission regards knowledge of host countries’ language and history as an integral part of integration process (while allowing newcomers to maintain their cultural traditions), member states see them as the tools towards having homogenous societies in which no social tensions and crimes are expected.

In a similar vein, the member states that have agreed on to fulfill the commitments to Europe 2020 Strategy, are now develop policies that are challenging with the social goals of the Strategy. For instance, they agreed on the implementation of inclusive integration policies and granting migrants’ human rights to benefit from the potential contributions of migrants in achieving competitive and sustainable economies. However, country-level legislations, regulations and practices tell a different story. Despite one of the major goals stating *“the need to reduce poverty and social exclusion”*, states have acted as spectators and have not taken due precautions for

increasing exclusion (European Commission, 2010; Leahy et al., 2014). Thus, in times of recent economic crisis, it's not a surprise to observe the increases in at risk of poverty and social exclusion rates for each diverse group examined throughout this chapter.

In terms of social expenditures and spending, it was highlighted in Europe 2020 Strategy that, social investments and schemes are vital to enable social mobility, social cohesion and equality in redistribution of services (European Commission, 2010; Leahy et al., 2014).). However, the majority of governments have been in the favor of strict austerity measures that have been resulted in severe cuts in childcare, social care, pensions, and disability and health expenditures for the sake of retrenching overall public expenditures.

Again in Europe 2020 strategy, urban diversity, diverse experiences and cultures are seen as valuable assets in times of crisis in order to cover up from economic losses but again urban diversity has been undervalued. The Strategy recommends countries to develop multicultural, inclusive policies especially in times of crisis. However, in practice, they have done the opposite in terms of integration, equal treatment, ensuring basic human rights and social protection. In a similar vein, *reducing poverty with the cooperation of member states* as one of the main objectives of Lisbon Treaty (Article, 208) (European Council, 2000); and the goal of *developing and strengthening social security schemes, in-cash transfers or social benefits* as stated in Supporting Developing Countries in Coping with the Crisis (Commission of the European Communities, 2009) seemed to be ignored in designing post-crisis policies.

When the mismatch between EU-level conventions, policies and national practices are examined for each diverse group, it is very likely to come up with more detailed outcomes. For example, the above mentioned negative impacts of crisis-driven policies on migrants have overruled the goals of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families which focuses on “*equality in accessing public services and social security (just like*

native peers) or repayment of losses generated from inaccessibility to services” (UNHR, 2013). Likewise, from workers side, member states have failed to actualize one of the central discussion points in the General Comment No:19 of United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2007) in their practices, which suggest that,

states need to develop social security programmes that include the right to access services, benefits and protection for everyone without discrimination even in times of work-related illness, disability, maternity, unemployment, old age or death (UNHR, 2013).

In terms of gender equality, the economic crisis itself and austerity measures have override one of the basic arguments of Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (European Commission, 2000). Which is “*in all its activities, the Union shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and promote equality between men and women*”. Evidences showed that gender inequality is ever increasing so as poverty and social exclusion.

To say that, national and city level practices of members states in terms of urban diversity are not in the same direction with the desired goals of Europe 2020 strategy and various other treaties as economic concerns overrule social priorities. It's obvious that if member states continue to implement austerity measures and restrictive urban policies on diversity in following years, the fancy discourses of Europe on diversity such as equal to access to rights and services, social inclusion, social mobility, social security-protection will be far from being achieved.

In general, it is very likely to say that, in times of crisis the policies aiming to achieve social cohesion and social interaction of 1990s have failed because of the serious cuts in public services and fiscal constraints. Moreover, the intercultural bridges (that have been tried hard to be established) seemed to lose their value with the increasing tensions between different groups, especially after the crisis. Thus, the main challenges of neoliberalism as socio-spatial inequality and segregations, socio-economic inequalities between diverse groups have increased with the negative

outcomes of economic crisis both on economy and social development. Cities have become the spaces of social injustice and with the introduction of various limitations on enjoying human rights and public services and people's right to city have damaged in greater terms. Although it is very hard to determine the spatial outcomes of such processes in short periods, if austerity conditions continues, it is inevitable to observe ever-increasing socio-spatial segregation and social inequalities in cities in following years. Budget cuts and cuts in social benefits will result in the further marginalization of some groups (LGBT, handicapped people etc.) and will decrease the social proximity to public services.

4.5. Conclusion

Within that section, European Unions' diversity perception and diversity policies as a part of European Social Model and urban policies are examined with reference to the recent economic crisis period (2008). As hypothesized in the first chapter, it is proved that the economic crisis and the austerity measures have negatively affected the achievements of European Union from its foundation in terms of urban diversity. It is also put forward that European level discourses on urban diversity that prioritize and emphasize the importance of diversity in achieving social cohesion, competitive growth and innovation have doomed to fail in national practices.

Table 9 briefly shows the crisis-driven policy changes for each diverse group defined in urban diversity concept. As easily seen from table, the majority of changes have been observed in migration and ethnic minorities' policies. Migrants have both suffered from the direct impacts of crisis (such as unemployment, poverty), crisis-driven migration policies restricting flows and rights and austerity cuts (limited sources for migrant organizations) harder than the other diverse groups in cities.

Table 9 Key notes on policy changes and the impacts of economic crisis on diverse groups

Diverse Groups	Discussion Topics	Urban Policies and Practices	Country Examples	Policy Type
Middle class and urban poor	Poverty, social exclusion unemployment, reduced social security and protection	Tax reforms (ex: increases in VAT)	Spain, Greece, Croatia	Redistribution
Migrants	Poverty, social exclusion unemployment, reduced social security and protection, extensive cuts in benefits and wages, selective processes in permits and naturalization, integration	Introduction of tier systems and high-selective criteria	United Kingdom, Denmark, Netherlands	Recognition
		Privileges for high-skilled migrants, entrepreneurs(ex: exemption from income and language requirements)	United Kingdom, Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Slovak Republic	Redistribution and Recognition
		Privileges for qualified international students (ex: easy citizenship, job opportunities)	Finland, Sweden, Germany	Redistribution and Recognition
		Shortage lists	United Kingdom, Denmark	Recognition
		Quota systems	Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal	Redistribution and Recognition
		Restrictions on seasonal flows	Denmark, Norway, Greece Netherlands, Spain, Italy	Redistribution
		Restrictions and new requirements on asylum process	Hungary, Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Germany, France, Denmark	Redistribution and Recognition
		New conditions for family unification	United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Italy	Redistribution and Recognition
		Civil penalty systems	United Kingdom, Italy	Recognition
		Extended investments on integration and introduction of harsher conditions	Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway*, Switzerland	Redistribution and Recognition
Decreased investments on integration but harsher conditions	United Kingdom, Netherlands	Redistribution and Recognition		

		Cuts in integration budget	Spain, Greece, Portugal	Redistribution
		Stricter naturalization	Belgium, Denmark	Recognition
Women and LGBT	Gender inequality, unemployment, reduced benefits, degradation of public services, wage gaps Discrimination, social exclusion, degradation of public services, cuts in funding (of associations and networks)	Cuts in public expenditures and degraded gender equality institutions	Belgium, Ireland, Romania, United Kingdom, Spain	Redistribution
		Cuts in wages and pensions	Germany, Luxembourg, Latvia, Romania, Greece	Redistribution
		Cuts in social protection and benefits	Greece, Portugal, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany	Redistribution
		Investments for gender equality	Poland, Denmark, Sweden	Redistribution and Recognition
		Closure of consultation and health services for LGBT	United Kingdom, Germany, Spain	Spaces of encounter
		Reductions in funding of LGBT networks and associations	United Kingdom, Germany, Spain	Spaces of encounter and redistribution
		Children	Decreased family and school allowances, degraded services, child poverty, school attendance	Cuts in family and school allowances
Frozen of tax credits	United Kingdom, Latvia			Redistribution
Investments for education	Estonia, Netherlands, Germany, Finland, Austria, Poland, Czech Republic			Redistribution
Youngsters	Unemployment, education and training, decreased social benefits	Reductions in the number of trainings and educational services	United Kingdom, Ireland, Spain	Redistribution
Elder People	Pension systems, unemployment, poverty, reduced social security and social care	Increases in pension levels	Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Greece, Spain, France, Portugal, Sweden, Poland, United Kingdom	Redistribution

		Increases in retirement age	Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain	Redistribution
		Cuts in social care and benefits	United Kingdom, Spain, Greece, Portugal	Redistribution
Handicapped People	Inclusion, integration, social care, assistive services, cuts in benefits and complementary services	Cuts in social care funding's and assistive Technologies	United Kingdom, Netherlands, Ireland, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Spain	Redistribution

Table 9 (cont'd)

Countries have struggled to have a balance between multiculturalist policies and control policies (that aim to minimize the social tensions via ensuring homogeneity in societies). However, with the increasing hostility towards strangers and public pressures; governments have chosen to practice control policies and have even gone further to violate human rights in some cases. In that respect, countries have made various regulations in their existing migration policies (see filter and barrier policies), introduced harsher requirements for integration and citizenship acquisition. Filter and barrier policies have tended to limit/prevent unwanted migration flows while favoring the flows of high-skilled workers and investors that who are needed for competitive economies. Tier systems, EU Blue Card regulations, selective criteria, quotas, restrictive reforms on seasonal flows, civil penalty systems, restrictive conditions for potential migrants seeking family reunification and asylum have been designed in a way to attract high-skilled migrants and to fend off low profile migrants. Moreover, recently developed harsher integration requirements, obligatory knowledge and history tests, participation in civic services are now being interrelated with the assimilationist thinking of 1960s by various scholars. It is believed that the new integration understanding goes beyond the attempts for social cohesion in which ever group can freely maintain their distinct characteristics towards the attempts for creating more homogenized societies.

The recent economic crisis have resulted in ever increasing assimilationist voices throughout Europe, however, the type of post-2008 assimilationism is quite different from early 1960s. Recent assimilationism in Europe is one sided which gives the majority of responsibility of integration to new comers. The role of state has been decentralized and the expenditures from central government have been cut with the austerity measures. Whether or not they have enough resources or not, if they are supported by local level authorities or NGOs, migrants are now have to cover their own integration expenses like language courses, culture tests etc. As another aspect of recent assimilationism is that it ignores the principles of social cohesion. It is far from introducing spaces of encounter, daily interactions and networks. It obliges newcomers to adopt the host societies' values, norms, language and provides limited space for them to enjoy their own cultural lives. More or less this is the case observed in the majority of member states after 2008 economic crisis.

Apart from migrants and ethnic minorities, the economic crisis itself negatively affected the wellbeing and social status of certain groups like middle class, urban poor and youngsters. These groups have suffered from the direct effects of crisis and increasing taxes throughout country rather than the policy changes. Especially in countries hit hard by the crisis (Ireland, Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal), the unemployment and poverty rates covering these groups have reached their peak points in recent years.

Other groups including women, children, elder and handicapped people have suffered from the austerity measures and direct cuts in social transfers and benefits. Women and LGBT individuals have found themselves in the middle of the gender equality discussions once again. Because the economic crisis have resulted in gender-based differences especially in labor market. Women workers have experienced increasing unemployment levels just as men do, but they have undergone discriminatory acts, exposed to serious wage or pension cuts and recruitment from jobs more than men (if they are working in resilient sectors like private sectors etc.). Discriminatory acts against women in labor market have shown

itself in social benefits (parental benefits, kinder garden facilities) and legal rights (maternity leaves).

In a similar vein with women, LGBT individuals have also suffered from discriminatory acts. From the view point of conservative parts of society, special services and benefits provided for LGBT individuals put extra burdens to states budget and should be cut in greater terms in times of crisis. Parallel to these views, various member states have implemented serious cuts in LGBT-origin health and consultancy services and provided limited funds to their events. Since LGBT groups heavily depend on such networking relations and collectivity, these cuts have altered their wellbeing and perceptions in society.

As the last groups covered in this chapter, children, elder and handicapped people have been affected from the severe cuts in social expenditure and benefits since groups are heavily dependent on public subsidies and services due to their vulnerable natures. Cuts in family allowances, school subsidies (observed in Greece, Spain, Romania), frozen of tax credits for children (United Kingdom, Latvia) have negatively affected the mental and healthy wellbeing of children in societies and even pushed them into poverty lines as family incomes decreased. However, in countries maintaining social expenditures and services for children (Finland, Sweden, and Hungary), these negative consequences remained very low. For elder people, the picture is more optimistic. All member states have increased pension levels of elder people, although their concerns were mainly related to elections. The only negative developments were the increases in retirement age and some limitations observed in health services. Handicapped people have suffered from the cuts in public services and subsidies for assistive technologies. However, like elderly people, they have not faced the detrimental effects of crisis and austerity when compared to other diverse groups in the society.

In brief, when the country-level policy implications on diverse groups is examined in detail, it is very likely to see that the real victims of economic crisis and austerity

measures are migrants and minority groups, especially the low-income ones. Since ethnic diversity is the oldest and the most popular urban diversity element for centuries, it seems that the efforts to downgrade ethnic diversity will continue in following years, as economy fluctuates and societies blame new comers as threats to social order and peace. The focus on ethnic diversity in times of economic crisis can also explained by countries' efforts to sell their cities as the best places to invest where social unrests, crimes and low profile transactions cannot take place. These countries (such as Netherlands, Denmark, Germany) favors gender and sexually oriented diversity to show how multicultural and open they are, but at the same time they steadily downgrade ethnic diversity to show how *safe* they are. Apart from migrants, other diverse groups in society including children, women, elderly people, youngsters and handicapped people have been negatively affected from the economic crisis and especially from austerity measures and strict cuts in expenditures.

As evidences put forward in detail, every diverse group in cities have proportionally affected from crisis in the absence of efficient social programmes policies and institutions working for their well-being, social interaction and social needs. The detrimental effects of austerity on diversity may be best explained by Krugman's (2012) own words stating that “...*austerity drive isn't really about debt and deficits, it's about using deficit panic as an excuse to dismantle social programmes. Economic recovery was never the point; the drive for austerity is about using the crisis not solving it*”.

CHAPTER 5

DIVERSITY IN NEOLIBERAL ERA AND IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISES: SOCIAL AND SPATIAL POLICY CHALLENGES AND APPROACHES IN TURKEY

5.1. Diversity in National Context

Just like European countries, in Turkey, there have been serious debates on the perception of diversity and rights of diverse groups in public and private sphere. From the period of Ottoman Empire up to now, the definition of diversity, its content and target groups have been reshaped with reference to the changing political and economic conjunctures in the world. Section 5.1. briefly investigates how diversity is perceived in national level policy-making, politics and legal affairs in Turkey.

5.1.1. Diversity in Ottoman Empire and in the Early Years of Republic of Turkey

Throughout its 623-years hegemony, Ottoman Empire defined diversity based on religious differences, although it has hosted various different ethnic groups within its boundaries (Eraydın et al., 2014). Ottoman Empire had attached great deal to be known as a multicultural and tolerant empire in order to maintain its hegemony on its mainlands in which social tensions regarding to differences are minimized. In that sense, Ottoman Empire adopted a diversity understanding that drives forward the commitment to the economic goals of The Empire as the ultimate-level (mode) of commitment to Empire without any focus on social, ethnic or linguistic differences (Demir, 2005). The Empire ensured the free expression of different ethnic identities, cultures and traditions in its mainlands and did not adopted assimilationist policies explicitly (Demir, 2005). The main reasons behind were to ensure the full loyalty of different societies to the Empire and to make hem feel free and safe under the rule of

a tolerant, open-minded Empire (Aktay, 2003; Paker 2010). The Empire minded the free and voluntary commitment of different identities to The Empire and although its establishment was based on the norms of Turkish and Muslim identity (Aktay, 2003; Demir, 2005).

Ottomon Empire recognized different religious groups within its boundaries and granted them equal legal status and even gave them several privileges to foster its economic relations with them who were known as non-muslims groups or minority groups at that time such as Christians, Jews etc. (Demir, 2005). For example, instead of recognizing Armenians as a minority, Ottoman Empire recognized the religious differences (Gregorian, Catholic and Protestan) within Armenians and called each of these three religious communities as different minority groups, although they were sharing a single ethnic identity and language (Can, 2013).

In general, the focus was on achieving a single politic-unity which covers various cultural and religious differences (Demir, 2005). However, such *peaceful* atmosphere in the society did not last forever and started to change with the inital effects of French Revolution on different ethnic identities which were about adopting nationalist and seperationist thinking and demanding civic rights and independent self-rule (Eraydın et al., 2014).

To suppress such nationalist movements and maintain the politic unity, Ottoman Empire made many reforms to address the increasing demands of ethnic groups by introducing Constitutional Monarchy in 1876 and 1908 (Eraydın et al., 2014). However, such reforms granting further privileges to ethnic groups were not able to prevent the declaration of indepence of various communities like Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria (Demir, 2005; Eraydın et al., 2014). These newly independent countries took joint action and fought against Ottoman Empire (Balkan War, 1912-1913). In the end, more nations declared their independence and shared the territories of Ottoman Empire (Eraydın et al., 2014). Such seperations and further revolts (such as

Arab Revolt, 1916) had weakened the political and administrative control powers of the Ottoman Empire and resulted in its dissolution (Can, 2013; Eraydın et al., 2014). Unlike the diversity perception of Ottoman Empire based on religion, The Republic of Turkey (founded in 1923 after the breakdown of Ottoman Empire) adopted an understanding based on ethnicity and nation (Demir, 2005; Paker, 2010; Can, 2013; Eraydın et al., 2014). The *Ottoman* identity (referring to territorial and political commitment) was replaced with *Turkish* identity and pointed out the dominance of nationalistic understanding in defining diversity and citizenship (Çelik, 2008; Can, 2013). The dominance of ethnic classifications especially Turkish identity was a response to the unmanageable ethnic revolts that resulted in the breakdown of Ottoman Empire in early 1900s. In order not to experience a similar process, Republic of Turkey had chosen to adopt a single Turkish identity (Çelik, 2008).

However, The Republic of Turkey followed a similar way with Ottoman Empire in defining minority groups. Although the new focus was on ethnic diversity in defining citizenship, the Republic did not count Kurdish or Circassian communities as minority groups given the fact that they are both Muslims (Çelik, 2008; Can, 2013). Such an ignorance of different ethnic identities and enforcement of different ethnic groups to adopt Turkish identity had resulted in the increasing debates on assimilation and the alienation of certain ethnic groups like Kurdish people from Turkish community (Çelik, 2008).

The privileges given to different ethnic and cultural groups (except to the ones given to formal minorities) had been limited in the first years of the Turkish Republic with the Lousanne Treaty of 1923 to ensure equal citizenship (Can, 2013; Eraydın et al., 2014). The Treaty allowed minorities to follow their own norms, traditions and to some degree legislative norms (like laws about heritage). However, in order to achieve political and legal unity, ruling of minorities by their religious leaders were abolished and all minorities gained equal citizenship with the Treaty (Can, 2013; Akıncı and Kule; 2014). In order to achieve equal citizenship and a society free from social tensions, Republic of Turkey favored the identity of Sunni Muslim Turks,

given the fact that Sunni Muslim Turks compose the majority of the population (Can, 2013). The Republic of Turkey adopted a single dominant identity and reorganized its institutions, legislations and policies to achieve economic growth on a nation-state basis and not to experience serious struggles like Ottoman Empire (Can, 2013).

Besides all these institutional arrangements, the political decisions of the early 1920s, such as population exchanges among countries, that had separated from Ottoman Empire, had increased the dominance of Turks in the Republic and resulted in the debates on homogenisation of the population (Eraydin et al., 2014). In times of Lausanne negotiations, massive population exchanges especially between Greeks and Turks had taken place. It is estimated that at least one million Greek were sent to Greece (Akıncı and Kule, 2014). The reason behind was not ethnicity (being Greek) but being non-muslim (Kaya, 2010; Akıncı and Kule, 2014).

Apart from minorities having different religious backgrounds, several regulations had been made for Muslim groups having different ethnic backgrounds. The most important legal regulation was the Settlement Law of 1934, which served for the *Turkifying* aims of the state in terms of language and ethnicity in two ways. The first way of homogeneization was achieved, as mentioned above, through the population exchange with other countries.

The second way of homogeneization was achieved through controlling interregional migrations within national boundaries (Akıncı and Kule, 2014). The Law (1934) obliged the migration of Kurdish, Arabs and other non-turkish populations to regions where Turkish population was the majority. The main motive behind was to minimize the risk of revolts by homogeneizing the population and to integrate them into Turkish culture, laws and daily processes. The migration process was controlled in a way that non-Turkish populations can not exceed the 5% of the settled population in the area (Settlement Law-1934; Article9, 11 and 13/3). The dominance of Turkish identity in institutions and policies had continued till 1950

under the rule of Republican People's Party (the ruling party in a single party regime) that adopted a strong Turkish identity with a secular understanding.

5.1.2. 1950-1980: Diversity in Multi-Party System

With the transition to a multi-party system and with the victory of Democrat Party in the first democratic election in May 14th, 2015, citizenship debates entered a new phase (Demir, 2005). Unlike Republican People's Party (early years of Republic), Democrat Party indigenised a more free and liberal understanding of citizenship and softened the ways in which state affairs are separated from religious norms. In other words, Islamic norms and values had once again considered as an integral part of Turkish identity (Demir, 2005). Although there were important steps to soften the strict and ethnic understanding of citizenship in 1950s and 1960s, the process of homogenization of population had continued especially with the rise of discriminatory acts against non-Muslim groups as in the case Event of September 6-7 (1955) in İstanbul (Eraydın et al., 2014). September Events resulted in the outmigration of non-Muslim groups (especially Greek population) and resulted in lesser ethnic-religious or cultural diversity in cities.

During 1960s another progress that have changed the discourses of diversity in Turkey was the emigration process of Turkish workers to developed European countries. According to official records, approximately 800,000 Turkish workers had gradually migrated to Western Europe in a thirteen-years time, 1961-1974 (Kaya, 2010). It is very likely to say that emigration of Turkish workers to Europe had acted as a powerful tool to increase the chances of upward social mobility especially for three groups; emigrant workers, their families and new comers from eastern parts of Turkey. To say that, emigrant workers witnessed their upward mobility in terms of better economic conditions via earning higher wages than Turkey and had the chance to support their families in Turkey via remittances and contributed to their economic wellbeing (Kaya, 2010). Moreover, they unintendedly created job opportunities in cities for potential new comers and lead to further migration flows based on seeking

better opportunities. However, with the economic crisis of 1970s, the scarcity of jobs and deteriorated economic conditions had surpassed the achievements in upgrading upward social mobility and resulted in severe social tensions between different groups in the society. The ones that not happy with limited mechanisms of social protection & security and the ones experiencing serious struggles originating from job losses expressed their dissatisfaction in various ways (Eraydın et al., 2014). Indeed, for the very first time in Turkey, besides ongoing discourses on differences socio-economic terms, social status and income; the differences on ethnic and cultural norms had started to be discussed within the framework of *politics of identity* (Bacik, 2010).

5.1.3. 1980-2000: Diversity in the Early Years of Neoliberal Era

The debates on identity politics (with giving specific reference to the distinct needs of diverse groups) had constituted a great deal diversity-related discussions in 1970s and became even fierced in 1980s with the assertions (of ethnic groups) on increasing discrimination and violence in the eastern parts of Turkey (Bacik, 2010). From then on, discourses on ethnic identity had become an integral part of politics, social movements and to some extent policy making in Turkey.

In 1980s, identity politics have shaped and have been reshaped by the policies and practices of the Turkish state. When the military power came into force after the failure of coalition government in the years of economic crisis and socio-politic conflicts; identity politics had reached its peak point as a response to increasing authoritarian and liberal military power (Bacik, 2010). Moreover, social tensions originated from the dissatisfactions about the limited scope of the Constitution of 1982 in recognizing cultural and ethnic differences in defining citizenship and the *forced displacement* that took place in the eastern provinces of Turkey had increased the debates on identity politics in Turkey (Bacik, 2010; Demir, 2005). The ones undergone forced displacement and the ones claimed to have experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity, demanded not only their social rights (rights

to employment, public services and opportunities) but also rights recognizing their ethnic identity (Demir, 2005).

Besides the conflicts and tension about internal migration processes, Turkey, for the very first time in its history, found itself in a position to develop migration and asylum policies to control and manage the increasing flows of non-Muslim or non-Turkish migrants. In the period of economic transformations, globalization, as well as political conflicts in certain parts of the world, the movements of asylum-seekers and refugees had become denser than ever (Kaya, 2010). In that regard, Turkey was a transition country for refugees to reach developed countries in which the level of humanitarian insecurity was lower and socio-economic opportunities (employment, education, health etc.) were higher than the country of origin (Kaya, 2010). Turkey experienced serious flows of migrant people (who were seeking better job opportunities and services) from Eastern Europe after the collapse of Soviet Union and refugee flows from Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan after the first waves of Gulf War (Kaya, 2010).

In terms of citizenship, in early 1980s, prior to discussions stating the limited scope of Constitution of 1982, Turkey had made several reforms on the formal definitions of citizenship and adopted *double citizenship* through prioritizing the commitment to state itself and its mechanisms; rather than commitment to a nation (the terms as a response to the citizenship understanding of 1920s till 1950s) (İçduygu and Keyman, 1998). *Double citizenship* approach concerns the demands of different ethnic groups and introduces citizenship as an upper identity beyond all ethnic and cultural differences (İçduygu and Keyman, 1998). Of course, such a reform in defining citizenship can not only be explained by changing politic structure, but also be explained by the effects of globalization and liberalization on identities. Free flow of people, blurring of the boundaries and decline of nation-states, technological advancements that enable people to communicate whatever the locations they have resulted in the formation of multiple identities. However, the emergence of multiple identities and flexible approaches like double citizenship approach did not erode the

nationalist thinking in defining citizenship and diversity. Although it was thought that the emphasis on ethnic and national identities would lose their popularity with the emergence of new identities in different scales (regional, local or neighborhood level), they had never fallen out of the agenda (Scholte, 2000).

In neoliberal times, although the importance of ethnic and nation-based definitions of diversity have never lost their popularity, the management of diversity in such a diverse and global world had necessitated more comprehensive definitions of diversity and citizenship beyond the scope of ethnic identities. What was happened in Turkey in the early 1980s was a similar attempt to broaden the scope of citizenship to reach more people, although the further steps could not be achieved. The Constitution of 1982 (that entered in the force soon after such reforms on citizenship) had once again defined citizenship through ignoring and not recognizing cultural differences) and emphasizing Turkish identity as follows; “*Everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk. The child of a Turkish father or a Turkish mother is a Turk.*” This statement was (and still) highly criticized by ethnic groups in Turkey although the definition in technical terms includes all citizens belonging to different ethnic cultures under an identity of *Turkish Citizen* (Gözler, 2010). Such criticisms and dissatisfactions with the Constitution of 1982, led to the rise of identity politics in various fields (gender equality, education, employment etc).

In a similar vein, besides ethnic and political issues, identity politics in Turkey had also showed itself in gender equality discourses (Paker, 2010). In that sense, *women’s movements* were observed in early 1980s, which were accusing the state for neglecting gender issues and discrimination against women through overemphasizing homogeneity and unification in the society (Paker, 2010). Women’s protests of the decade like *Bağır! Herkes Sesini Duysun* (Scream! Let Everyone Hear Your Voice) in 1987 and *Cinsel Tacize Hayır* (No to Sexual Abuse) in 1989 had brought along the issues of women undergoing violence and discriminations in their homes, workplaces and public spaces (Demir, 2005; Paker, 2010). Such efforts and protests

finally resulted in the early 1990s, with severe changes in legislations covering gender issues. For example, some articles in Turkish Civil Code (2001), that were criticized for encouraging discriminatory acts and violence against women, had been changed on behalf of women or totally abandoned. For example, the abolishment of the Article 19, simply stating that” *a married woman should take her husband’s direct or indirect permission to work outside the home*” was one of the most famous articles that was totally abolished. Such efforts and achievements in gender issues had inspired various scholars and decision-makers. *Gender perspective* has found basis in policies regarding equal opportunities in employment, education, political participation and decision-making in 2000s (İlkkaracan, 2003).

Through the end of 1980s, besides feminist movements, ethnic protests (especially of Kurdish and Alevi groups) took place in various politic and social platforms. As stated before, with the inadequacies of Constitution of 1982 in recognizing different cultures and addressing the needs of cultural groups, protests demonstrated the level of dissatisfaction with the practice of democratic, legal and social rights at national level (Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005). For example, the main motives behind Kurdish movement, as Kurdish scholars and politicians assert, were no or limited usage of Kurdish language in educational and public affairs and not being recognized as a different cultures having its unique norms and values (Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005).

Alevi groups express(ed) their dissatisfaction by claiming that their free expression of religious choices was/is surpassed by the state which recognizes or even favors mostly the rights of Sunni Islam groups (Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005). Interestingly, although the state was blamed for favoring Sunni Islam values, it was also blamed by themselves. They criticized the ban of wearing handscarfs in workplaces and public institutions including schools and universities in late 1980s given the fact that they were experiencing discrimination based on their religious way of living (Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005).

During 1990s, identity politics and protests of diverse groups claiming their social rights had become one the hot topics in politics and policy making. Especially after the emergence of multiple and complex identities after 1980s, the necessity of recognizing different perspectives and identities gained importance. The rise of multicultural voices in the world has also been felt in Turkey. Ethnic and cultural identities such as Laz, Alevi, Roma, Kurds and Assyrians started to be recognized; and Kurdish and Alevi groups started to use the popular discourses of multiculturalism to highlight their problems regarding (in)equality in terms of opportunities and access to services, respect, tolerance, anti-discrimination etc. (Güleç, 2003; Paker, 2010).

The adoption of multicultural thinking in policy making led to several alterations in legislations and practices in terms of recognition. As a positive step regarding the freedom of expression and recognition, the abolishment of Law No: 2932, which had prohibited the use non-offical languages in speeches and press declarations, had paved the way towards the use of multiple languages in various fields but politics (Güleç, 2003). Further steps have been achieved regarding Kurdish movement and many reforms have put in practice regarding the usage of Kurdish language in newspapers, journals, songs and radio stations (for a limited time) (Güleç, 2003).

In the early 1990s, the Habermas' famous notion of *constitutional patriotism* found basis in citizenship debates in Turkey and translated as *constitutional citizenship* (Habermas, 1996; Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005; Can, 2013). Süleyman Demirel (President of Turkish Republic) defined constitutional citizenship as the citizenship that confers equal responsibilities to citizens in handling and practicing state-level duties regardless of having different racial, ethnic or cultural background (Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005). For many critics, constitutional citizenship is a different approach of *dual citizenship* in terms of respecting differences in the society without explicitly mentioning differences and it is not comprehensive enough to cover the issues of ethnic diversity (Üstel, 1999; Butakın, 2003; Güleç, 2003). On the other hand, Keyman and İçduygu (1998) touched upon the importance of constitutional

citizenship in recognizing and enhancing ethnic diversity. According to them, a citizenship based on *social contact* is the implicit sign of the recognition of different identities by the state as well as the sign of enabling them to protect their identities or even enhancing their cultural practices as long as they keep on fulfilling their duties for state (Keyman and İçduygu, 1998).

Equality discussions have also become important in 1990s. The concept included various topic like gender equality, ethnic issues, LGBT rights etc. To begin with women side of the issue, since 1960s Turkey have experienced several women movements demanding right to city and gender equality (Zihnioğlu, 2013). From then on, ensuring equality in accessing services and combating discrimination especially at work places have constituted the core points in women policies and these concerns especially found legal basis in development plans. With the sign of European Social Charter in 1999, gender equality issues have become ever important in Turkish history (Zihnioğlu, 2013). In the Sixth Development Plan (1990-1994), for the very first time development plans, women and gender equality policies were developed under a self-standing heading devoted only to women issues. Moreover, increasing violence against women and femicide due to honour have also found basis in various national and urban level policies.

In late 1990s, debates on diversity and citizenship were again attracted the attention of state with the EU accession process of Turkey (Kaya, 2010). The Helsinki Summit (known as upgraded version of Copehang Criterias) of 1999, set rules for Turkey in the process of EU accession to be acknowledged and practiced such as granting democratic rights and democratic representation of diverse groups, equal citizenship, recognition of minorities and their socio-cultural rights etc. With the process of EU accession, the ongoing focus on ensuring security and integration (though forced and unforced assimilation) was replaced with the discourses of ensuring justice and promoting cultural diversity in a way to highlight the importance of equality and recognition of diverse groups (Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2005). In other words, the nationalist and conservative attitudes of the state against diversity (ethnic and

cultural diversity) have opened floor to the rise of multicultural and accommodationist approaches with EU accession periods (Güleç, 2003).

5.1.4. 2000-2008: Diversity in European Union Accession Period

With the EU accession period, it is very likely to say that Turkey has made various regulations on the fields of social inclusion, fighting social exclusion and discrimination, human rights, equal opportunities and services etc to catch up with EU norms. Earlier 2000s can be regarded as a breaking point when the on-going debates on ethnic issues and political conflicts were put aside to develop more comprehensive, more-open minded, more humanitarian and egalitarian policies to cover all segments of society regardless of race, ethnicity, gender or religion. To meet the accession requirements of EU and to recover its previous failures in promoting diversity and adopting multiculturalism fully in its policies, Turkey has attached great deal to the adoption of *interculturalism* in national and urban policies and practices (ABGS, 2007). Although the state's efforts of adopting interculturalism have been criticized for being inadequate to recognize diversity or for being insufficient to be translated into urban level policies, it is worth to mention these efforts in reaching EU standarts.

In Turkey, there is not a ministry level or commission-level public authority that explicitly works in the field of urban diversity. However, there are several public authorities that touch upon the issues and needs of different segments of society. For example, Ministry of Family and Social Policies targets disadvantaged groups such as children, youngsters, women, elderly and handicapped people and develop social aid and social protection policies to foster their integration into society. Ministry of Development develops economic and social policies for various scales (national to urban) and defines general strategies for economic development and growth. Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management targets migrants and their entry, exit and stay in Turkey as well as their physical well-being. Ministry of Employment and Social Security, regulates labor market and develops social

security schemes in order to ensure justice in labor market and better working conditions for everyone. These briefly introduced public authorities make several policies, plans and programmes which touch upon different segments of society.

In that sense, the most important reform regarding diversity in Turkey was the National Programme of 2001. The National Programme of 2001 put forward the necessity of regulations on freedom of expression, freedom of religion and worship, recognition of differences and differences in daily practices, right to civil society and accessing public services equally, combating violations of human rights, and socio-economic regional disparities etc. (Ministry of European Union, 2001; ABGS, 2001; Güleç, 2003). In a similar vein, the 6th Harmonization Package committed itself to make the first steps for fulfilling the aims of National Programme of 2001 and highlighted the importance of the usage of non-official languages in public or private TV broadcasting (ABGS, 2007).

In the Minority Report of 2004 (The Minority Rights and Cultural Rights Working Group, 2004), the rights of non-official minorities and their recognition in legislations and public policies were evaluated. Report criticized the statement of Constitution Law of 1982 which is “*The Turkish State, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity. Its language is Turkish*” and claimed that such a strict and nationalist emphasis on citizenship can no longer be sustained in a world of multiculturalism and multiple-identities (Demir, 2005). It was suggested that, Turkey should admit the existence of different identities, languages and should recognize and protect the development of cultural differences under an umbrella heading of *Türkiyelilik* or *Turkishness* (Demir, 2005).

Similarly, Progress Report on Turkey (prepared by EU) highlighted the necessity of developing tolerant, comprehensive and inclusive reforms and legislations. What was noticeable in the report that, EU defined Kurdish and Alevis populations as minority groups without any legal basis (European Commission, 2011). In the light of all these EU accession criteria, suggestions and criticisms on Turkish legislations and

approaches, Justice and Development Party, set its agenda to address the inadequacies in recognizing different groups and developing tailor-made policies. Although, the government's success in achieving all these aims is highly debatable nowadays, it is worth to mention its reforms and regulations on diversity.

Governmental efforts on diversity have evolved around democratic and social rights of non-official minority groups and minimizing all possible/existing speculations on the issues of forced or unforced assimilation (Can, 2013). Thus, to address the socio-cultural demands of ethnic groups in a democratic way; several regulations were introduced including the abolishment of state of emergency applications and the abolishment of the competences of State Security Courts as well as Special Courts which had generated various severe conflicts of their times (Can, 2013). From Kurdish case, positive steps have been made. Besides the legalization of TV broadcasting in Kurdish through the channels of state television (TRT), using Kurdish or any other mother tongue language in politic declarations and in electioneering processes become legalized (AKP, 2012). Moreover, establishing departments and institutes in universities that give Kurdish courses were allowed to enable people to learn or improve their mother tongue language (AKP, 2012).

Although the AKP (Justice and Development Party) expresses its satisfaction with its projects and programmes granting democratic & social rights and meeting the demands of different groups; for many critics, the regulations have a limited and one-sided scope covering mostly the cultural issues rather than issues of conflict and recognition of differences (Dural and Con, 2011; Eraydın et al, 2014; Koray and Çelik, 2015). Moreover, although politicians, policy makers and bureaucrats have favored diversity as an asset, tangible steps could not be made enough to ensure equal opportunities for all citizens, fair recognition and to put the discourses of multiculturalism in practice (Koray and Çelik, 2015). In societal level, bestowment of certain privileges to specific identities like Sunni Islam identity and of agitator and exclusivist declarations of politic figures that led to further polarization in society have been heavily criticized (Koray and Çelik, 2015).

Regardless of such criticisms, Justice and Development Party has maintained its policies and announced their aims for 2023 which are planned to be evolve around the topics like ensuring equal opportunities and accessibility to public services in multiple languages and combating all forms of discrimination and social exclusion (AKP, 2012; Can, 2013).

From migrants' side, positive steps have been made to catch up with international norms based on international protection and human rights. In a period of experiencing increasing international migration including both irregular flows and asylum-seekers especially from Syria, Afghanistan and other Middle East countries, Turkey has made several reforms. First of all, in 2003, The Law on Work Permits for Foreigners (No: 4817) was introduced to facilitate the processes of permits and welcome foreigners more easily to Turkey. The second set of positive steps was about the readjustments on the Passport Law (1950) and Law on Residence and Travel of Aliens in Turkey (2013), both of which was still representing the approaches of 1950s. Several improvements introduced in terms of international protection and application processes of asylum-seekers. Moreover, in 2008, a special organization was established under the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior to work on migration and asylum policies and processes (ASDEP, 2013).

Apart from legislative reforms regarding ethnic and socio-cultural diversity, Turkey has attached great deal to the reduction of socio-economic differences between eastern and western parts of Turkey. In that sense, Turkey has made tremendous investments to the eastern provinces and developed various large-scale economic and social support projects such as *Köye Dönüş ve Rehabilitasyon Projesi- Turning Back to Villages and Rehabilitation Project* aiming to enable the return of people who suffered from the forced displacement process that took place in 1980s, *Köylerin Altyapısının Desteklenmesi- Infrastructural Improvement in Villages* and *Sosyal Destek Programı, Social Support Programme* aiming to address the problems in employment, social inclusion, migration, poverty through various local scale projects focusing on one of the issues (Can, 2013).

In terms of combating poverty and regional socio-economic disparities, the term *social inclusion*, basis in The Medium Term Programme of 2006-2008, to address the issues of unequal distribution of resources, poverty, social exclusion and inadequate and inaccessible public services and opportunities (Under secretariat of State Planning Organization, 2005). Programme aimed at reducing the risk of poverty and social exclusion via increasing the level of interaction and participation of individuals and groups in labor market and daily social life. To combat poverty, The Programme prioritized the necessity of effective social protection and social security mechanisms for all citizens without any income, gender, age, race distinction to integrate them into labor market and social daily life. Programme also defined different policy modes for different disadvantaged groups. For example, to combat violence and discrimination against women, the need to develop disincentive policies to increase the employability of women and handicapped people, the importance to accessible education and vocational courses were highlighted.

Apart from migrants and ethnic groups, LGBT individuals are not covered in policies concerning disadvantaged groups (Yılmaz and Göçmen, 2015). It is mostly because of the fact that, having a different sexual orientation (like men or women) are not yet accepted by the majority of society as well as decision-makers. Since the population of Turkey is dominated by Sunni- Islamic groups, lesbian, gay and transsexual identities and relationships are not welcomed.

With EU accession processes in early 2000s, diversity and diversity related policies have come to the fore. EU has insisted on the development of policies in Turkey ensuring human rights for all groups in society, fostering interaction and dialogue, ensuring gender equality in labor market and public services, promoting active participation of diverse groups in labor market etc (Turkish National Programme, 2003). However, upon all these issues, EU highlights the importance of tailor-made policies developed for each groups to combat poverty, social exclusion and discrimination (Turkish National Programme, 2003). For combating poverty, EU regards active participation of diverse groups into labor market as the most important

step. Therefore, group specific strategies (different strategies for different groups) have been developing to increase the level of education, skills as well as the will and strength of people to engage in labor market. For example, for women, higher education is being prioritized by public authorities while, for the handicapped people, the importance of physical rehabilitation and vocational courses are being highlighted in engaging them into labor markets (Turkish National Programme, 2003). In the Medium Term Programme of 2006-2008 such efforts to ensure active participation of diverse groups in labor markets associated with the term *social inclusion* as follows;

The basic objective is to increase the active participation of the individuals and groups that are subject to poverty and social exclusion or facing this risk in economic and social processes as well as ensuring social solidarity and integration by upgrading their life quality.

Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018) explicitly put forward the necessity of fostering diverse groups, especially women and youth groups, to engage in labor market in order to contribute to the economic growth of Turkey. The statements like, *“Increasing women participation in social and working life, particularly through education, will be one of the most important factors affecting the economic and social development of countries”* and *“ Care services for elder and disabled persons will be upgraded to increase their chances in engaging labor markets.”* justify the ambition of Turkey to ensure an active labor market.

Various strategies (such as Strategic Plan of the General Directorate on the Status of Women 2008-2012, National Action Plan on Gender (In)equality 2008-2013, Labor Act of Turkey 2003) and projects (like The Operation of Supporting Women Employment- Turkish Employment Agency), aimed at increasing the women’s education level and skills, ensuring gender equality in wages, preventing violence and discrimination as well as increasing their employability through positive discrimination in recruitment and maternity processes (providing flexible working schemes, better care opportunities). Besides labor market and employability policies, another issue that come forward in gender-based discussion are evolved around

combating violence and sexual abuse against women. For example, Combating Domestic Violence against Women National Action Plan (2007 – 2010) and Strategic Plan of the General Directorate on the Status of Women 2008-2012 attached great deal to the prevention of all forms of violence and discrimination as well as the development of legislations introducing high-levels of punishment who commit violence.

In terms of children and youth policies, education, health and social protection issues come to the fore in policies. In the Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018), it was stated that free education, fiscal supports to families having school-age children, providing scholarships, free stationery and food supplies for children, early childhood education, increasing accesibility to schools through making relevant investments in transportation and schooling especially in villages are the main policy themes for children. Plan also highlighted the necessity of developing effective policies in preventing child marriages, child labors, violence and sexual abuses against children as well as preventing the use of alcohol and drugs which are becoming very common amongst children (Ministry of Development, 2013). For young population, The Plan gave specific reference to the policies aiming to increase the labor force participation rates of youngsters via encouraging young people to attend to schools and vocational courses as well as traineeships (Ministry of Development, 2013). To keep young people away from bad habits, youngsters were channelled to engage in sports activities, cultural events and arts (Ministry of Development, 2013; Balaban, 2014).

For elder people, social protection, care services and their employability are the core fields in policy-making processes. Just like the policies on children and youth, policies for elder people are mostly about ensuring equal redistribution of resources and services. As State Planning Office (2007) put forward in its recent policy document for elder people called *The State of the Elderly in Turkey and the National Action Plan on Ageing*, the focus is on increasing the participation of elderly people in labor market through providing relevant social security in accordance with their

status and experience and new job opportunities. By doing so, the Organization claims that the dependency level of elder people to their relatives and care services will be reduced, and therefore, their active participation in labor market will increase their life standards as well as their wellbeing and health (via benefiting from extended social protection systems).

5.1.5. Diversity in times of Economic Crises: Economic Crises of 2001 and 2008

In general it is very likely to say that, policies on diversity (which mostly refers to disadvantaged groups in Turkey) are developed to ensure fair redistribution of resources, wealth and opportunities to diverse groups in the society. Thus, government expenditures and investments constitute great importance in diversity policies. When one looks at how the expenditure patterns of government change in times of economic fluctuations and recession periods, it is very likely to observe that even in times of crisis social expenditures (social protection, security, education, health, rehabilitation, social inclusion etc.) have continued to grow which is quite opposite to the European trends (as discussed in previous chapters).

Keeping *poverty* as the central concept in policy-making, Turkey has introduced various social protection and social inclusion schemes for people in need with reference to the economic conditions of country in 2000s. Both for growth and recession periods, poverty has mostly associated with social inclusion goals to protect vulnerable groups against unemployment and unequal redistribution of resources as well as integrating them in labor market and social life (Saka, 2010).

Figures 5 and 6 show how public expenditures on social protection, education and health changed in 2000s, when two major economic crises were witnessed, namely the economic crises of 2001 and 2008. It is very likely to see that, public expenditures continued to grow regardless of the crisis periods, However, the share of social public expenditures in total GDP fluctuates time to time. It is also worth to note that, social protection expenditures tend to increase in greater terms in times of

economic crisis to prevent poverty and social exclusion. Especially after the economic crisis of 2001, the need to invest social protection and education to minimize poverty and ensuring active labor force to speed up the recovery processes were adopted in policy-making processes (European Commission, 2005). Although there are some little reductions in the share of health and education services in total GDP during crisis periods, the general trend reveals that social expenditures remain stable or tend to grow.

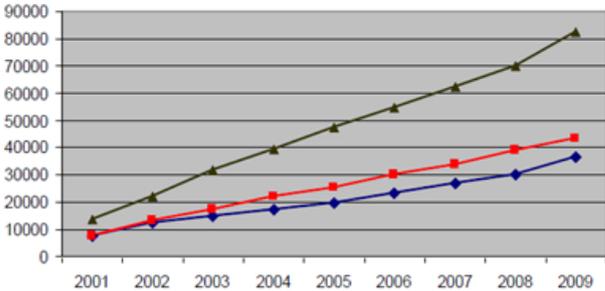


Figure 5 Public Social Expenditures between 2001-2009 (Million TL)
 Source: State Planning Organization, 2009
 Note: Green, red and blue lines represent respectively social protection expenditures, health and education

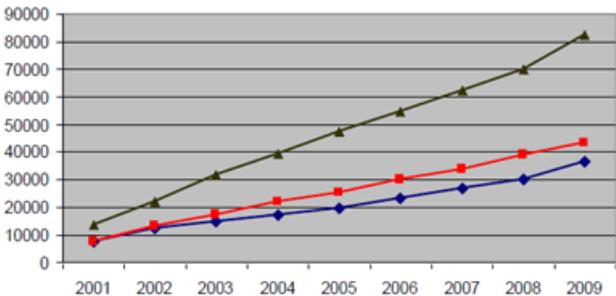


Figure 6 The Share of Public Social Expenditures in GDP (%)
 Source: State Planning Organization, 2009
 Note: Green, red and blue lines represent respectively social protection expenditures, health and education

Especially, the expenditure on social protection is an explicit sign of government efforts' to minimize the initial effects of economic crises and to ensure individuals

socio-economic wellbeing. For example, unemployment benefits and free social protection schemes became very significant in times of crisis. This is justified by the statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute (2014) which put forward that number of poor people and poverty rate have gradually decreased with respect to the increasing protection and social expenditure schemes. For instance, poverty rate of 2008 (the year of economic crisis) 24.1 was decreased to 22,7 in 2012.

Unlike poverty and social expenditure statistics, it is very likely to observe the effects of economic crisis of 2008 by looking at the unemployment figures of 2005-2014 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2014). During pre-crisis periods (2005-2007), the unemployment levels were around 9%, however, the levels increased to 10% in 2008 and even reached 13,1% in 2009 when the initial effects of the crisis were felt in greater terms. From 2010, Turkey has managed to stop the increasing trend of unemployment and brought back to figures again to 9 percent.

The economic crises periods of both 2001 and 2008 have influenced the social expenditure patterns of government and policy-making processes of public authorities. For example, unemployment benefits (besides unemployment insurances) in Turkey were introduced in 2002 immediate after the economic crisis of 2001, in order to minimize the level of victimization of workers who were suffered from job losses and scarce job opportunities (Today's Zaman, 2010). In 2008, in a similar vein, the necessity of increasing the amount and accessibility of unemployment benefits were on the agenda and till 2015, benefits have increased gradually (Sabah, 2014). In terms of social protection expenditures and fiscal aids to poor groups in need, the tendency towards supporting low income groups via insurances and further benefits is visible, especially in times of economic crisis.

From expenditure figures and various policies aiming to increase the well-being of society, it is very likely to observe that, public authorities produce crisis-sensitive policies without explicitly referring to diverse groups other than disadvantaged groups in socio-economic terms. In other words, public authorities develop various

expenditure schemes and policies limited for low income people, unemployed people, handicapped and elderly groups. For example, Respondent A1 states that;

Economic crises of 2001 or 2008 did not directly influence our policy-making priorities; instead, crises periods foster us to invest more on people who are in need. That's why social expenditure figures in Turkey tend to increase in those times, rather than a decrease like European countries implementing austerity policies.

In a similar vein with Respondent A1, Respondent A4, a key officer from Ministry of Development, Department of Social Sectors and Coordination, touches upon their policymaking approach in times of economic crisis as follows;

Economic processes, of course, influence our policies. Because, we aim to decrease socio-economic gaps between regions as well as individuals. Although we are not targeting diversity at first place in times of crisis, we try to increase the socio-economic wellbeing of groups via our investments and strategy suggestions like suggesting key economic sectors to be invested on or priority areas that minimize the disadvantage of individuals in accessing job opportunities or public services. Of course, disadvantaged groups in economic terms are our priority.

The efforts on decreasing the socio-economic gaps between groups, as Respondent A4 put forward, brought along the discussions on *equality*, in times of economic crisis. In that sense, group-specific policies are being developed in Turkey to annihilate all situations leading to injustice and inequality. In other words, through ensuring just and fair redistribution of resources and services, Turkey aims to minimize inequality between groups. Besides the public expenditure schemes discussed above, the importance of ensuring equality of opportunities was highlighted in Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018). Plan not only highlights the importance of equal access to opportunities but also attaches great deal to the outcomes of enjoying opportunities. For example, access to education services is not enough to ensure equality in society; however, it is just the first step to reach further equalities in other fields like participation in decision making processes and labor markets etc. The Plan indicates this aim as follows; “*Equality of opportunity in the access to the basic public services with an emphasis on education will be improved with the goal of prevention of the intergenerational poverty.*” (Ministry of Development, 2013).

Tenth Development Plan has various references to economic crisis periods. For example, in order to achieve a sustainable and resilient economic development process which is resistant to economic shocks, the need of strong labor market with the high level of participation of diverse groups was highlighted. In that sense, The Tenth Development Plan seems to follow the labor market goals of Eighth Development Plan which were evolved around on increasing the level of literacy and education, encouraging women to participate in labor markets and decision-making processes, ensuring comprehensive social protection schemes for workers etc.

In the Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018), the goals of previous plans were developed to ensure the improvement of labor markets. In that sense, increasing employability of women, handicapped and elderly people, abolishing the motives behind women and youth unemployment, combating informal employment, reducing work accidents have become dominant over other policy goals such as providing better education, health services and social protection. Such an emphasis on engagement of diverse groups in economic processes and labor markets can be explained by the lessons learned from the European countries after 2008 economic crisis.

Post-crisis policies in EU has emphasized the need of a high-skilled, experienced and innovative work force to recover fast from the negative outcomes of economic crisis and to survive in a world economic system based on further innovative growth and competitiveness. In that sense, Turkey's efforts to encourage the development of social capital to be benefited from in growth processes can be explained as the efforts to take precautions against a possible crisis and recession period in which employment and production levels tend to go down.

5.2. Diversity in National Level Policy Making in Contemporary Era

In policy making processes of Turkey, urban diversity is not being explicitly, but instead it is implicitly used via referring to socio-economic disadvantage. Turkey associates diversity with *being disadvantaged*, which means having limited or no access to and use of public services and opportunities (health, education, information, employment, self-respect) (Mayer, 2003). Although the definition includes every group who are disadvantaged in terms of accessing services and resources; it is unfortunate that some groups, namely, migrants, ethnic groups and LGBT individuals are mostly neglected in policy making processes even though it is known that they suffer from inadequate and inaccessible public services. Turkey, in that sense, seems to define the term *disadvantage* in terms of socio-economic disadvantage and physical disadvantage like being handicapped or being too old to reach services and resources. To be more specific, in national and urban level policies of Turkey, diversity is framed and defined by disadvantaged groups which are namely, poor (urban poor), women, children, youngsters, elder and handicapped.

Besides concrete evidences like plans and programmes highlighting disadvantaged groups; during the interviews with key public figures, it was observed that interviewees tend to define diversity in terms of socio-economic disadvantage or physical inabilities. Sometimes they refer to ethnic diversity to define the population patterns in cities but, they admit that there is little or no reference to ethnic identities in national or urban level policies. Respondent A1, a key officer from Ministry of Family and Social Policy General Directorate of Children Services, states that;

Diversity is, of course, a very broad term. You can define many characteristics that distinguishes one (person) from another. However, in policy-making, strict categorizations are helpful in reaching the majority of people. Thus, socio-economic differences like the differences in income levels are good indicators to define priority groups who are in need. Our ministry prioritizes disadvantaged groups which have or thought to have disadvantages in reaching and benefiting from services and opportunities. Disadvantaged groups are defined in income basis and includes all needy groups like children, housewives, handicapped people etc.”

Respondant A2, again a key officer from Ministry of Family and Social Policy Department of Social Inclusion, touches upon a similar point in defining and approaching diversity at governmental level by saying that;

Societies are getting diverse than ever, since economic gaps between groups are getting bigger. Every diverse groups need different policy approaches. For example, to foster social inclusion you can not simply develop an overall policy set for high and low income groups. Low income groups need more concrete policies to engage in labor markets and daily social relationships.

Respondant A2 continues with explaining the latest approach in defining *being disadvantaged* as follows;

In recent years, there are efforts to extend the scope of services through recognizing and reaching other groups besides the people in need of social aids due to their lack of income, social status or disability. In that sense, citizens living abroad or migrants which are coming to Turkey in great numbers are now being treated as one of the target groups in social policy making. We will see the results of these efforts soon.

Migrants and ethnic groups are not considered as disadvantaged because, it is widely assumed (both from public documents and interviews with key public figures) that their vulnerability and disadvantage in reaching resources and services do not originate from their ethnic or cultural background but from their socio-economic status and income level. As interviewees claim, Turkey does not favor discriminatory policies or attitudes based on ethnicity and race, but instead, it fosters equality in reaching services and opportunities. Respondant A2 states that;

Of course, when you say a diverse society, you actually mean ethnic differences as well as socio-economic differences. However, in policy-making it is not a good idea to focus on ethnic differences. Because in Turkey, there is no difference in or any privilege to any ethnic groups in legislations and policies. Every one is equal in legal affairs regardless of race or ethnicity.

Respondant A3, a key officer from Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning Department of Infrastructure and Urban Renewal, says that;

In policy making processes of our ministry, we regard ethnic diversity and cultural groups. Because some of our urban development projects take place in areas where ethnic populations are resided. Besides physical improvement of areas we also concern social well being of different groups in the area. Although, ethnic diversity are not directly targeted in policies and plans, we watch over ethnic groups rights and well beings, if they are in need of help and public services.

Interviewees highlighted that, ethnic groups are experiencing quite similar processes as other groups in the society, and therefore, migrants and ethnic groups are not distinguished from other groups in policy-making. Of course, it should be added that, political conflicts based on ethnic identities and rights throughout the history of Turkish Republic, also detain public authorities from developing tailor-made or sole policies for ethnic groups in order not to revive social tensions and tempt groups. Although public authorities try their best not to touch upon ethnic issues in designing diversity-related welfare and urban policies, it is also known that migrants and ethnic groups are being influenced or sometimes are being targeted by urban policies concerning reorganization of space. For example, it is widely known and criticized that urban renewal projects in cities tend to target areas which are occupied by low income migrant groups, new comers and long-term ethnic residents just like the case of Sulukapı (İstanbul) which have undergone serious urban transformation projects that displaced the Romani people.

From LGBT individuals side, positive step or a remarkable progress could not be achieved. Because, the existence of different sexual orientations and relations are not welcomed yet on both societal and governmental level in Turkey. As Eurobarometer (2005) results reveal, Turkey is still against the idea that “*Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish*” with a high percentage of 70%. Furthermore, besides discriminatory and exclusionary acts that they face in every day life, their legal rights and status in public documents and laws still contradictive (Balaban, 2014). Not having concrete legal protection schemes and policies preventing prejudices and discrimination based on their sexual choices, social exclusion of lght groups became a everyday practice. Although, Turkey does not punish having different sexual orientations or social gender identity; it has not

developed a comprehensive policy set and legislative frameworks to combat sexual harassment and discrimination (Balaban, 2014). The only two regulations about LGBT groups cover the right to have gender-change surgery (The Civil Code 4721, with the permission of the court) and the right to exempt from obligatory military service for men, if their sexual orientation is proven by health commissions (Balaban, 2014).

The ignorance of LGBT groups in policies and legislations have left the floor to non-governmental organizations and associations of LGBT groups. Various platforms like Social Policies Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association, Lambda and Kaos GL have been trying to fill the gap of public authorities in recognizing LGBT groups and developing policies for their protection and social inclusion (Balaban, 2014).

In terms of policies, there is no *diversity policy* as an implicit way of recognizing groups and developing policies for them. Policies developed for disadvantaged groups are counted for policies covering various diverse segments in the society. Such policies cover the integration of groups into labor markets and daily social activities, reduction of socio-economic differences between groups, increasing social mobility and economic performance, increasing the level of social interaction and dialogue between groups and public agents etc. (Boğaziçi University, 2015).

Although there are many topics interrelated with disadvantaged groups (and therefore diversity), they are originating from the a dominant goal which is, namely, combating poverty or social exclusion. Combating poverty and social exclusion has been always an important issue in Turkish policy-making, because all comprehensive and institutionalized social policy making had started in 1960s, when the first signs of economic stagnation were seen (Boğaziçi University, 2015). In order to minimize the level of poverty and unemployment, Turkish government introduced various social policies concerning unemployment benefits, social security schemes and fiscal supports to groups in need (Taşgın and Özal, 2011).

It is not a coincidence that, diversity understanding in policies are mostly based on socio-economic diversity, when one looks at how all these concerns on diverse groups have evolved in time. Since the major focus has always been on socio-economic wellbeing of citizens, both national and urban level *policies of diversity* prioritized people in need of descent income, protection and support. Moreover, there are limited reference to socio-spatial concerns and spatial organizations for different groups, although different groups have different housing and neighborhood choices with respect to their income and cultural way of living. The majority of policies having spatial concerns have evolved around the designation of specific areas and public spaces for children, in terms of creating *child-friendly*, safe places for children in which traffic circulation is low or prohibited (Tandoğan, 2014).

Moreover for elderly people, elderly-friendly transportation systems and elderly-friendly cities have been gaining importance in Turkey since late 2000s. In that sense, providing safe and secure walking ways, longer traffic lights (for elder people having struggles in crossing streets due to their physical constraints), lower heights in designing stairs and pavements etc. are now being engaged in plans of local governments and decision-makers (Dural and Con, 2011).

The same concern is also valid for handicapped people who have several difficulties in using public spaces. According to Law No: 5378 Law on People With Disabilities, accessibility to public institutions and public spaces are vital for ensuring the integration of handicapped people to social daily life and labor markets. In that sense, a city planning understanding that prioritize the accessibility of handicapped people through designing streets, walkways, pedestrian crossing, green and open spaces, public buildings, shopping malls etc. as well as proper housing and public transportation for handicapped people should constitute great importance. The Law (2005) notes that, all public spaces and public buildings should be redesigned for the active use of handicapped people in a seven years' time after the law came into force. Since that time, various projects have been implemented in public spaces and public institutions to increase the level of accessibility. Apart from concerns over increasing

accessibility of handicapped people, regulations on care and rehabilitation services are also important. As seen in examples, all these efforts are area-specific and does not refer to an overall concern about the use of space by different groups according to their needs and expectations.

In the next section, the effects of neoliberal economic processes and economic crises on the perception of diversity and policies regarding diversity at urban scale are discussed in detail. Next section especially focuses on how economic processes have influenced the urban development in socio-spatial terms and how diverse groups are being treated, included or excluded in these processes. Firstly, the activities and plans, expenditures schemes of urban-level decision makers (municipalities, provincial administrations) regarding urban diversity are examined via defining the how diversity is accepted and adopted in urban policies. In the second part, spatial development and housing policies at urban level with a “*diversity lens*” are discussed. In that sense, the target groups and the groups that are (in) directly included or excluded in spatial development and urban-level housing policies are put forward through focusing on development trends during and after economic crises periods.

4.6. Diversity in Urban Context: Local Governments

Urban-level diversity or diversity-related policies in Turkey follow the framework of national level policies and schemes and tend to focus on disadvantaged groups. Moreover, urban level policies highlight the importance of effective and fair redistribution of resources and public services in reducing socio-economic differences between individuals regardless of any ethnic or cultural differences. Ethnic diversity and gender diversity (including diversity regarding sexual orientation) are not targeted explicitly in urban level expenditures, development plans and housing policies. However, redistribution policies covering urban renewal and urban transformation policies as well as social housing projects seem to have indirect effects on diverse groups in society and give us clues about which groups are

targeted or ignored in socio-spatial development process. Before focusing on spatial development patterns and trends in Turkey and their relation with diversity, it is necessary to determine the perception of diversity in urban scale through looking at local-level policies as well as urban level expenditures regarding differences in society.

Concurrently with the decreasing religious diversity in 1950s in Turkey, the massive interregional flows from rural to urban areas (with the increasing opportunities in cities in terms of employment, education and health) had resulted in hot debates on increasing ethnic diversity in cities and issues related to new comers' accomodation and articulation to workforce (Eraydın et al., 2014). However, in a similar line with the citizenship understanding of early years of Turkish Republic, the concerns on the new comers' ethnic identity, their way of living, culture and their adoption to metropolitan way of living attracted limited attention in policy making processes at urban level. In other words, regardless of their different culture and ethnic identities, new comers were treated as regular citizens in the city (Aker, 2005). Apart from the dissatisfaction with the limited recognition of ethnic diversifications in 1950s, the groups that could not take part in or benefit from the growth and urbanization processes in metropolitan cities demonstrated their problems (Özkan, 1999). At that times, Turkish left had gained popularity not only by ethnic groups (asserting that they had been subjected to discrimination and exclusion in economic processes and public services) but also low income groups, workers and even intellectuals (claiming that they can not get what they deserve or promised in a world of unfair redistribution of revenues and resources) (Özkan, 1999).

To continue with the period of 1950s when migration from rural to urban was observed in great numbers, it was witnessed that people belonging to same *province of origin* also known as *compatriots* had established their own associations (Eraydın et al, 2014). The associations were established in many metropolitan cities to enhance solidarity and cooperation between countrymen in a period of limited recognition of diverse cultures and identities by public authorities. These *kinship or*

compatriot associations acted as special networks that prioritize having similar ethnicity and culture (Aktaş et al., 2006). Compatriot associations worked to fulfill the lackings of public institutions in providing equal opportunities and services, to create opportunities for their members and to enable them to keep in touch with each other as its most cooperative way (Aktaş et al., 2006).

Compatriot associations were successful in creating active networks within compatriots but they were not successful enough to integrate their members with other citizens. When these within-group clustering in society doubled with the limited recognition policies of public institutions, severe social or socio-economic segregations had been observed both in daily interactions and spatial development in metropolitan cities. Spatial segregation of long-term residents and new comers were thought to be an obstacle in terms of achieving social cohesion and social mobility (Hudson et al., 2007) but interestingly, in Turkish practices, it was observed that segregation had partially affected the process of social mobility and cohesion within groups as a consequence of strong compatriotship bonds.

Spatial concentration of people coming from same *province of origin* had increased the chances of social mobility within the borders of the territory via creating spaces of encounter and interaction while negatively affecting the interaction with surrounding territories (Eraydın et al., 2014). Family bonds and strong sense of belonging to an ethnic group had made within-territory cohesion and mobility processes easier and softened new comers adoption processes to metropolitan way of living. Moreover, *gecekondu* areas (also known as slums) emerged, in a period of limited house stock originating from mismatch of existing housing stocks in cities with the demands of new comers, to provide housing for low income ethnic groups. Likewise the spaces of concentration of ethnic groups, *gecekondu* type of housing development contributed to the upward social mobility within-territory through increasing interaction and exchange of experiences or opportunities (Erman, 2001). In 1980s, the adoption of neoliberal thinking in urban policy making has resulted in the formation of new urban patterns and social way of living. Turkey has made great

effort to compete with developed countries through showing its growth potential, human capital and suitable urban spaces for investments. In that sense, starting from mid 1980s, various massive transportation and construction projects have been implemented (Yaylı, 2012). According to Yaylı (2012), neoliberal policies have changed the patterns of social life and have been reshaped again with these changes in social patterns. Yaylı (2012) also mentioned the importance of cities as being the spaces of reproduction of capital and as being the centers of capital accumulation.

With the adoption of neoliberalism, gaps between rich and poor (in socio-economic and spatial terms) have become wider as redistribution of income and wealth became unfair (Yaylı, 2012). In a similar manner, in terms of spatial development, a new mode of housing emerged and housing projects serving for middle/rich income groups having more or less similar way of life and consumption habits have been developed. Such projects have been taken place in outer urban spaces which are far away from inner city mass and chaos; with having high levels of security and protection (Bali, 2002; Kurtuluş, 2006; Öktem, 2006). In addition, new development projects in cities are more or less similar (standard) in terms of architecture and services and do not concern the outer relationships (with surrounding areas and urban functions) (Kurtuluş and Türkün, 2006; Yaylı, 2012).

Such exclusive, standard luxury and high-rise projects have been criticized by both society and scholars for being designated only for the interest of some groups like high-income people or investors (Kurtuluş and Türkün, 2006; Öktem, 2006; Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). Such developments were called *gated communities* which are close- group communities that have limited or no interaction with other urban areas or groups living nearby (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). According to Yaylı (2012), such development patterns increase the socio-economic and spatial gaps between rich and poor groups and minimize the chances of encounter and interaction. In other words, gaps between social classes are becoming more visible. The standardization of urban forms and architecture both in inner and outer parts of cities erode local characteristics, cultures and way of living. In terms of diversity, it is very likely to

say that, diverse cultures, diverse housing types and diverse daily activities are being eroded and citizens are directly or indirectly forced to adopt these new standard way of living.

Construction based projects not only focused on new development areas like new housing projects or trade, finance, business centers but also redevelopment or so-called decayed and physically unhealthy and risky urban lands in inner cities and sometimes in CBD's (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). In that sense, urban renewal projects as well as the development of gated communities have become the major modes of construction-based economic processes. The main reason behind was not solely reviving decayed urban lands but also opening valuable urban lands to private development and private use through various types of partnerships and construction methods (Şahin, 2011). Urban transformation processes have become very popular in reshaping the image of cities which have various bad-imagined, decayed and unsafe urban lands in it (Sakızlıoğlu, 2007). For the sake of developing *exclusive* housing projects to improve the areas' image through offering safer and larger living units as well as larger outer space became very popular in Turkey and became the most common housing development type.

The period of 1980s has also gradually changed the way that citizenship and settlement policies were made and highlighted the importance of *local* or *bottom-up* approaches in managing diversity, especially ethnic diversity. Because, the top-down national level policies were not enough to address ethnic issues. Moreover, with the increasing modernization and urbanization processes in Turkey which resulted in the formation of various new forms which were too complicated to be managed by nation-level legal frameworks. For example, massive interregional flows from rural to urban areas to benefit from employment opportunities and public services, had brought along discussions on socio-economic diversity besides ethnic diversity. Local level decision-making and local level partnerships were also important to implement spatial interventions to urban lands, since top-down approaches and interventions were too limited to analyse local needs and characteristics.

In that sense, to manage and make such huge urban development projects in cities, various partnerships (public and private) and governance models have been implemented in Turkey since 1980s. Neoliberalism's basic principles such as privatization, state rescaling and decentralized competences in policy making to local governments have enabled the formation of multi-partnered investments and decisions in urban development processes (Jacobson, 2009). Especially urban transformation and urban renewal processes have been made through the joint projects between state, local governments and private firms. In that sense, various legal arrangements have been made so far to manage, implement and finance urban transformation processes in which local governments are getting more involved.

First of all, the new Metropolitan Municipalities Law (Law No: 5216 of 2004) and Municipalities Law (Law No: 5393 of 2005) were made to enable the engagement of district-level municipalities in urban renewal and transformation processes as well as increasing their competences and power in involving and managing various housing and trade center projects (Yılmaz, 2010). Moreover, laws enable municipalities to establish their own firms to involve in construction projects as partners of private companies (Yılmaz, 2010). The laws also enable municipalities to detect and demolish buildings which are found to be risky for any potential disaster and which are no longer sustainable enough for any kind of use (as a house or workplace). These competences of municipalities are further guaranteed by the Law on Renovating, Conserving and Actively Using Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets (Law No. 5366) which was entered into force in 2005. Yılmaz (2010) criticized the law for providing space for the exploitation of valuable or historic lands through allowing rent-seekers to develop *ambitious and exclusive* their projects with lesser controls and requirements.

Besides all these legislative reforms on the increasing power of municipalities in involving and managing processes on built environment including urban renewal and transformation, there are some national level processes that enable local governments to have more competences in these fields. For example, the establishment and rise of

TOKİ (Mass Housing Administration) since 1980s have changed the pattern of urban development in cities. Although TOKİ was established to develop housing projects for low income groups and to meet the increasing demand of mass housing, it seems that the administration has been implementing various projects beyond its scope (Yılmaz, 2010).

Especially after the economic crisis of 2001, TOKİ was empowered to actively participate in large-scale construction projects, urban renewal and transformation projects (with various municipalities and private actors), which are not targeting low income groups but middle or high income groups through developing projects to provide *smart, luxury housing* and *new living spaces*, having exclusive social and entertainment facilities (Yılmaz, 2010). When one looks at the projects of TOKİ in İstanbul in 2000s, it is very likely to see the administration's mission in developing urban space for high income groups. The dominance of exclusive, highly protected housing and business centre projects overrides the projects developed for low income groups (social housing projects) in terms of amount and budget.

As discussed so far, although the major debates of diversity and most of the legislative reforms have evolved around ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in national context; the urban level socio-spatial policies, plans and programmes seemed to neglect these three diverse groups. Instead, urban policies prioritize and focus on so-called *disadvantaged groups* which include women, children, and youngsters, elder and handicapped people rather than ethnic and cultural groups.

In other words, the debates on migrants' situation, political conflicts arising from the limited recognition of ethnic and cultural groups seemed have limited impact on policy-making at urban level. It was observed that, in many plans and policies, ethnic diversity has been regarded as a taboo concept, which should not be targeted directly in order not to revive ethnicity or culture-based issues on the politic scene. Therefore, besides specific legal regulations for labor migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees, issues related to ethnic diversity have been neglected in urban policies.

When one looks at the plans and programmes of municipalities (including metropolitan municipalities), it is very likely to see the dominance of disadvantaged groups based on socio-economic differences in the society. Just like national approaches, urban and even district level municipalities tend to focus on socio-economic diversity and demographic diversity which covers women, children, handicapped and elderly people who are in need of fiscal or non-fiscal government support and public services. Urban level policies are focused on social and cultural services which are mostly covering physical needs and expectations of so-called disadvantaged groups (such as community centers, rehabilitation centers etc.).

However, besides policies and public expenditures that directly targeting socio-economic differences and working for the benefit of disadvantaged groups, it seems that policies covering the spatial interventions to urban land also affect disadvantaged groups indirectly. To say that, urban renewal projects and gated community type of developments affect (mostly negative) the processes of social cohesion and integration through offering highly segregated living areas based on socio-economic differences. These spatial processes not only create disconnected areas with different functions, architecture and land use but also disconnected communities having limited interaction and limited commonalities. Moreover, these spatial interventions mostly take place in decayed and deteriorated urban lands where disadvantaged groups live in general. For most of the cases (as discussed in following section), these groups are being pushed to outskirts of the cities. In short, for the urban-level policies developed for disadvantaged groups, it is very likely to say that, there is a conflict between social and cultural policies regarding the needs and expectations of disadvantaged groups and socio-spatial policies affecting disadvantaged groups negatively.

In terms of Fincher and Iveson's (2008) categorization of urban policies, which were, redistribution of resources, recognition and spaces of encounter; local governments tend to focus on ensuring fair and extensive redistribution of resources through increasing the amount and extent of their social expenditures and through making

services more accessible in terms of location and affordability etc. Moreover, through urban development policies they also redistribute urban rent, opportunities and public services offered in these areas. Recognition process seems less important in decision-making processes in Turkey, because the target groups have already been set during 1960s. Since then, the focus of plans and projects has evolved around disadvantaged groups unlike the policy-making processes of European Union. Ethnic diversity, international or interregional migrants and diversity based on different sexual orientations have found limited basis in local policies of Turkey, while these concepts are getting more and more attention in both national and urban level policy-making in European countries. Again, unlike European experiences, urban level policies of Turkey attach very limited importance to the creation of spaces of encounter which enable further interaction between individuals and increase the chances of social cohesion and social mobility.

5.3.1. Diversity and Policies of Redistribution

The dominancy of redistribution policies for disadvantaged groups (social expenditures, introduction of affordable and accessible public services, better opportunities in employment, education, health, urban renewal, urban transformation) as well as policies to ensure social justice and social integration of disadvantaged groups to urban life are very likely to be seen in official documents. However, it is very hard to see any explicit reference to other forms of diversity (other than socio-economic and demographic diversity). For example, in the 1/25000 Scale Istanbul Environmental Plan (2009), it is stated that;

Our goals are, in general, to ensure social justice, equality in opportunities and income, to provide accessible urban services and to combat poverty and discrimination. We also aim to increase the number and extent of social projects that foster social cohesion and social development.

In a similar way, in the Activity Report of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (2011), the target group of policies and programmes and their aims are stated as follows;

One of our priority areas in policy-making is ensuring social balance and social cohesion, in terms of ensuring better life quality, offering safe, healthy and secure living conditions, reducing all possible obstacles in achieving social cohesion and integrating to urban way of living for disadvantaged groups and especially for women, children, youngsters, handicapped and elderly people through offering better economic, social, health and educational opportunities.

Besides common approaches of diversity referring to disadvantaged groups, there are also similarities in the municipalities' goals for different groups within the umbrella concept of disadvantaged groups. To start with women policies, it is very likely to say that, engaging women into labor market through various courses and affordable and accessible education opportunities constituting the major concern in plans (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2011, 2012; Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2013). Vocational courses of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality under the name of ISMEK, micro credit schemes of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality are the major practices. Secondly, establishment of women shelters and consultation services for women suffering from physical, mental and economic violence as well as for women having financial issues are also in great importance in plans and programmes (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2009, 2011; Nilüfer Municipality, 2014). For children and youngsters, policies evolve around integrating destitute children, unemployed young people, youngsters committed to crime or forced to commit crime, youngsters using illegal drugs to daily social life and education systems (Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, 2007, 2010; Nilüfer Municipality, 2014).

For elder and handicapped people, establishment of special centers in order to keep them engaged in daily life and labor markets are the most important policy tools. Rehabilitation and daily care institutions, rest homes for elder people, special spaces or cafes for elder people are established to fulfill these aims. Moreover, fiscal and non-fiscal support to handicapped and elderly people in terms of food, clothing, fuel aids as well as technical assistant materials for the ones in need are provided by municipalities (Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, 2007, 2010; Istanbul

Metropolitan Municipality, 2009; Nilüfer Municipality, 2014; Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2011, 2013).

Besides social expenditures and policies to foster social cohesion and social mobility; redistribution policies of local governments also have a spatial dimension in terms of urban renewal and urban transformation. Urban renewal projects in Turkey were first introduced to make cities more resistant to any possible disasters through redeveloping risky areas and strengthening decayed buildings (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). As time passes, new goals have been attached to the urban renewal processes like increasing the quality of life in certain deprived neighbourhoods, to increase socio-economic opportunities through reorganizing decayed areas and to provide better infrastructure and social facilities for areas lacking proper services of transportation, health, education etc (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). Respondent B6, a key officer from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Renewal, justifies such multidimensional focus of urban renewal processes in Istanbul as follows;

Urban renewal in Istanbul is a very complex, multidimensional and multi-partnered process which affects very different segments of society. Urban renewal aims to increase social opportunities including employment chances as well as increasing the quality of built environment. We mostly target deprived and decayed neighbourhoods and develop our plans to upgrade the life of quality while upgrading the quality of buildings against possible disasters.

Respondent B4, a key officer from Beyoğlu Municipality Department of Urban Renewal, shares similar points with Respondent B6 and claims that,

Earthquake of 1999 showed us that we are not ready to cover the costs of disasters in cities, but it showed us that we can lower the negative outcomes of it. Thus, redeveloping risky areas constitutes great importance. What is good for urban renewal is that, it is not only contributing to the development of better built environment with better housing and public services but also contributing to the social wellbeing of people living in those areas.

However, such claims of key officers, touching upon the positive sides of renewal, are not shared by people experiencing urban renewal policies. All interviewees, who

were influenced by or directly involved in urban renewal processes, claim that urban renewal is for the sake of rent-seekers, private firms and investors, not for the sake of the residents of these areas.

Despite the declarations of key public officers and documents on policies and practices favouring urban renewal processes in ensuring better socio-economic opportunities and housing, people living or once lived in urban Cihangir and Tarlabası Neighbourhoods (which have undergone urban renewal projects) think the opposite. They draw attention to the societal changes in these areas which have been originated by the incapability of public authorities in dealing with the social costs of such huge and economy-driven projects. Before evaluating the responses of interviewees on urban renewal, economic crisis and diversity, it is necessary to put forward the social characteristics of renewal areas.

Since 2000s, both Cihangir and Tarlabası was home to *unwanted groups* and *disadvantaged groups*, who were excluded from institutional recognition and networks, labour markets, public services and societal life (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). Both areas are/were diverse neighbourhoods including different ethnic groups and minorities covering Romani and Kurdish people as well as interregional migrants having different regional cultures and international migrants especially coming from Middle East region (Saybaşılı, 2006).

Moreover, socio-economic diversity covering low and middle income groups having different occupations such as factory workers, sex workers, and demographic diversity (based on age, gender and educational level) exists in Tarlabası and Cihangir Neighbourhoods (Saybaşılı, 2006). These diverse groups have demonstrated their dissatisfaction with being excluded in urban daily life and labour markets for many decades, although their voices have been heard recently with the critics on urban renewal practices. As Sakızlıoğlu (2014) put forward, these neighbourhoods were the houses of low-income disadvantaged groups, living in the dilapidated neighborhoods and suffering from poverty, crime, unemployment,

physical and socio-economic deprivation, and social exclusion (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). However, such problems of residents of Tarlabası, Cihangir and many areas become visible when local governments made their plans to transform these areas.

The effects of urban renewal projects and neoliberal policies have been felt by the residents of the neighbourhood in terms of increasing physical deprivation, socio-spatial segregation, humiliation, discrimination, social exclusion and fear of displacement, as they claim. Moreover, due to the transformation project, many of the current Tarlabası residents have already been forced to leave the area, when their houses were sold off to private firms or already demolished to be rebuilt as luxury housing. The new life in Tarlabası is being reorganized for high-income and so-called *new elite* groups including firm owners, businessmen, engineers, doctors etc. who does not fit to the lifestyle of low income residents of Tarlabası who are mostly low skilled or low educated working class or people having financial problems having different neighbourhood culture, way of interaction and daily life.

Interviewees pointed out that urban renewal projects target low income groups or groups that are no longer welcomed by the majority society and new elite classes (investors, high income people and entrepreneurs) and make these groups leave the area by forcing or convincing them to leave. As Respondent C1, a former resident of Tarlabası Neighbourhood, asserts that,

Since 2007, lots of things have happened here. First municipality officials came and told us that we would get better opportunities and better houses once we agree on the implementation of urban renewal in Tarlabası. I and my family were tenants there, so we did not interested in what was going on. We thought that it was the problem of our home owner, but when he agreed with the authorities in selling his house to get his rights, we understood that we were homeless. Because there were no social coverage or rights for us and we moved to an even worse house in Kasımpaşa where we afford to live.

Respondent C2, a former resident of Tarlabası and Cihangir Neighbourhoods, shares a similar story with Respondent C1 through adding her story of how she and her

family were indirectly forced to leave their houses in two of the urban renewal sites in Istanbul, namely Cihangir and Tarlabası as follows;

We were living in Cihangir, in our own house, prior to urban renewal practices in the area. First we were tried to be accepted the terms of the officials to sell our house and after several negotiations we sold our house under its value (although we promised to get more) and moved to Tarlabası area. Later on, we found out that Cihangir became a popular place for artists, intellectual people and rich groups in the society. Nowadays, a similar process is happening in Tarlabası. This time we don't know what to do. We, having limited income, and other unwanted groups (referring to sex workers, low income groups, street vendors etc.) were once forced to leave Cihangir, I think we will do the same thing again and move to another decayed area.

Respondent C3, a former resident of Cihangir Neighbourhood (now living in Tarlabası), also touches upon the gentrification process in Cihangir Neighbourhood and claims that *“Cihangir was redeveloped for middle or high income classes, we were no longer wanted in the area because we were not rich enough.”*

As understood from interviewees' assertions and from the viewpoint of people witnessing all these processes, urban renewal is not targeting the needs and living conditions of different groups in those areas, instead it targets middle or high income levels groups through providing housing and business areas with better infrastructure and services as well as a gentrified population. In that sense, it is very likely to say that, social goals (increasing chances of social mobility, providing better socio-economic conditions and various opportunities) aimed by public authorities for urban renewal processes have been doomed to fail in societal level. In terms of gentrification processes in urban renewal sites to provide private spaces for new elites, various groups who are generally targeted as marginal groups (including migrants, sex workers, street vendors etc) and the ones in need of affordable housing are forced to move to even poorer and deteriorated neighbourhoods which provides cheaper housing in the lack of social housing (Zwiers et al, 2014). Gentrification, in that sense, serves for the creation of a homogeneous society in terms of socio-economic conditions, ethnicity and culture through pushing the low income groups

and ethnic groups out. In a similar manner with Zwiers et al. (2014), Respondent C4, a current resident in Çukurcuma Neighbourhood (very close to Cihangir), asserts that,

The real owners of Cihangir have been pushed out of Cihangir and left with limited rights. Cihangir became the playground of so-called elites and rich groups. They are diverse within themselves, they are lesbians, gays, doctors, musicians etc. but they are all rich. Because of being rich, differences are tolerated unlike the differences within low income groups. The neighbourhood culture and unique lifestyle originating from the existence of diverse groups in Cihangir are dead when the real owners have moved to other parts of Istanbul.

With a lens of diversity, it is very likely to say that, the urban renewal and housing activities of both TOKİ and district municipalities decrease the level of diversity in the sites through providing standardized living or working sites in terms of architecture and services that they offer regardless of how different their target groups are. Moreover, especially for projects for low income groups, the needs and cultures of low income groups are not being taken into consideration. These groups are forced to leave their places in inner cities since they leave no choice for groups that lost their homes after renewal projects.

Homeowners of urban renewal areas mostly have two options. The first one is selling their houses and getting their rights and the second is moving to social houses of TOKİ. As a former homeowner in Sulukule Renewal area, Respondent C7 evaluates these options.

It was 2005, when I found a job with insurances after I lost my job in 2001 crisis. Again in 2005, I learned that I had to negotiate with public officers to sell my house or leave it. These were very tough times. I still remember that, when we were trying to survive after 2001 crisis, this renewal problem doubled our concerns about our future and future of our children. To guarantee my life, I chose to live in TOKİ houses in Esenler İkitelli. But I'm not happy there. I feel like isolated and alienated from the rest of the society.

TOKİ is also being criticized for eroding the culture of neighbourhoods through developing gated communities both for low and high income groups which are

isolated from the rest of the society (Yılmaz, 2010). Projects developed for high income groups include various luxury social facilities that make its residents stay within the boundaries of the site and limits their interaction with surrounding areas. In a similar way, especially for groups that are forced or suggested to live in TOKİ's mass housing sites (after urban renewal processes in inner city neighbourhoods), it is very hard to live in an environment which is quite far away from city centre with no neighbourhood culture or traditional way of interaction (like Roma people's interaction mostly take place on streets) (Yılmaz, 2010). Moreover, people who are forced to live in newly developed social housing in peripheral areas after losing their homes have serious difficulties in covering the costs of heating, electricity and condo fees. When multiplied with the dissatisfactions with the way of living far from city centre, many residents prefer to come back to inner city areas regardless of even worse conditions that the area offers (Yılmaz, 2010).

Besides home owners, it seems that tenants were hit hard in the process of displacement. Since they did not own a property in these areas, their rights and problems have been mostly disregarded. In that sense, they move to other neighbourhoods that offer affordable housing. However, as Respondent C8, a former resident in Sulukule Renewal Area claims;

We were tenants in Sulukule. After renewal, we were forced to leave the neighbourhood. Although TOKİ provided social houses for tenants, provided houses to make us home owners, we did not go there. Because we found out that the repayment schemes for these houses, their maintenance costs, condo fees were not affordable for us. Thus, we moved to Karagümriik where lots of Romani people like us had also moved.

To say that in short, it seems that urban renewal and gentrification processes are not supported at societal level (for people witnessing these processes) despite the claims of public officials about the benefits of urban renewal and gentrification. Thus, urban renewal is not acting as an effective and fair redistribution policy in terms of rent and opportunities created, from the eyes of the residents of renewal areas. Former or current residents claim that, renewal processes targets and recognizes socio-economic diversity and favours their high income group's wellbeing. In relation with

the discussions above, the next section explores how public officials in urban level recognize and target diversity in their expenditure schemes, social policies and socio-spatial interventions like urban renewal and transformation.

5.3.2. Diversity and Policies of Recognition

Interviews with the key officials of three metropolitan municipalities (Istanbul, Ankara and Bursa) showed that the recognized diverse groups in policies and plans are more or less the same in all provinces and they all are named as *disadvantaged groups*. However, when key respondents from these municipalities were asked about how they perceive diversity (Diversity is an asset or threat for urban life and development?), the answers were more diversified. Although the majority of interviewees mentioned the positive sides of diversity in first place through referring solidarity and tolerance; they admit that policies developed so far are not enough to cover, foster or manage diversity with its new forms in cities. Only two of the respondents emphasized the negative aspects of urban diversity. For example, Respondent B2, a key officer from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Cultural and Social Affairs, claims that; “*Cultural differences and traditions form societies. Respect, tolerance, solidarity originates from diversity. Therefore, diversity is the endless resource of togetherness and harmony.* ” In a similar manner, Respondent B1, states that;

Urban diversity brings along new opinions, innovations, new cultures, new ways of solidarity and tolerance, new technologies, and thus diversity should be valued and fostered to benefit from the opportunities it brings to social and economic life.

Respondent B3, a key officer from former Provincial Special Administration of Istanbul, and Respondent B4, a key officer from Beyoğlu Municipality, Department of Urban Renewal (Istanbul), touch upon the importance of diversity as an asset when managed properly as follows, respectively;

Diversity and tolerance is our past, present and future. Throughout our history we always valued diversity. However, diversity is no longer properly

managed and results in increasing social tensions, crimes, bad habits and social unrest.

Differences are good if democracy is working with all its elements, differences are good when human rights are truly appreciated. However, when systems lack of these elements, which is the actual situation in the world, diversity may act as a threat to peace and the sustainability of services.

Despite the fact that, respondents from different municipalities and departments mostly regarded diversity as an asset, the policies and plans of these municipalities only targets only a limited part of the society. When one looks at the policies, aims & goals and practices of municipalities made for the groups they recognized, it is very likely to see how similar and their policies are. Both municipalities attach great deal to the integration of disadvantaged groups to social daily life and labor markets. In that sense, policies for increasing the quality and accessibility of education and labor market services are the major goals in plans and programmes targeting disadvantaged groups as whole (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 2011, 2013; Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2009,2010,2011,2012,3013; Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, 2009, 2011; Nilüfer Municipality, 2013, 2014). Vocational courses, micro credits for the entrepreneurs in need, affordable and accessible schools and universities are the most common examples of integration goals. However, it should be noted that the urban level efforts on ensuring integration of disadvantaged groups do not resemble the integration policies developed in European countries. For Turkish case, integration is not being used as an alternative term for assimilation and do not have an ethnic background. In other words, integration goals in urban level policies and plans refer to socio-economic integration of disadvantaged groups not the integration of ethnic groups to the society. More specifically, although Istanbul is the most diverse and cosmopolite province in Turkey, its perception of diversity is too limited to cover the existing identities in the city and still lacks the issue of increasing interregional and international migration. Unlike Istanbul, Activity Report of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality (2013) covers a more comprehensive understanding of disadvantaged groups through referring interregional migrants and

changing socio-economic patterns with increasing population. It is stated in the report that;

Bursa is getting more crowded with interregional migration flows and becoming more open to increasing socio-economic issues; therefore, the need towards effective urban and social policies are becoming visible day by day. For that reason, in order to protect citizens of Bursa from increasing socio-economic issues, our aim is to develop policies to ensure better and uqualified social services for disadvantaged groups (handicapped, elder people and children etc.).

Apart from reports, Respondent B1, a key officer from the Department of Equality and Solidarity of Nilüfer Municipality (Bursa), mentions how Bursa is now trying to adopt diversity (with all its new forms) in plans and documents by stating that;

Diversity is not all about having a disadvantaged position in reaching and benefiting from public services, it is more complex than we can imagine. Our municipality enlarges its vision in recognizing new groups and groups that have found little space in previous policies like LGBT groups .Very recently, our Social Support Bureau has started its new projects based on the inclusion of LGBT individuals in society and social services. We are not developing inclusion policies for LGBT groups just because they are privileged or disadvantaged; we are trying to break negative attitudes towards different sexual orientations in society by fostering them to participate in our projects.

Ethnic diversity is not recognized separately in urban level policies. Because as discussed before, ethnicity is not a tool of overpraising or downgrading some groups in the society. Everybody, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, race and gender, is equal in front of legal affairs and everybody has equal chances in benefiting from public services and human rights. Moreover, national level legacies of surpassing ethnicity based differences in society due to political reasons seem to affect urban level policies in targeting ethnic groups explicitly. However, such overlooks on migration and ethnicity issues do not mean that recognizing ethnic differences in the society is not a necessary.

As seen from urban renewal processes in diverse neighborhoods like Tarlabası, Cihangir and Sulukule, ethnic diversity should be a matter of concern. Since the

majority of people witnessing urban renewal in their neighborhood claim that these interventions on space is to erode ethnic differences in an implicit way. They also claim that, public authorities put forward various reasons for urban renewal which are not reflecting the actual aims. They assert that, urban renewal targets diverse areas with deprived built environment where various disadvantaged groups live including migrants, low income workers, LGBT groups etc. and aims to push these disadvantaged groups out to open space for high-income groups. Especially in times of crisis, such a hidden aim becomes even visible, according to the residing in urban renewal areas.

To say that in short, recognition debates mostly take place in national level discourses and political areas and do not directly be translated to urban level discussions and policy making processes in Turkey. However, it is very likely to observe the signs of these national level discussions at urban level especially in terms of disadvantaged groups in the society. Both national and urban renewal policies recognize disadvantaged groups referring to socio-economic and demographic diversity and excluding ethnic diversity (migrants and long-term minority groups). What is interesting for disadvantaged groups is that, the policies developed for them do not always work for the favor and benefit of these groups. From one point, these groups are supported with fiscal and non-fiscal benefits to ensure the fair redistribution of resources and their rights are being guaranteed via various legislation. However, from another point, redistribution policies in socio-spatial terms (like urban renewal and transformation) mostly neglect the problems of these groups, and moreover, try to push these groups out of urban renewal areas to provide space for non-disadvantaged groups.

5.3.3. Diversity and Policies of Spaces of Encounter

In terms of creation of spaces of encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008), special events and food supplies in important religious and national days (like the events of Ramadan in public squares), special cafes and centers for handicapped people having

several disabilities (fostering the interaction between them) come to the forth. Respondent B5, a key officer from Nilüfer Municipality Department of Social Services, states that;

We are organizing various events in Nilüfer (district) to increase the level of communication between different groups as well as the interaction within groups. For example, our summer trips and picnics are being organized for elder and handicapped people, but we invite families with children as well. Because these events increase tolerance, solidarity and happiness of disadvantaged groups at first place. Secondly, such events give moral and sense of togetherness to lonely people like elder people.

In a similar manner, Respondent B2, gives information about Ankara Metropolitan Municipality's projects in creating spaces of interaction as follows;

We aim to provide safe and secure places where people can meet each other. For that reason, we organize public events like concerts, activities, fairs etc. to create opportunities for people to make them take part in societal life regardless of their cultural background or age. Moreover, we try to gather similar groups as well. For example, we aim to increase the level of interaction between parents when their children enjoying in activities organized by professionals. They meet each other, talk each other and even become friends. These are all good steps to increase social cohesion and sense of togetherness.

Besides all these direct efforts of municipalities to provide spaces of encounter and interaction, it seems that urban renewal and transformation policies of these municipalities conflict with these positive steps. According to Şahin (2011), through a development pattern based on renewal and transformation, the notion of public spaces where residents or visitors having different backgrounds have chance of encounter and freely benefit from open spaces are being replaced with private and safe urban spaces that are serving for high profile residents (like residences having their own social facilities, walkways and recreational activities). Such divisions in public spaces decrease the chances of meeting or seeing people having a different way of life and increases social segregation and polarization. Especially in times of economic crises, when people are competing with each other to find a job or to benefit from public services, these kinds of divisionary developments further increase the social, economic and spatial gaps between individuals.

4.7. Diversity, Economic Crisis and Urban Policies

Economic crisis of 2008 inevitably affected the social wellbeing of diverse groups in terms of unemployment and decreased consumption capacities as a result of decreasing incomes as discussed in Section 5.1.5. Such effects have been observed in cities as well, but however, the risk of poverty due to rising unemployment levels seems to be prevented with the unemployment benefits and social expenditures of both national and urban level public authorities. Although these expenditures and supports could not prevented the bad conditions in labor market in terms of limited or scarce job opportunities and increasing competition between individuals, it seems that they worked as stabilizers the worsening family budgets.

Table 10 Budget Expenditures of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2010-2014
Source: Investment Programmes of IMM for 2010-2014

	Total Investments (Thousand TL)					%				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Transportation	2,255,209	1,836,506	1,822,271	1,668,801	180,586	68.5	67.1	61.5	51.7	8.23
General Management	412,895	396,681	541,212	621,338	449,518	12.55	14.5	18.2	19.2	20.5
Environment Management	298,516	223,281	338,333	557,105	698,416	9.07	8.16	11.4	17.2	31.85
Disaster and Risk Management	69,270	48,044	35,086	49,680	125,699	2.11	1.76	1.2	1.5	5.73
Social Services	57,039	108,044	126,175	163,647	414,826	1.73	3.95	4.3	5.1	18.91
Cultural Services	37,246	61,595	38,373	100,220	80,432	1.13	2.25	1.3	3.1	3.67

When one looks at the expenditure and investment figures of municipalities, Table 10, it is very likely to trace back how social and cultural expenditures are getting important year by year in total expenditures of municipalities. For instance, the figures of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (in terms of investments for 2010-2014) show how social and cultural expenditures are increasing even in times of crisis.

In Table 10, although social expenditure figures are far lower than expenditures on transportation, disaster management and built environment (housing, sports and cultural facilities etc.), it seems that social expenditures for disadvantaged groups (to ensure their social integration to daily communal life and labor force) are getting higher and higher each year. It is interesting to witness the fall of transportation expenditures after 2012 (especially 2014 decreasing to 8, 23%) while the rate of social expenditures in total investments is increasing. Table 10 is a brief summary of what is happening in cities after the economic crisis of 2008 which is also named as the crisis of capitalism and neoliberalism favoring massive transportation and construction (Bresser-Pereira, 2010). Because, it was believed that, dependency to construction and transportation projects over production, innovation, research and development activities in developing cities to foster growth is sustainable enough to lead keep the economy growing (like İstanbul, Athens etc.) (Bresser-Pereira, 2010).

However, the economic crisis of 2008 showed that such dependency to construction and huge investments are not working anymore to recover fast. Despite the risks of heavily depending on massive transportation and construction investments, İstanbul and many other cities kept on investing in these sectors (in the form of luxury, high rise housing projects, trade and business centers, shopping malls, hotels as well as urban renewal and transformation projects) to recover from the economic crisis of 2001 (Kolsuz and Yeldan, 2014). This trend have continued till 2010, when it was understood at institutional level that, an economic growth model heavily depend on construction is not working anymore (Kolsuz and Yeldan, 2014).

In 1980s, in times of constructing neoliberal cities, Turkey followed the competitive, economic trends in the world and focused on a growth process based on construction and transportation sectors (Şahin, 2011). The main reason behind such focus was, to invest on sectors which would act as growth locomotives through reviving other sectors and economic transactions in cities (Şahin, 2011; Eşkinat and Tepecik, 2012). In that sense, a focus on construction sector that leads to increases economic activities (through the inclusion of various sub-sectors in construction processes like

architectural designing, decoration and furniture business, production of building materials, insurance and sales etc.) and that meets the physical necessities of neoliberal era (competitive, luxury housing, trade and finance centers etc.) come to forward among other sectors and thus, urban space has become ever valuable (Şahin, 2011). Therefore, with the increasing privatization, decentralization and state rescaling, a growth model based on construction sector was developed in early 1980s.

Even in times of economic crises, construction sector have been regarded as the main locomotive growth sector. Especially after the economic crisis of 2001, by which Turkey was affected in greater terms than the crisis of 2008, construction sector has become the driving force of the economy (Eşkinat and Tepecik, 2012). Such an emphasis not only created various job opportunities for individuals but also increased the importance of *space* in generating rent and prosperity (Şahin, 2011). Through investing on various ambitious transportation projects (like new high-ways, high-speed trains, bridges, tunnels etc.) and various luxury, smart and high-rise housing projects, urban land in Turkey has become one of the integral parts of economic growth processes. The dominancy of construction sector over other sectors, have resulted in several independent projects which have been developed independent from each other such as gated community type of developments made various different companies or private and public partnerships.

According to the figures of TUIK (2013), although construction sector was influenced negatively with an annual growth rate of -17, 4% in 2001, in 2002, it grew immensely to rate of 13, 9% in a one year time. Similarly, construction sector in Turkey had continued to grow till the economic crisis of 2008 with an average growth rate of 10%, however with the economic crisis, the growth rate has once again fallen down to -8,1% in 2008 and -16,1% in 2009.

Since the effects of the economic crisis of 2008 were less harsh than the effects of 2001, construction sector seemed to have less affected from the crisis. However,

even in times of economic crisis, that neoliberal, profit-seeking, large-scale renewal projects maintained their dominance in economic recovery scenarios of Turkey and were treated as the locomotive sector of growth in metropolitan cities by public authorities.

Investments and incentives on construction sector in times of crisis worked well and the growth rate of construction sector has reached its peak point with the rate of 18,3% in 2010. Such an economic model based on construction and transportation has lessened the initial negative effects of economic crisis in terms of unemployment, poverty and economic activities which is felt by inhabitants. However, with the two economic crises and the reduced levels of consumption as well as extension of the actual housing demand with various projects resulted in the degrowth of construction sector and since 2010 the growth rate of the sector has fallen gradually to 0,6% in 2012 (TUIK Construction Sector Statistics, 2013).

As redistribution policies of economic crisis period, new social programmes to foster social cohesion or extended public expenditures and spatial interventions (through urban transformation, gentrification etc.) aiming to increase the socio-economic wellbeing of individuals were not enough to prevent social tensions generating from the unfair and inadequate redistribution of resources. To say that, the increasing socio-economic gaps and socio-spatial polarization between groups have been ever increased in times of economic crisis with the increasing gaps based on income, accessing to public services, accessing to job market etc. Although high income groups have also been affected negatively from the economic crisis, low income groups have been affected more harshly. In other words, the motto of rich gets richer, poor get poorer has been actualized in times of crisis.

Such increasing social tensions in society have become even more with the urban development policies of local governments. Because, urban renewal processes or new housing developments targeting high income groups has been supported even by the authorities in a conflicting way with the social policies of authorities aiming to

increase interaction and dialogue between different groups to achieve social cohesion. Segregationist type of urban development results in unfair redistribution of urban rent and public services as the majority of residents of urban renewal areas put forward. This type of segregationist spatial policies decreases the level of trust to public authorities in terms of unequal treatment to different segments of society and unfair redistribution of resources.

In terms of recognition, spatial interventions favoring high or middle income groups brings along the question of “*for whom these projects are being implemented?*” (Kent Akademisi, 2015). Based on the ten interviews made with the former or current residents of urban renewal areas, there seems to be a common belief that spatial interventions to urban lands under the name of renewal, gentrification and transformation, favor high-income groups (investors, rich groups, entrepreneurs etc.) while disregarding or pushing out low income groups and ethnic groups of urban communal life.

In relation with the economic crisis of 2001, Respondent C6, a current resident of Tarlabası, claims that diversity and different ethnic backgrounds are being indirectly targeted as problem areas in times of crisis. Because, from her point of view, ethnic groups are in Turkey are still not welcomed and they are seen as potential unemployed people and people who are likely to commit crime. She says that,

That's why urban renewal projects targets deprived areas where a mix of different ethnic populations lives. Public officials see ethnic groups as sources of conflicts. However, instead of explicitly repelling these groups, they use urban renewal as a mask to send these people to outskirts, especially when something goes wrong in the economy.

From another point of view, in times of crisis, protecting diversity in these areas or meeting the social problems of diverse groups were not the concerns of project owners and the efforts of the governments were too limited and vague to solve any social problems in the area. Respondent C5 adds that;

Tarlabaşı was a unique and diverse neighbourhood. I was born and raised here, we were a rich family but we were friends and neighbours with poor families as well. In old times, there were very few conflicts between groups; there was tolerance to different cultures. However, when Tarlabaşı welcome low income new comers and migrants from Turkey and surrounding countries, social conflicts and social polarization had begun. No one knew each other and no one respected each other. Social conflicts had increased as Tarlabaşı residents excluded from the rest of the society with Dalan's projects leaving Tarlabaşı alone. With the economic crisis, many people lost their jobs and suffered from poverty. No one saw them. No one care the social problems in the neighbourhood but now they are pretending to care about social problems. And it's because of the urban renewal negotiations and it's because of minimizing the objections against urban renewal

Moreover, the majority of interviewees also claimed that urban renewal does not aim to improve the social and physical conditions of the residents, but it aims to provide inner city, valuable urban lands for the interest-groups. However, it is important here to note that, these claims represent the opinions of inhabitants of urban renewal areas and most of the time do not touch upon the positive sides of urban renewal processes as expressed by public officers in previous sections.

Renewal policies focusing on the economic side of the issue (redevelopment of urban lands to provide new spaces for economic activities or profit-seeking) are blamed for shading the existing or increasing social problems in the area and neglecting the local population characteristics, especially in times of crisis. In that vein, Respondent C1 and C5, former residents of Tarlabaşı, claim that,

Public officers made many transportation and infrastructure projects in Beyoğlu and also in Tarlabaşı but no one cared the social problems or social tensions between different income and ethnic groups taking place in Tarlabaşı. Tarlabaşı was invisible till its central and strategic value in economy was understood.

I left Tarlabaşı after the crisis of 2001, because it was obvious that Tarlabaşı would be one of the intervention areas. First, it was separated from the central activities of Taksim with the construction of huge Tarlabaşı Boulevard in 1980s and left to its fate. However, I always believed that, one day Tarlabaşı would also turned out to be a place of rent-seeking just like many central areas in Istanbul and I also believed that when something negative happens in economy, these lands would be used as sources of

economic recovery. It happened just like I thought, but I was mistaken with the dates. Tarlabası area was targeted after the economic crisis of 2008.

Regarding the insights of societal views on spatial interventions to urban space and their relations with economic crises periods, it is very likely to say that, these processes are not perceived as fair redistribution policies which aim to increase the socio-economic wellbeing of people living in these areas through providing better architecture, environment and better public services and employment opportunities, by the majority of respondents. Moreover, interventions to urban lands are also criticized by residents, for creating spaces for the use of exclusive and favoured groups (high income groups) in the society and decreasing the chances of encounter of different segments of the society. To say that, when low income disadvantaged and ethnic groups are pushed directly or indirectly to the outskirts of cities (where they afford to live), the areas that they lived turn out to be highly secured and protected places in which daily encounters and interactions of diverse groups can no longer be sustained. Again in terms of spaces of encounter, former residents blame urban renewal to erode neighbourhood culture in these areas and bringing a homogeneous and closed-way of living in which the level of diversity is minimized.

5.5. Conclusion

Throughout Chapter 5, perception of diversity in national and urban level policies and legislative affairs is discussed with reference to the neoliberal approaches to diversity, neoliberal social and spatial policy making trends. Special attention is given to the economic crisis periods of Turkey, especially to the ones took place in 2001 and 2008.

As the first remark, it is put forward that Turkey's perception of diversity is still too limited to cover the newly emerging identities in neoliberal era. Socio-economic and demographic diversity are the mostly referred diversity times in official documents, plans and programmes. However, these forms of diversity do not explicitly mentioned in policies; but instead, they are indirectly covered under an umbrella

heading of *disadvantaged groups*. Being disadvantaged and vulnerable in Turkey is interrelated with socio- economic diversity and includes diverse groups that are in need of governmental help or support. In that sense, diversity understanding of Turkey is based on socio-economic differences and mostly covers low income groups or groups in need of help. Gender diversity, women related issues are also referred and targeted in policy making processes but still the focus is on women who are in need of help. In a similar vein, demographic diversity including age, occupation, educational level differences are in the agenda again with reference to being disadvantaged in terms of benefiting from public services and fair redistribution of resources.

In terms of policies, there is no *diversity policy* as an implicit way of recognizing groups and developing policies for them. Policies developed for disadvantaged groups are counted for policies covering various diverse segments in the society. Such policies cover the integration of groups into labor markets and daily social activities, reduction of socio-economic differences between groups, increasing social mobility and economic performance, increasing the level of social interaction and dialogue between groups and public agents etc.

In Turkey, the important aspects of the understanding of multiculturalism are narrowly defined and, thus rights and freedoms of those belonging to different ethnic, cultural groups and having distinct languages are formally denied. On the other hand, Turkish state recently has recognized the existence of these groups and even made limited political and legal arrangements in order to enable those people to make use of specific rights like the use of their language in everyday life and press without granting them any minority status.

Despite on-going debates on ethnic diversity, religious diversity and differences based on different lifestyles in national level politics for decades, such issues have not yet translated into policy making processes. The rise of identity politics, politic conflicts and legislations based on ethnic diversity and sometimes diversity based on

gender seem to have no or limited impact on policies. National level policy-making processes are seemed to be avoiding from addressing ethnic problems in Turkey in order not to emphasize the differences in society and in order to preserve its attitude that regards every citizen as equal without any reference to ethnic, cultural or religious background. However, Turkey seems to have struggles in keeping the balance between emphasizing differences or neglecting differences, when one looks at the on-going and unsolved issues about ethnic recognition and accessibility of services. Although ethnic diversity have always been one the major debates in policy-making processes and politic arenas, there have been limited reference to ethnic groups and their needs in national level policies and programmes since the establishment of Republic of Turkey. Ethnic groups have demonstrated their dissatisfaction with both their limited recognition as a different ethnic identity from the mainstream society and limited services or policies addressing their issues in Turkey. When one focuses on economic crisis periods, ethnic diversity and ethnic issues are still lacking in fiscal aid schemes, housing policies and public services, although these groups are also in need of public services as any disadvantaged group in the society.

With the EU accession period, starting from 2000s, diversity discussions have entered into a new phase when popular notions of multiculturalism and interculturalism come to the scene. To adopt the social model of Europe, Turkey has made several regulations on ensuring human rights, welcoming international migrants, recognizing differences in society and ensuring fair and adequate redistribution of resources and services. In that sense, starting from early 2000s, public expenditure (in terms of social protection, health and education expenditures) and social benefit schemes devoted disadvantaged groups have been increased gradually. Even in times of economic crisis, this trend has not changed. Especially, the economic crisis of 2008 seems to have increased the extent and amount of social and cultural expenditures. However, the focus is still on disadvantaged groups (including socio-economic and demographic diversity) and the services and spending's of urban-level authorities for the remaining parts of society stand as a big

question mark. By just looking at the official figures and the coverage of their projects, no one can make a comment about what has happened to middle class, international and interregional migrants, LGBT individuals etc. Of course, it does not mean that, we can understand what is going on for disadvantaged groups from official resources, but at least we can observe how they are being treated in times of crisis.

To say that, national and urban level authorities recognizes women, children, youngsters, elder and handicapped people who are in need of fiscal or non-fiscal supports of government as disadvantaged groups and organize their policies on redistribution of resources, services and expenditures to address their needs and expectations especially in times of economic crises.

However, increasing investments and public expenditures on disadvantaged groups and several legislations made so far to ensure their wellbeing are conflicting with the socio-spatial interventions of public authorities. In other words, positive steps taken to ensure fair redistribution of resources and services to disadvantaged groups are undermined with spatial urban processes like urban renewal which is thought to increase injustices in redistribution. Such spatial processes have become dominant interventions made on urban lands and gained popularity in neoliberal times of Turkey. Favoring the construction sector in urban development policies to compete with globalized and developed cities of the world has resulted in even worse patterns of inequality and socio-economic conditions.

Neoliberal policies and approaches adopted in 1980s in Turkey, not only changed the patterns of economic development but also changed social processes. To say that, the focus on competitiveness and engaging in global markets has changed the modes of production and innovative processes as well as socio-economic conditions and status of people. The dominancy of capitalist markets and the need to attract domestic and foreign investments have increased the importance of ambitious economic policies over social ones, and thus, social policies to ensure fair redistribution of resources, protection and security schemes to help people in need have lost their popularity in

decision-making. With the focus on capitalist economic processes, it was thought by critics that, high-income groups, entrepreneurs and investors get richer and low income groups, workers and people in need get poorer with the lacking of adequate social policies. Increasing socio-economic disparities between different segments of society resulted in socio-spatial differences as well. In that sense, high income people chose to live highly secured, luxury and exclusive mode of housing projects which have limited interaction with the surrounding especially in sub-urban areas. However, low income groups remained in inner city and forced to live in decayed and deprived neighbourhoods where they can afford to live.

In brief, neoliberal policies and crises-driven policies have not resulted in better economic and social conditions or have not converged economies of countries as modernization theory suggested, but instead they have resulted in worse socio-economic processes as well as increasing social exclusion, discrimination, socio-spatial segregation and less tolerance, solidarity and interaction between different segments of the society. Moreover, neoliberal cities favoured homogeneous urban lands which are occupied by new elites and high income groups. In such a neoliberal agenda, there is no room for immigrants, poor people and ethnic groups demanding justice, since these groups are thought to be the sources of crime, illegal affairs with less contribution of economic processes of cities.

Socio-spatial interventions to urban space in the form of urban renewal, urban transformation and gentrification not only leads to unfair redistribution of rents and benefits obtained from these areas, but also lessened interaction between different segments of society. As discussed in detail in previous sections, immigrants and low income groups are being implicitly excluded from the society through being forced to move to outskirts. These displaced groups either go to even worse neighbourhood where they afford to live or accept the terms of public authorities and agree to live in outskirts of the city. In either case, their right to the city and their demand of socio-spatial justice are prevented. Because, these people are implicitly forced to live in areas where they do not belong culturally and in areas which are locational

disadvantaged in accessing public services like health and education etc. Such a development pattern increases socio-economic and socio-spatial gaps between different groups and especially in times of crisis, such gaps even become visible. In those times, poorer gets poorer with lowered income and unemployment and if they are not covered by social protection systems and benefits, they are more likely to suffer from socio-spatial interventions as well. Moreover, urban renewal processes and gated communities lower the level of interaction between different segments of society through providing special and protected areas for new elites and pushing some groups to the outskirts of the cities. To say that, neoliberal urban development trends lower the chances of encounter and interaction which in turn lower the level of social cohesion, social mobility and solidarity.

In brief, neo-liberal urban policies and socio-spatial interventions made in economic crises periods can be best summarized by Brenner and Theodore's (2002) quotation, which states, "*the overarching goal of such neoliberal policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an area both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices*". To say that, in times of economic crises, urban development trends based on massive transformation and constructions on urban lands have been seen as tools for recovery, investment and redevelopment with a focus on economic and physical aspects, while disregarding the social outcomes of planning and favouring a less diverse and highly homogenized society.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Answers to Research Questions and Justification of Hypotheses

Within the framework of all the discussions on the changing discourses and policies of diversity, this study aimed to answer the main question of; “*How do diversity and diversity related discourses and policies change in times of economic crises in European Union and Turkey?*” through asking four sub-questions regarding the role of diversity in national and urban level discourses.

The first and second questions;

How has diversity perceived and evolved in literature and national contexts, national or urban level policies, legislations etc.? Have diversity discourses in literature and country policies & practices followed a similar path in neoliberal era or different? If different, why? Are there economic reasons behind?

How has diversity policies developed and managed in European countries and Turkey? Have there been severe changes in diversity discourses and policies with reference to changes in economic processes like economic crises?

tried to put forward how the term diversity and diversity related concepts have taken place in academic studies as well as national policies and programmes of countries.

The attention was given to economic processes (like growth or recession periods, or any important change that affected economic activities) to provide insights for the main discussion topic of the study which was the relationship between diversity and economic crisis periods. In that sense, the evolution of diversity in literature and national contexts of European countries and Turkey were examined to put forward the similarities and differences between country practices in approaching diversity, in

given periods like 1950-1980 or 1980-2000. To determine the evolution of diversity literature, it is worth to start with how the term diversity itself has taken place in academic studies concerning the practices of countries.

To start with, the origins of the term diversity dated back to ethnicity discussions. Before Industrial Revolution, diversity in society was based on ethnic and racial differentiations which were territory-based. With the technological advancements in transportation and communication and with the creation of a capitalist mode of production, the perception and categorization of diversity in cities had changed. With mass migrations to cities from rural areas to benefit from increasing employment opportunities and capitalist mode of division of labor, socio-economic diversity based on the level of income and social status gained importance besides diversity based on ethnicity and race. Such a perception of diversity has continued till 1980s when neoliberal policies and approaches have started to shape social, politic and economic processes.

With the increasing economic activities, flows of good and people, technological advancements facilitating communication between different parts of the world, identities and diverse characteristics of people have become more complex and have gone beyond traditional categorizations of diversity solely based on ethnicity and income. Diversity of 1980s, has also gained an international character due to massive interactions and networks in all over the world. The perception of diversity in neoliberal era covered other types of diversities based on gender, age, sexual orientation, education, occupation, culture, religion etc. The term *super-diversity* was developed as a notion that covers various forms of diversity and focuses on increasing cultural differences and identities originating from new forms of communication and dialogue. Through the end of 2000s, the term *hyper-diversity* was introduced to attract attentions to the diverse life styles and networks within diverse groups. The term is more open to changing identities and new characteristics emerging as a result of interaction and dialogue. Throughout 2000s, cultural diversity has been regarded as a tool to achieve social cohesion in cities and a tool to

overcome increasing social tension in neoliberal era. However, for some critics, the promotion of cultural diversity in policymaking were seen as a threat to social cohesion and economic development since more diversity brings more conflicts. In that sense, opponents of cultural diversity favored a gentrified and homogeneous society that attract investors and that engage economic processes with less conflicts and social problems.

In terms of diversity related concepts, for nation state periods and the years between 1950 and 1980s, it is very likely to talk about assimilationist approaches based on ethnic and racial differences in the society. Assimilationist approaches were evolved around the notion of single identity in which all ethnic and racial differences surpassed to achieve a united society seeking the benefit of nation state and to achieve social cohesion and solidarity. In that sense, integration was a forced process which was obliged by public authorities. There were no references to different identities in policy making since all policies were developed to the nation regardless of ethnicity, age or gender. In 1950s, as a result of adoption of socio-economic changes in policy making (like migration issues, economic growth scenarios), not just cultural assimilation but also structural assimilation (engaging institutional processes and labor markets) became important to achieve socio-economic development and growth as a nation.

Both in European countries and Turkey having a shared single identity based on ethnicity or culture was highly favored as a necessity of nation-state understanding. They did not develop concrete or self-standing social policies addressing differences in societies. Because, there was a common belief that any progress regarding the economic development of countries would eventually lead to better opportunities and services for individuals without any discrimination based on ethnicity, gender or age. In that sense, social policies and diversity policies were not seen as hot topics in those years' policy making processes till the oil crisis of 1973. With the crisis, it was understood that country economies are quite sensible to rapid changes in global arena and social issues can no longer be solved through social improvements based on

economic successes. For that reason, social policies have started to be developed independently from economic policies to address increasing social tensions based on increasing poverty, unemployment and social unrests. However, social policies have always been interrelated to economic processes like crisis or fluctuations. Especially after the oil crisis of 1973, policies based on poverty, social exclusion, discrimination have been developed according to on-going economic processes and economic goals. For example, to combat poverty and to foster economic growth, active participation of diverse groups in labor markets was favored in countries.

With the adoption of neoliberalism in policy making processes and with the globalization of economic activities, flows of people and networks, a gradual shift from assimilationism to multiculturalism had been observed. Because, it was understood that ethnic and racial differences were no longer enough to explain the new diverse characters in societies. Instead of surpassing ethnic identities, recognition of different ethnic, cultural and racial differences as a way to reach social cohesion in cities in such a globalized era was highly favored. It is very likely to say that multiculturalism is based on recognizing ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences without developing policies on how to promote or foster these differences. However, the term was criticized for emphasizing differences without properly promoting them and for resulting in further discrimination. These critics on multiculturalism resulted in the formation of new notion called post-multiculturalism which acts as a third way between assimilationism and multiculturalism to decrease socio-economic differences in society and to limit migration flows to decrease the level of social tensions. Post-multiculturalism adopted the idea that ethnic differences should be recognized and promoted but at the same time migration flows should be controlled in a way that do not lead social tensions in societies.

Multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism discourses were also used to attract foreign investment and entrepreneurship through marketing cities as tolerant, safe and peaceful places. Moreover, to foster economic growth and to develop innovative capacity in production processes attracting high-skilled work force to come and work

in cities, the marketing of multicultural and tolerant cities has gained important. In a similar vein, European discourses also favored multiculturalism in 1980s, to minimize the social tension originated from the oil crisis of 1973 and to recognize new identities in cities to achieve the goals towards having a shared European identity and to achieve economic growth through attracting high-skilled foreign labor force and investors. However, increasing individualism based on neoliberal approaches of that time, gave more responsibilities to individuals for integrating to society and engaging institutional processes of countries. Because of the fact, public policies and practices stayed too limited to fully integrate multiculturalist thinking to policy-making processes and actual practices. To say that, multiculturalist efforts were not fully translated from union-level strategies to urban practices.

Multiculturalism in Turkey stood beyond the progress achieved in European Union. Because in 1980s, Turkey was dealing with increasing social tension regarding the rise of identity politics which was based on failures of government in recognizing ethnic and cultural differences. Although there were some positive steps in recognition of diversity regarding ethnic and linguistic differences (like use of Kurdish in public spaces), multicultural discourses found limited basis in national and urban level policy-making processes of Turkey. Multiculturalism in both Europe and Turkey associated with disadvantaged groups as well, to ensure their recognition in redistribution processes as well as in labor markets.

In terms of spatial issues regarding diversity, with the neoliberal era, it was observed in European and Turkish practices, that the increasing socio-economic gaps between income groups and social tensions originating from the competition based on accessing limited resources, opportunities, services etc., showed themselves in spatial organization of space in cities. Increasing socio-economic gaps resulted in increasing socio-spatial segregation and polarization in cities. With the urban development policies of public authorities favoring segregationist type of interventions to urban space (in terms of urban renewal or gated communities), socio-spatial segregation in cities become more visible. Moreover, increasing segregation resulted in less

interaction between diverse groups and decreased the level of trust, solidarity and social cohesion based on decreasing chances of encounter and interaction. Diverse groups have been concentrated in different urban lands which have limited interaction with outside areas. This situation, in the long term, resulted in the erosion of the notion of public space and public interactions, since the majority of diverse groups spend time in their neighborhoods with the ones having more or less similar way of living.

In the beginning of 2000s, the term interculturalism has been brought to agendas to address the deficits of multiculturalism in recognizing differences and fostering diversity in societies. Interculturalist thinking attached great deal to the interaction and dialogue between diverse groups to achieve social cohesion, social mobility and solidarity. Again 2000s, social cohesion discourses gained importance to touch upon the negative effects of neoliberal policies in achieving social inclusion, equality and solidarity. In that sense, both in European policy making processes and in Turkey – EU accession relationships, social cohesion, democracy and human rights became the main discussion topics to combat with increasing social polarization, social exclusion, discrimination, racism and disconnectedness between diverse groups in societies as well recognizing differences in societies through granting human rights. However, interculturalism discourses are criticized for being too theoretical to be translated in practices and local policies. Still in Europe, interculturalism is highly favored in union-level strategic paper but however, the integration of intercultural discourses in urban level policy making still stands to limited. Moreover, Turkey is now trying to adopt social cohesion and interculturalism discourses in its policy-making processes with the EU accession process, without properly practicing and recognizing multiculturalism in earlier periods. This situation may be lead to problems in managing diversity in the long term, in a period in which social inequality, social exclusion and discrimination are increasing in societal level.

In spatial terms, both in European cities and Turkey, socio-spatial segregation and gated community type of developments have been still favored in cities to contribute

to economic development through supporting large scale urban level investments. In that sense, social and spatial polarization between diverse groups has increased and the level of interaction and dialogue has decreased as opposed to the principles of interculturalism. Moreover, the spatial concentration patterns of diverse groups in certain parts of cities have gone beyond the spatial division in cities in 1920s or 1960s which was based on ethnic differences. In 2000s segregation debates, the contribution of public authorities in such processes come to forward in terms of policies and development patterns offered in cities.

Although interculturalism and multiculturalism has been the major diversity approaches of 2000s, with the country practices and policies of European countries after the economic crisis of 2008, academic studies have focused on rising assimilationism and discrimination practices in European cities. In that sense, the terms neo-assimilationism is used to determine the crisis-driven changes in social policy making as well as spatial redevelopment policies.

With the adoption of neo-assimilationism in policy making the perception and focus of diversity have once again turned to ethnic differences and increasing immigrants in cities. Because, the deficits of neoliberal era in addressing social issues have doubled or tripled with the devastating effects of economic crisis on economy and social relations. For the deteriorated economic conditions, increasing social gaps between individuals and lessened job opportunities and public services, migrants and ethnic groups have been blamed for being burdens to public budget and for increasing social tensions and unrests in the society. The necessity of integration of migrants to host countries has once again become one of the core topics in decision making and politic campaigns. However, this time, integration was introduced as two-sided process in which individuals have more responsibility than public authorities to engage both socially and institutionally. Thus, integration with neo-assimilation principles acted as a third way between assimilationism and multiculturalism in crisis period in Europe. On the other hand, in Turkey, such transition from multiculturalism to assimilationism cannot be traced back like the

European case. Because, policy-making processes in Turkey avoided from developing ethnicity-sensitive policies due to the massive debates on the recognition of ethnic differences in societal and politic levels. Of course, it is very likely see the changes in discourses in a way to lead assimilationist discourses, but there no direct signs of such shifts in Turkey especially in national plans and urban practices.

In terms of economic processes, diversity and diversity discourses, it is very likely to say that all of them are interrelated. Diversity has always been a part of economic growth scenarios depending on the economic conditions like recession or recovery conditions. Especially starting from the oil crisis of 1973, diversity has regarded as a valuable source of employment and growth and overvalued in growth processes of countries. Because, it was believed that diversity with its all forms leads to more creativity, more human capital and more openness to different ideas. However, diversity has not always seen an asset in countries, especially in recession and crises periods. During these periods, in Europe and Turkey examples, it was observed that there has been a tendency to focus on homogeneous societies which are easier to manage and which are less likely to contribute the processes of discrimination, social exclusion and social unrests. Moreover, with the neoliberal thinking, diversity related debates have evolved around the diverse countries potential of providing creative work force. For that reason, even in times of crisis when diversity is downgraded and limited in institutional and societal level; diversity policies regarding the creation of human capital and engagement of different groups to economic activities, have favored in both union level and urban level strategies. In other words, diversity in societies is more likely to be favored in countries, if diversity can contribute greatly to the development processes of countries. Otherwise, ethnic groups, immigrants, poor and low-skilled workforce, women and youngsters are more likely to be excluded from policy-making processes as well as communal life and labor markets.

The third and fourth questions of the study were;

How have the economic crises of 2001 and 2008 affected social and urban policy making processes regarding diversity? Is diversity as an asset or a

threat? Which of the diverse groups have been affected more or which groups have been hard hit with the policy changes related to economic crises?

What have been the major changes in diversity policies and socio-economic wellbeing of diverse groups in times of economic crises? In which fields, social or spatial, or both, these changes have been observed? Are there more injustices in social and spatial terms or not in times of austerity?

For the questions 3 and 4, it is very likely to say that, economic crisis of 2008 both affected social and spatial policies regarding diversity in a negative way. As put forward before, diversity has been seen as a threat in crisis periods and blamed for increasing social unrests in cities based on scarcity of opportunities and inadequate public services. The effects of economic crises on perception of diversity and diversity policies can be examined in two parts, namely direct effects and indirect effects.

The first one, *direct effects*, covers the policies of decision-makers targeting specific groups in society and austerity measures that target specific services which are used for certain groups in the society. For example, integration policies following assimilationist thinking, asylum policies limiting the flow of migrants, migration policies that limit the permits and introduce harsher entry and citizenship requirements are the direct effects of economic crisis on ethnic diversity and immigration policies. Moreover, austerity measures and cuts in benefits like the cuts in assistive technologies for handicapped people, abolishment of maternity leaves for working mothers, increasing retirement age for elder people to make them stay in labor market and contribute the economic recovery processes can be named as the direct austerity measures that affect diverse groups in cities. Secondly, for the indirect effects of crisis on policies, cuts in funds for various topics like gender equality, ensuring social inclusion etc. and cuts in public services like cuts in social services and education can be listed as indirect effects. Moreover, societal voices and pressures can also be named as indirect effects. Because, in 2008 economic crisis, it was observed that nationalistic voices have been raised to blame new comers and immigrants for the scarcity of jobs in labor market and for being extra burdens to

governments' budget in crisis period. Thus, such increasing nationalist and discriminatory voices at societal level found basis in politic campaigns and gradual rise of far right parties in Europe was observed. Such progresses in blaming ethnic diversity in times of crisis resulted in the formation of assimilationist integration policies in countries.

In European practices, it is very likely to observe these two categories of effects. However, in Turkey, it is very hard to determine such effects, because Turkey has not implemented austerity measures and cuts in public services. On the contrary, Turkey increased its public expenditures on diverse groups both in direct and indirect way to prevent the harsh effects of economic crisis on socio-economic wellbeing of its citizens. Moreover, it is very hard to talk about crisis-driven diversity policies in Turkey, but however, there are some policies and projects at urban level like renewal processes in cities which indirectly targets income diversity and ethnic diversity in certain parts of the city. It can be said that, urban renewal understanding and approaches after the economic crises of both 2001 and 2008, target diversity in a negative way and according to some critics, have pushed low income groups and ethnic groups to outskirts of cities to generate rent from the reformation of urban lands and to provide valuable lands for new elite groups either to invest on or to live in these areas. Thus, for Turkish case, it is likely to talk about indirect social and spatial effects on economic crises on diversity issues.

It is very likely to say that the economic crisis of 2008 mostly affected the redistribution policies. Because, European governments have tried to recover their economies through strict cuts in expenditures to balance their budget. Strict cuts originating from the implementation of austerity measures have been observed in many fields like the cuts/freezes in wages, expenditures on social security, social assistance and social protection, limited access to public services (via introduction harsher requirements to benefit from the services), increased taxes etc. Besides, economic crisis have also affected the redistribution of opportunities and prosperity. Unemployment levels have reached the record levels in many countries and people at

risk of poverty and social exclusion have also increased accordingly. When these problems doubled with the strict cuts, it is inevitable to admit that the redistribution policies have failed, especially in countries with lack of welfare legacy and stable economies. In Turkish case, unemployment and poverty issues were also in the agenda of governments, but unlike European countries, Turkey increasing its public expenditures to combat these socio-economic issues in cities. Starting from the crises periods, social expenditures of both national and urban level authorities have gradually increased.

It is already mentioned that redistribution policies hit hard by the crisis. It is worth to note here that, every diverse group discussed throughout the thesis has been seriously affected from the cuts and unfair distribution of welfare. To begin with migrants in Europe, they are the most disadvantageous group that gets harmed from the cuts. They suffered from increasing unemployment and poverty rates (more than their native peers) as well as the cuts in wages and social benefits. They are also excluded from the societal life since they are seen as the one of the main sources of economic crisis by being burdens to the national budget. As a result of the increasing voices blaming migrants and the rise of far-right parties fostering such nationalistic thinking, budgets devoted to integration processes of migrant remained unchanged or increased, to make them fully integrated to the host countries values, labor markets and institutions. Germany, Denmark, Finland and Norway increased their integration budget and introduced harsher conditions to be met by migrant to be successfully integrated. Only Southern European countries (Spain, Portugal, Greece), the real victims of crisis, went through serious cut in their expenditures and investments on integration.

Things are not different for women, when one speaks about the effects of economic crisis and austerity measures. Although countries like Poland, Denmark and Sweden who insisted on investing on projects for ensuring gender equality, the majority of countries (Belgium, Spain, and United Kingdom) have withdrawn their supports for equality projects and even downgraded their special institutions working on the

issue. Women in labor market have mostly lost their social benefits and rights as maternity benefits or fired from jobs when they get pregnant. Children and youngsters have also gone through similar processes, since they have been negatively affected from the cuts in family allowances and freezes in tax credits. Moreover, for some cases, they are not able to attend their schools due to financial problems of their families. However, countries like Estonia, Netherlands, and Germany kept on investing to education so as not to lose their potential labor power in a period of increasing ageing.

As the last two group covered in this chapter, handicapped and elderly people are also negatively affected from the limitations in redistribution of resources. Elder people seems better off when compared to other groups, because expect from some limited cuts in social care supports, pension levels have increased in the majority of countries (excluding Hungary). For handicapped people, the situation is worse; because they experienced serious cuts in personal budget schemes, cuts in supports for technical stuff that they need for a better life etc. They also suffered from the closure of publicly funded associations (due to working for their engagement to the society and labor market).

In recognizing diversity, countries that have strong economies prior to crisis (Germany, Poland), faster recovery periods and strong social welfare systems (Sweden, Finland, Denmark) tend to regard diversity as an asset while Southern European countries (Portugal, Spain, Greece) and Ireland that are hit hard by the crisis tend to blame diversity for the economic downturn. Moreover, countries that have practiced strong social welfare systems such as Finland, Sweden and Norway have been more successful to recognize and to meet the demands of diverse groups and save them from the detrimental effects (poverty and social exclusion) of economic crisis. Southern European countries' (Portugal, Greece, Spain and Italy) experiences have shown that these countries were not ready to carry the social burdens of economic crisis. They have failed to respond fast and accurate to increasing demands of diverse groups in terms of poverty, social benefits, urgent

subsidies or effective health systems. Turkey had continued its policy legacy on disadvantaged groups during and after crisis periods. The extent and coverage social expenditures for disadvantaged groups have been reorganized to meet the needs of these groups to remedy increasing unemployment, poverty as well as increasing social tensions in society based on increasing socio-economic gaps in times of crisis. However, in spatial policies indirectly affecting diversity, such a favor in public expenditure schemes cannot be found in spatial interventions to urban space. For example, for many critics, it was put forward that spatial projects targets decayed and deteriorated urban spaces where disadvantaged and ethnic groups live the most. These spatial processes in the long run mostly result in the exclusion and pushing these groups out of the intervention areas to provide space for high income classes. Thus, for Turkish case, recognition of disadvantaged groups and their specific needs are quite different in social and spatial policies.

In terms of group-based recognition of diversity, main challenges regarding recognition and recognition of the rights were observed in migration issues in Europe. As told before, migrants have been undergone to nationalistic protests and blamed for being extra burden to national budgets. Accordingly, governments reshaped their migration policies through keeping in mind all these negative attitudes towards migrants. However, it was obvious that it was impossible to reject new applications or asylum-seekers due to the bilateral and international agreements of human rights. Therefore, countries tended to prevent new massive inflows than limiting the rights of already accepted migrants. Most of the countries introduced *selective recognition* processes and developed various requirements to be accepted to the country.

In terms of praising and enjoying diversity in cities, the general tendency to downgrade the urban diversity in Europe should not be underestimated. The majority of countries have failed to promote diversity since they both practiced control policies and introduced austerity measures and severe cuts in social transfers and urgent needs of diverse groups. It's surprising to the see the policy changes in

former multiculturalist countries such as United Kingdom or Netherlands in terms of diversity in times of economic crisis. It is also observed that in countries that have undergone moderate economic changes (Poland, Switzerland, Sweden) or recover fast (Germany) tend to praise diversity especially in economy. On the other hand, some countries have tried to rebalance their budgets to protect their social welfare models (Denmark, Netherlands, and Belgium) seemed to exclude the diverse groups that they regard as burden to countries such as migrants. However, thanks to their multicultural social model legacy, they have continued to overvalue demographic and gender diversity in terms of practicing open and inclusive policies like the ones having different sexual orientations. They have also developed inclusive policies to make various groups to take part in labor market to speed up growth and benefit from the *native values* of the society.

The undervaluation of ethnic diversity is observed in many countries. The reasons behind it vary country to country, but in general, the countries, that have long migration legacies (United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, France), and the ones experiencing long-lasting integration issues, social tensions and increasing xenophobia, having economic struggles, undergoing serious massive in-migration flows tend to treat ethnic diversity as a threat. Welfare systems, spatial developments concerned ethnicity in society in various ways. For some cases, ethnic diversity have been praised for ethnic groups' positive contributions to economy, while for some cases their existence have been regarded as extra burdens to economy. Since ethnic diversity has been highly interrelated with economic processes of countries, the other forms of diversity (gender, disability) have been underrated in urban policies. Moreover, ethnic diversity has been used as a voting tool, since societies have been departed in different views regarding the existence of migrants or minorities in urban life. Of course, it is also known that, it is easier to *get rid of the ethnic strangers and their different cultures* in societies via encouraging them to return their origin countries or making them totally integrated into society. For other types of diversity, it is not the case. However, it is very unlikely to say that diverse groups apart from ethnic diversity do not undergo serious discriminatory actions. They also face

various identity problems and exclusion from the societal life or even institutions, but their problems look softer when compared to ethnic groups. For the Turkish case, ethnic diversity has found limited basis in national policies and is still seen as a taboo concept in social and political platforms. For that reason, it is very hard to see any references to ethnic diversity in a negative way in policies, especially in times of crisis.

Creating spaces of encounter seems to lose its popularity in times of crisis. For groups in need of networks, consultation services, special events and someone to talk; the closure of community centers, associations working to create opportunities of interaction was a disaster. It seems that LGBT individuals have been hit hard by the closure of centers on mental and sexual health services and cuts in the budgets of special events (like pride walks) where they can meet and interact with other LGBT individuals or people supporting such events. Similarly, women suffering from violence and discrimination in their daily lives also lost their centers combating discrimination and fostering women empowerment and become more marginalized due to their psychological drawbacks to be fully integrated into society and to develop healthy interactions with others.

In overall, for the economic crisis periods, it is very likely to say that, diversity has been downgraded in cities and public policies in European countries and especially ethnic groups have been seen as threats to achieve social cohesion and economic development of countries. Diversity in times of crisis has been affected from both social and spatial processes. To begin with social ones, socio-economic gaps between diverse groups have ever increased in economic crisis periods, with increasing unemployment and poverty levels as well as deep cuts and constraints in the use of public expenditures and services. Moreover, at societal level disadvantaged groups and ethnic groups have been targeted as problem groups and reasons for economic downturns and have tended to be excluded from daily social life and interaction. These discriminatory and exclusionary acts have resulted in socio-spatial exclusion of some groups as well and have decreased the level of trust, solidarity, equality and interaction in societies. Spatial interventions to urban space implicitly targeted ethnic

diversity and disadvantaged groups in a negative way and implicitly pushed these groups to outskirts of the city in which cultural activities, education and health facilities and job opportunities stay limited when compared inner city areas. This implicit way of intervening diverse elements in cities have brought along more injustices, locational disadvantages to ethnic and disadvantaged groups. To say that in short, increasing socio-economic and socio-spatial gaps between groups lead to the more social injustices in redistribution of services, opportunities and urban rents and have negatively affected the right to city in terms of reaching public services and opportunities.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS QUESTIONS FOR NATIONAL AND URBAN LEVEL KEY OFFICERS FROM PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Question 1: What do you understand from the term diversity? In your opinion, which subjects or groups are related to diversity? Or which other term or concept can be replaced with diversity within the framework of your diversity perception?

Soru 1: Kentsel çeşitlilik kavramı size neyi/neleri çağrıştırıyor? Size göre kentsel çeşitlilik hangi konuları veya grupları kapsamaktadır? Veya siz farklı grupları, kültürleri barındıran kentleri tanımlarken hangi kelimeyi tercih ederdiniz?

Question 2: Is diversity an asset to be promoted and enhanced or is it a threat to cities and social cohesion? How and to what extent diversity issues should take part in policies? Should diversity has a dominant or leading role in policy-making processes?

Soru 2: Sizce kentsel çeşitlilik zenginleştirilmesi ve geliştirilmesi gereken bir olgu mudur? Yoksa kentler için bir tehdit midir? Kentsel politikalarda nasıl ele alınmalıdır? Politikaların geliştirilmesinde belirleyici rol oynamalı mıdır?

Question 3: In national and urban level policy contexts, to what extent diversity issues are addressed? Which dimensions and types of diversity are targeted in policies? Are there any specific target groups in policies? In your opinion, are diversity or diversity-related policies enough and effective to cover all issues related to diversity?

Soru 3: Ulusal ölçek veya kent ölçeğindeki politikaların geliştirilme ve uygulanma süreçlerinde, kentsel çeşitlilik ne ölçüde ve hangi boyutlarıyla ele alınmaktadır? Hedeflenen gruplar veya temalar var mıdır? Sizce geliştirilen politikalar tüm grupları kapsayıcı ve ihtiyaçlarına hitap edecek düzeyde midir?

Question 4: How do you assess the diversity or diversity-related policies of your institution? How does your institution perceive and approach diversity? Do you think that your institution's policies and practices regarding diversity are successful enough to address issues? Why?

Soru 4: Kurumunuzun çeşitlilik konusuyla doğrudan ya da dolaylı olan politikalarını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Kurumunuzun kentsel çeşitliliğe bakışını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Kurumunuzun çalışmalarını yeterli ve başarılı buluyor musunuz? Neden?

Question 5: Do you think that are there breaking points regarding the perception of diversity at institutional level policies and practices? If so, what can you say about them?

Soru 5: Türkiye ve şehriniz ölçeğinde kentsel çeşitlilikle doğrudan ya da dolaylı yoldan alakalı kentsel politikalarda kırılma noktaları olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Evet ise detaylandırabilir misiniz?

Question 6: European practices and policies after the economic crisis 2008 have showed that the perception of diversity and institutional approaches to diversity have changed. In that context, we witness the rise of nationalist thinking in policy-making processes in terms of assimilation. What do you think about the process in Turkey after the economic crisis of 2008? How has the economic crisis changed the perception of diversity and direction of policy making? In your opinion, are there any specific groups targeted in crises periods? If yes, can you give examples?

Soru 6: Bilindiği gibi 2008 ekonomik krizi başta Avrupa’da olmak üzere kentsel çeşitliliğe yönelik geliştirilen sosyal ve kentsel politikaların yönünü ve kapsamını büyük ölçüde değiştirdi. En popüler söylem olarak asimilasyon öne çıkıyor. Sizce ekonomik krizler kentsel çeşitliliğe yönelik bakış açılarında ve çeşitlilik politikalarında ne gibi değişikliklere sebep olmaktadır? Sizce kriz dönemlerinde hedef alınan veya öne çıkan gruplar var mıdır? Örnekler ile açıklayabilir misiniz?

Question 7: Is it likely to observe crisis-driven changes in urban policies in Turkey? In your opinion, what are the similarities and differences between the crisis-driven urban policies between European countries and Turkey?

Soru 7: Kriz odaklı bir değişim kentsel politikalarda gözlemlenebilir mi? Türkiye’deki kriz sonrası sürecin, kentsel çeşitlilik çerçevesinde, Avrupa deneyimleri ile ortaklıkları veya farklılıkları nelerdir?

Outline of informal interviews with inhabitants of urban renewal areas

- 1- Place of residence and motives behind choosing the area
- 2- Opinions about urban renewal processes, experiences and reactions to the process
- 3- Opinions about economic crises, experinces about crises
- 4- Opinions about the relationship between economic crisis and urban renewal
- 5- Perception of diversity, its relationship with renewal processes

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS WITH NATIONAL AND URBAN LEVEL INSTITUTIONS AND INHABITANTS OF URBAN RENEWAL AREAS

Institutions	Coding	Date	Time	Place
Ministry of Family and Social Policy General Directorate of Children Services	A1	18.May.15	09:45-10:25	Ministry of Family and Social Policy, Ankara
Ministry of Family and Social Policy Department of Social Inclusion	A2	18.May.15	10:30-11:00	Ministry of Family and Social Policy, Ankara
Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning Department of Infrastructure and Urban Renewal	A3	20.May.15	14:00-14:45	Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, Ankara
Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning Department of Spatial Planning	A5	20.May.15	16:00-16:20	Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, Ankara
Ministry of Development Department of Social Sectors and Coordination	A4	26.May.15	16:30-17:00	Ministry of Development Department, Ankara
Nilüfer Municipality Department of Equality and Solidarity	B1	06.May.15	14:45:15:35	Nilüfer Municipality, Bursa
Nilüfer Municipality Department of Social Services	B5	06.May.15	15:50-16:20	Nilüfer Municipality, Bursa
Beyoğlu Municipality Department of Urban Renewal	B4	11.May.15	09:15-09:35	Beyoğlu Municipality, Istanbul
Istanbul Provincial Special Administration	B3	13.May.15	16:45-17:15	Istanbul Provincial Special Administration, Istanbul

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Urban Renewal	B6	14.May.15	09:40-10:00	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Social Services	B7	14.May.15	10:40-11:15	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul
Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Department of Cultural and Social Affairs	B2	15.May.15	10:30-11:00	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Ankara
Inhabitants of Urban Renewal Areas				
A former resident of Tarlabası Neighbourhood (Man, 34)	C1	28.May.15	11:10-11:35	Istiklal Street, Mano Cafe, Istanbul
A former resident of Tarlabası and Cihangir Neighbourhoods (Women, 42)	C2	28.May.15	13:45-14:20	Istiklal Street, Mano Cafe, Istanbul
A former resident of Cihangir Neighbourhood (now living in Tarlabası) (Women, 27)	C3	29.May.15	15:50-16:10	Cihangir Coffee Shop, Istanbul
A current resident of Çukurcuma Neighbourhood (Man, 51)	C4	29.May.15	16:35-17:00	Cihangir Coffee Shop, Istanbul
A former resident of Tarlabası Neighbourhood (Man, 62)	C5	28.May.15	15:05-15:35	Kalyoncu Kulluğu Street, Istanbul
A current resident of Tarlabası Neighbourhood (Woman, 30)	C6	28.May.15	16:00-16:30	Kalyoncu Kulluğu Street, Istanbul
A former resident of Sulukule Neighbourhood (Man, 45)	C7	29.May.15	11:50-12:25	Istiklal Street, Mano Cafe, Istanbul
A former resident of Sulukule Neighbourhood (now living in Tarlabası) (Woman, 47)	C8	29.May.15	13:05-13:20	Kalyoncu Kulluğu Street, Istanbul
A former resident of Sulukule Neighborhood (Woman, 43)	C9	29.May.15	15:50-16:10	Istiklal Street, Mano Cafe, Istanbul

A current resident of Tarlabaşı Neighborhood (Man, 43)	C10	29.May.15	16:30-17:05	Istiklal Street, Mano Cafe, Istanbul
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