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Urban Implications of CEE migration

Country report TURKEY

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1 Introduction

1.1 Points of departure

Examining the urban implications of Central and Eastern European¹ migration in Istanbul and Edirne is a challenging task due to several reasons. First, basic data on CEE migrants is missing. International migration to Turkey has become a policy concern only in late 1990s and neither collection nor distribution of data has yet been given priority. Therefore, most basic statistics on migration such as the number of CEE migrants or the top origin countries in urban regions is not available. Second, due to the heavy internal and external migrant population in urban regions, especially Istanbul, it is challenging to distinguish the implications of CEE migration from the implications of migrants in general. Third, expertise on CEE migration is immature in Turkey. Solely a handful of public institutions or non-governmental organizations and only partially, concentrate on the topics of migration or migrants. For instance, a lawyer connected to the Bar Association may be informed about human trafficking cases in general or a member of Chamber of Commerce may have worked with CEE entrepreneurs. Thus, the necessary information on implications of CEE migration can only be obtained as bits and pieces of clues from various authorities or sources and then put together to uncover facts and produce knowledge on CEE migrants. Fourth, some domains concerning the implications of CEE migration have been ignored completely. Accordingly, while it may be easier to reach information on hotly debated domains of labor and registration of migrants in general, no information is available on less heated issues such as social and political participation, housing and neighborhood or education and language which further complicate reaching CEE specific information. Fifth, the fact that a substantial share in international migration in Turkey is on irregular basis, the invisibility of irregular migrants and the stakeholders' lack of interest to irregular migrants keep a large portion of CEE migrants in dark.

Apart from these challenges, the timing of this research has influenced stakeholders' attitudes towards CEE migrants in the urban region of Istanbul. The recent Syrian mass migration in Istanbul overshadows migrants of other nationalities. It is currently challenging to extract information from most stakeholders regarding CEE migrants because the highly visible Syrian presence in Istanbul is a much heated topic both with the public and state authorities. Due to the scapegoating against the Syrian migrants, locals typically either adopt a totally negative attitude towards migrants in Istanbul, or their negative stance towards the Syrians pushes them to consider the CEE migrants as "better migrants".

¹ Central and Eastern Europe is from thereon referred to as CEE in this report.

In this context, some background information on CEE migration in Turkey may be necessary to shed light on the urban implications of this migration type². During the Cold War the migratory flows from the region to Turkey were mainly ethnic migrations, which can be considered as refugee movements. However, these movements were different than the conventional refugees subjected to the 1951 Geneva Convention. These were, in Kirişci's terms, *national refugees*, who were immigrants of Turkish origin mainly coming from the Balkans.³ Migration flows from Bulgaria to Turkey were representative of such movements with a strong ethno-religious character.⁴ To illustrate, in 1989, almost 350,000 Bulgarian Turks migrated to Turkey as a result of the so-called Revival Process of the communist regime in Bulgaria, which was an assimilation campaign with bans on wearing traditional Turkish dress and speaking Turkish in public places, and a name-changing campaign targeting Turks.⁵ Similar trends of forced migration were observable also for Romania and Yugoslavia of the period. As time passed, these *national refugees* have constituted a large group of regular permanent migrants in Turkey.

With the end of the Cold War, this ethno-religious character of forced migrations from the region began to be categorized more as labour migrations.⁶ Accordingly, until 2012, Bulgaria was the top migrant sending country to Turkey, not only among the CEE countries, but among all origin countries. The number of regular Bulgarian migrants reached to a peak of more than 50 thousand migrants right before Bulgaria's accession to the EU in 2007. Additionally, three to five thousand ethnic Turks from Bulgaria received residence permits in Turkey in this period. Following the EU accession, this population fell sharply to 15 thousand even though Bulgaria remained as a major sending country. Despite the fact that no official data exists on the actual number of Bulgarians living in Turkey, Bulgarian migrants' strong influence on the urban living in Istanbul and Edirne is clear. Within this context, Bulgaria's crucial position with its large migration corridor to Turkey will be discussed in the next part.

² Please see Imagination Paper No. 1, February 2014 *Mapping and analysis of types of migration from CEE countries*, Country report Turkey for more information on the background of CEE migration into Turkey.

³ For a detailed analysis of different refugee categories in Turkey, please see Kemal Kirişci (1991), "The legal status of asylum seekers in Turkey: Problems and prospects," *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 3(3), 510–528; and Kemal Kirişci (1995), "Post Second World War immigration from Balkan countries to Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 12(Spring), 61–78. Kemal Kirişci (1996) "Refugees of Turkish origin: 'Coerced immigrants' to Turkey since 1945," *International Migration*, 34, 385–412.

⁴ For an analysis of the Turkish-Bulgarian migratory space, please see Ayşe Parla (2003), "Marking time along the Bulgarian-Turkish border," *Ethnography*, 4, 561–575; and Ayşe Parla (2006), "Longing, belonging and locations of homeland among Turkish immigrants from Bulgaria," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 6(4), 543–557.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ For a detailed historical overview of migrations from the Balkans, please see Ahmet İçduygu and Deniz Sert (2015), "The Changing Waves of Migration from the Balkans to Turkey: A Historical Account," in Hans Vermeulen, Martin Baldwin-Edwards & Riki Van Boeschoten, Eds., *Migration in the Southern Balkans: From Ottoman Territory to Globalized Nation States*, IMISCOE Research, Dordrecht: Springer.

Today, Turkey receives diverse flows including permanent, mid-term and short stayers of regular and irregular status. Here, it should be noted that the Law on Foreigners and International Protection requires that in order to reside in Turkey for more than 90 days within a timeframe of six months, a foreigner should apply for a residence permit in the categories of short and long term, family, student, humanitarian and victims of human trafficking residence permits. If holders of long term residence permits wish to work, they should apply for work permit. Holders of work permit, however, do not need to apply for residence permit. Against this background, along with the already existing migration flows from Bulgaria, Romania and ex-Yugoslavian countries, wider migration corridors between Turkey and countries like Ukraine, Moldova and Poland are significant. Lastly, although the numbers from Baltic Countries are relatively lower, migrants from Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia increased four-fold, six-fold and ten-fold respectively in the last decade. With these new flows, CEE migration to Turkey currently presents a very diverse profile that can best be analyzed in two main categories of regular versus irregular migration.

Concerning regular CEE migration, residence permit data demonstrates that Bulgaria has a persistent migration corridor towards Turkey, followed by migration corridors from Serbia and Montenegro, Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, FYR Macedonia and Albania. Although CEE migrants generally have a large share among the migrants in Turkey, their proportion is in a steady decline due to the increasing non-CEE migrants and the accession of several CEE countries into the EU⁷. In contrast to EU countries, which receive increasing migration from new EU members following their accession, Turkey has received decreasing number of migrants from CEE countries after their EU accession. More specifically, migrants from Bulgaria and Romania, the first and third largest migrant sending countries, decreased by half in 2007 when they became EU members. Furthermore, residence permits based on education between 2003 and 2012 reveal that CEE students constitute an average of 22 percent of all foreign students in Turkey and the largest communities are Bulgarian, Albanian, Serbian, Macedonian and Ukrainian students. In line with the decreasing number of CEE migrants with residence permits, the proportion of CEE students is also in decline stemming from the increase in international students. In addition, according to data on work permits, the leading source countries are Ukraine, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Poland and Serbia and Montenegro.⁸ Finally, concerning citizenship acquisitions by CEE

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Here, it should be added that several employment areas are forbidden for migrants in Turkey; migrants cannot obtain work permit if they wish to work, for instance, as dentist, lawyer, pharmacist, fishermen or as tourist guides. <http://www.egm.gov.tr/Sayfalar/yabancilarin-calisma-izinleri-islemleri.aspx>

migrants, Bulgaria constitutes the biggest share followed by Romanian, Moldovan, Macedonian and Ukrainian migrants⁹. It should be added here that the survey study conducted for this project does not totally reflect the migrant profile explained here. Stakeholders often work with the most visible migrant communities and thus, some of the migrant categories above, such as the persons working in private households; non-working spouses and irregular migrants in general, remain in the dark.

Regarding irregular CEE migration, Moldova, Romania, Ukraine and Bulgaria have the highest number of migrants apprehended by the state constituting between one to 14 percent of all irregular migrant apprehensions in Turkey between 2000 and 2010 (*See Chart 3*). Furthermore, the highest numbers of trafficked persons from the CEE countries were from Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Belarus and Bulgaria between 2004 and 2010. Here, it should be noted that trafficked persons are considered to commit the crime of border trespassing although they also become the subject of crime because their life is endangered by the third persons during trafficking. A similar dilemma exists in the case of sex workers. First and foremost, working as a registered sex worker in Turkey is not permitted for foreigners. More, as working in this sector and employing sex workers are both punishable by law, sex workers are ironically the subject and object of the same crime¹⁰. Against this background, the next section will illustrate the methodology adopted to uncover the urban implications of CEE migration in Edirne and Istanbul.

1.2 Methodology/Data

This report is mainly based on CEE specific data collected through online surveys, expert interviews and an Urban Living Lab organized with the participation of experts in the area of migration. The project aims to bring together expertise on CEE migration and its influences on the selected urban regions. In this context, stakeholders including public offices, NGOs, intermediate institutions and other relevant institutions present valuable sources of information to examine CEE migration in Istanbul and Edirne. This section will introduce the details of the methodology, which includes a survey study, in-depth interviews and a focus group study, and then introduce the major problems faced during the data collection process.

First, the online survey among relevant private and public stakeholders to map their considerations as socio-economic, socio-cultural and legal-political implications in each urban region was completed

⁹ Please see Imagination Paper No. 1, February 2014 *Mapping and analysis of types of migration from CEE countries*, Country report Turkey for more information on the background of CEE migration into Turkey.

¹⁰ Legal background of international migration in Turkey will be examined in the Work Package 3 Report.

between April and June 2014, in a total of three months. The survey was answered by a total of 45 stakeholders in the two urban areas; consisting of 15 public administration officers, representatives from 15 NGO's, six intermediate institutions and nine other institutions (See Table 1 for the more detailed distribution based on urban region). The category named as "other Institutions" represents stakeholders from universities, research institutes, local newspaper and small enterprise owners.

Table 1. Type of institution shareholders represent in the study						
Urban Region	EDIRNE			ISTANBUL		
Type of institution	Survey	Interviews	Urban Living Lab	Survey	Interviews	Urban Living Lab
Public Administration	9	3	1	6	4	4
NGO/NPO	8	1	0	7	3	3
Intermediate Institution	2	1	0	4	0	1
Other	5	2	1	4	0	1
Total	24	7	2	21	7	9

The first major problem encountered in this process was the lack of interest to the survey which was sent to numerous organizations including representatives of local governments, CEE migrant organizations, educational institutions and representatives of local small and medium businesses. However, less than a handful of responses were received. Next, non-responding stakeholders were contacted via phone in order to convince to fill in the online survey soon. When this only very slightly increased the responses, in the urban region of Istanbul, the same stakeholders were re-contacted and the survey was either filled over the phone or face-to-face by visiting the stakeholder. In the urban region of Edirne, the project team received appointments from each stakeholder and travelled to Edirne in order to meet with these non-responding stakeholders. The second major problem was to find organizations or people specifically focusing on CEE migration. In spite of the high migrant population from the CEE in the urban regions of Edirne and Istanbul, neither public nor private organizations specifically focus on CEE migration except a handful of migrant organizations. Therefore, stakeholders were selected if they have expertise on migrants in general in order to reach the required number of survey participants. However, as a consequence of the fact that the majority of stakeholders work in related domains or topics that only intersect with the topics under study in this project, they neither have concrete tasks in relation to CEE migration nor they have particular work hours allocated to CEE migrants.

Following the online survey, qualitative interviews were conducted with relevant stakeholders to map the various socio-economic implications related to the domains of labor market, housing and neighborhood consequences, registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation and education and language in each urban region. These in-depth interviews with experts on both implications and migrant categories were completed between September and November 2014, in a total of three months. Here, the participants included seven public administration officers, four representatives from NGO's, one representative from an intermediate institution and two from other institutions (*See Table 1 for the more detailed distribution based on urban region*).

Similar to the experience in the survey study, the major difficulty in conducting the in-depth interviews was the shortage of participants with expertise on specific domains and CEE migrant categories. The second major problem was the substantial lack of information on several migrant categories due to their invisibility stemming from their irregular status (e.g. private household workers, sex workers and trafficked persons). Therefore, to obtain reliable and adequate information on the implications of CEE migration, extra stakeholder interviews were conducted, reaching to 20 in-depth interviews. The interviews not well connected to the migrant categories or the specific implications on none of the domains of interest were later omitted. This reduced the number to 14 interviews. Moreover, several stakeholders who had a broad knowledge on more than one domain or migrant category were allowed to respond to more than one interview structure (e.g. Bar Association of Edirne, Moldovan NGO and *Zeytinburnu* Municipality in Istanbul). In addition, the domain of housing and neighborhood consequences was examined with more than one respondent in Istanbul due to the heavy migrant population and the wide range of migrant profiles dispersed in a variety of neighborhoods with dissimilar consequences. For instance, while permanent CEE migrants are highly populated in *Zeytinburnu*, many irregular migrants reside in *Fatih* and *Beyoğlu* is home to both regular and irregular migrants. Due to the same reason that it is not possible to investigate all the CEE migrant populated areas in Istanbul, the section on Istanbul's housing in this report concentrates on three representative districts *Beyoğlu*, *Zeytinburnu* and *Fatih*.

Following the expert interviews, an Urban Living Lab was organized in Istanbul on December 15, 2014 as a full-day meeting with time slots based on the domains of labor market, housing and neighborhood consequences, registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation and education and language. Five public administrators, three NGO representatives, one representative from an intermediate institution and two others were among the participants of the lab (*See Table 1*). In

this context, the major difficulty in the Urban Living Lab, similar to the online survey and the expert interviews, was the lack of CEE-specific experts. However, the lab has proved to be very productive due to participants' wide knowledge and practice in the area of migrants or the socio-economic implications of migration in Istanbul and Edirne.

2 Implications of CEE migration in Edirne

2.1 CEE migration in Edirne

To begin with, national statistics of 2014 illustrate a decreasing population trend in Edirne where approximately 0.5 percent of Turkey's current population resides¹¹. The number of CEE migrants among this population are unknown, nevertheless, the only relevant information comes from the national census of 2000 which demonstrates that close to five percent of Edirne's population was born outside of Turkey and 0.07 percent was born in the EU countries. Despite this lack of clarity on the origin countries of migrants living in this urban region, statistics prove the high mobility towards Edirne. In the year 2010, of the 2.5 million foreign entries to Turkey through Edirne's five border points, *Hamzabeyli, Ipsala, Kapıkule, Pazarkule* and *Uzunköprü*, 1.5 million entries belonged to CEE visitors. Among the CEE entries, Bulgarians were the majority with more than one million entries followed by Romanians with 155,000 entries and Macedonians with 89,000 entries.

At first glance, Edirne has always been a primarily migrant-receiving province due to its geographical location. The majority of the migrant population since the 1970s is the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria whose migration waves peaked in the 1990s with their mass migration from Bulgaria. The members of this migrant community typically possess Turkish and Bulgarian dual citizenship, benefit from Bulgaria's EU membership, lead transnational lives and are still very well connected with Bulgaria. In addition with this migrant community, permanent and regular CEE migrants from Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine form Edirne's highest socio-economic group and belong to the migrant categories of knowledge workers, entrepreneurs and less often, manual workers. Concurrently, these high CEE migration rates in the urban region generate the migrant category of non-working spouses and children. Even though the majority of CEE migrants are permanent migrants, short and long-term students from Kosovo, Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Macedonia are also among the very visible CEE migrant categories in Edirne. While the knowledge workers, entrepreneurs and students

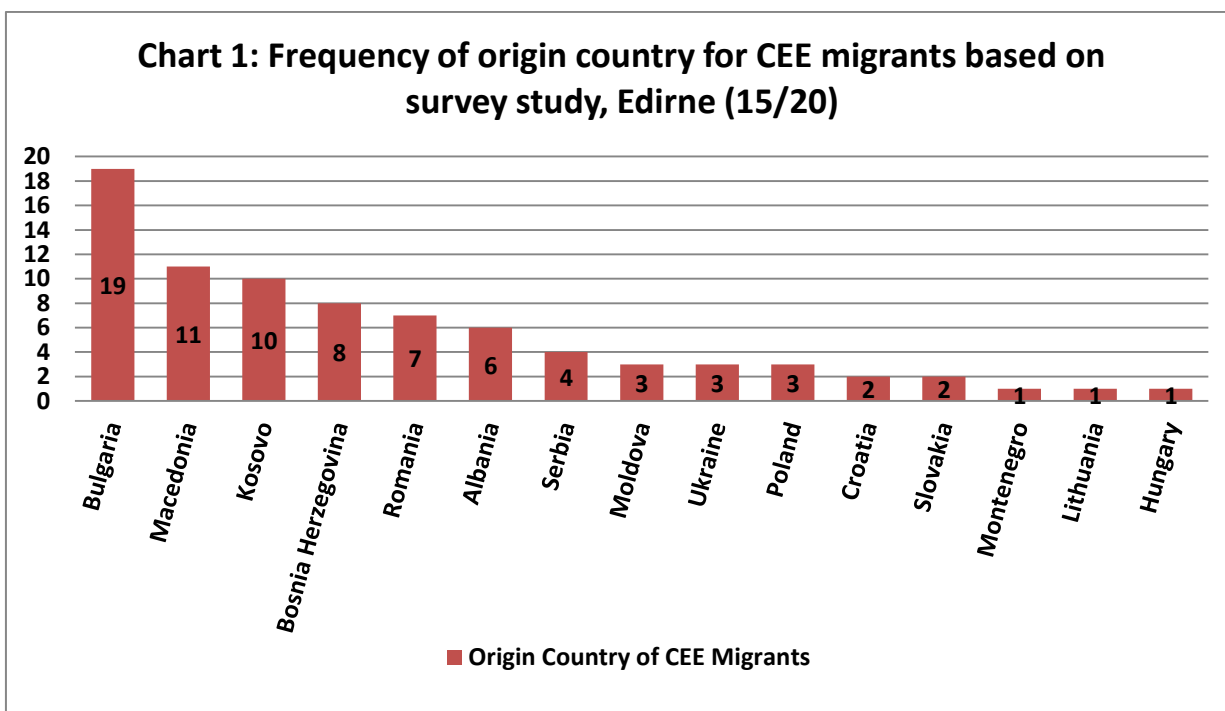
¹¹ Turkish Statistical Institute, visited on 31.01.2015. <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist>

are the three most common CEE migrant categories; all migrant categories including the less frequent or visible ones will be explained in the sections below.

2.2 General observations on CEE migration

The earliest flow from the CEE countries to Edirne appeared in the form of circular migration from Poland. In the Cold War period, Polish migrants favored Edirne for its low commodity prices and thus, utilized their governmental right to purchase 130 Dollar worth foreign products by buying commodities in this border city. Leading to the establishment of shopping bazaars, the existence of circular Polish migrants vitalized Edirne's economy in the 1970s. Twenty years later, this circular migration flow towards Edirne was replaced by Romanian labor migration for employment in construction, agriculture and small businesses. In this context, Romanians, in spite of their high education, had to take up low skilled jobs and faced dequalification. Concurrently, the mass migration of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria to Turkey in the 1990s created a new socioeconomic class in Edirne. More skilled and educated compared to Edirne's local population, Bulgarian migrants are the highest socioeconomic group in this urban region today.

Against this quick background of CEE migration in Edirne, several stakeholders including representatives of local municipalities, CEE migrant organizations, NGO's, educational institutions and employees in local businesses were asked in a survey study how they considered the presence of CEE migrants in Edirne. According to the results of the survey study, more than half of the stakeholders (ten out of 24 participants) considered CEE migrants' presence as positive; among which seven participants considered migrants' presence as very positive. While remaining stakeholders have neutral opinions toward CEE migrants, only one stakeholder holds a negative opinion towards this migrant group. Most of the stakeholders (four out of seven) who have very positive opinions towards CEE migrants work in local NGOs, while most of the positive stakeholders (five out of ten) work in public offices in Edirne. To discover the most visible and influential CEE migrant groups in Edirne's urban space, stakeholders were asked the major CEE sending countries in their region (*See Chart 1* for frequency of origin country for CEE migrants based on survey study). According to the majority of stakeholders (19 out of 24 participants), Bulgaria is irrefutably the most visible country of origin among all CEE countries in Edirne. Migrants from Macedonia, Kosovo, Bosnia Herzegovina, Romania and Albania follow the Bulgarian migrants in decreasing order. In addition, knowledge workers, entrepreneurs and students seem to be more relevant to stakeholders' work in Edirne (*See Table 2* for relevance of different types of migration for stakeholders' work).



Type of migration ¹²	Very Relevant/ Relevant	Relevance
Knowledge workers	13/ 24	High
Entrepreneurs	12/24	High
Manual workers	10/24	Medium
Persons working in private households	5/24	Low
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0/24	Low
Students	16/24	High
Non-working spouses/partners, children	9/24	Medium
Beggars and homeless people	0/24	Low

A better comprehension of the CEE migrant profile and the different categories of CEE migrants require a quick glance at Edirne's general character. This urban region offers only a limited job market due to its constrained industrial base and thus, most residents of the city join the labor force as public servants, agricultural workers or entrepreneurs. Migrants enliven this small local economy and broaden

¹² Type of migration is from referred to as TOM hereafter.

the narrow employment profile. At a first glance, knowledge workers, entrepreneurs and students are highly visible migrant categories in Edirne as considered by the survey respondents. Among these, most knowledge workers and entrepreneurs are permanent stayers while students mostly stay for shorter periods. Most CEE migrants join the workforce as **knowledge workers** in universities, hospitals and schools. In this labor category, ethnic Turks who migrated from Bulgaria in the 1990s are the most dominant group, followed by migrants from Macedonia, Bosnia and Kosovo. Many CEE migrants join the labor market as **entrepreneurs** in restaurant management where the local market is highly competitive or in beauty sector where they are favored for bringing new technologies from their origin countries (TRED_02)¹³. Due to the small industry in Edirne, CEE migrants employed as **manual workers** are comparatively more infrequent than the migrant categories of **knowledge workers** and **entrepreneurs**. The low population of Edirne and that disqualified jobs are often taken by the existing Roma population and the internal migrants from Eastern Turkey, do not leave much room for the manual migrants in the province. More, the accession of CEE countries into the EU- especially of Bulgaria and Romania has reduced the number of manual workers in construction, agriculture and small businesses. Even though the number of permanent manual workers has dropped, circular seasonal migration from Bulgaria still exists, driven by the geographical proximity to Edirne. A crucial reason behind the current seasonal migration is employment in the area of wine-making in which Bulgarians are known to be successful in Edirne (TRED_06).

In addition to these employment categories, the fact that Edirne is a well-known educational center with its university attracts a substantial number of short and long-term **students** from the CEE countries. As the migrant diaspora in Edirne encourages student migration and the local university has adopted a strong policy to draw students from the Balkans, CEE students have high visibility in Edirne and their existence enlivens the urban region both economically and culturally.

Non-working spouses/partners and their children can also be considered a frequent category of CEE migrants due to the high numbers of permanent migration from this region. The migrants in this category are typically women from Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova and Ukraine. Especially Bulgarians in this group are usually circular migrants who have double citizenship and lead a trans-border lifestyle. However, both the in-depth interviews and the Urban Living Lab have revealed that this category is taken for granted and so, the implications of this migrant category are only partially discovered.

¹³ This note represents the number of the stakeholder interviewed within the frame of this project. Please see the report's end for the full list of stakeholders.

Persons who work in private households in Edirne are mostly female migrants who are often employers' relatives. As a result of the strong traditional family and neighborhood ties in Edirne, child or elderly care is still often done by relatives or neighbors. Less frequently, female migrants often with nurse or medicine diplomas from Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova are recruited as caretakers without valid work permit in Edirne's wealthy households (TRED_07). As these migrants live in their employers' house, this is not a visible category in Edirne. Unfortunately, the stakeholders' disinterest in this migrant category and the migrants' invisibility make it difficult to shed light on the implications of persons who work in private households. Therefore, the typical period of stay for this migrant category in Edirne is not known.

Finally, the remaining migrant categories; **sex workers and trafficked persons** and **beggars and homeless people** do not seem to exist in this urban region. First, the fact that Edirne, as a border city, is well inspected and strictly controlled by the state authorities often repels these migrant groups. In the past, however, during the Cold War and the early 1990s when this urban region was less strictly controlled, some Romanian female migrants with medicine, nurse or accounting degrees were engaged as **sex workers**. The stakeholder interviews reveal that unlike Istanbul where they were forced to work under the supervision of underground organizations that seized passports, sex workers in Edirne used to have the option of working freelance. Second, **beggars and homeless people** from the CEE countries, as far as the in-depth interviews demonstrate, are not known to have existed at any point in the history of Edirne. Thus, the two CEE migrant categories of sex workers and trafficked persons and beggars and homeless people will not be included in this section on Edirne.

In order to better comprehend urban implications of CEE migration, the following part will focus on four domains: **labor market, housing and neighborhood consequences, registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation** and **education and language**. These four domains will be elaborated based on the CEE migrant categories.

2.3 Implications of different types of migration in central domains

2.3.1 Labor market

In general, CEE migrants in Edirne enjoy a more privileged status in comparison with other migrant groups such as the internal migrants from Eastern Turkey. Ethnic Turks from Bulgaria, the largest community among the CEE migrants, are known to be strongly encouraged by the Turkish Government to open their own businesses in this urban region. The public perception towards this migrant group in

Edirne is generally positive as CEE migrants are admired for their hard-work and high skills. Overall, it is widely accepted that the CEE migrants have transformed Edirne by enriching the labor market.

The survey study conducted in Edirne confirms this climate concerning CEE migrants and the labor market (*See Table 3*). In more detail, only a very small portion among the survey respondents believes that CEE migrants face problems in employment. Still, thirty percent of the survey respondents state that CEE entrepreneurs are the most vulnerable migrant category in the labor market, followed by students, knowledge workers and persons working in private households. Surprisingly, only two respondents believe that manual workers from the CEE countries face problems in Edirne's labor market. While these survey results shed light on the general framework of perceptions towards CEE migrants concerning migrant implications, in-depth interviews and the Urban Living Lab conducted for the project offer a more detailed insight on the challenges faced by different categories of CEE migrants.

Table 3: Relevance of labor market implications for different types of migration, Edirne		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	3	15
Entrepreneurs	4	14
Manual workers	2	13
Persons working in private households	1	5
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	4	16
Non-working spouses/partners, children	1	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Source: Online Survey, n = 24.		
*Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

First, concerning **knowledge workers**, the duration of stay in Edirne is a key determinant of the level of challenge in the labor market. Bulgarian, Romanian and Ukrainian permanent migrants employed as knowledge workers experience fewer problems in comparison to newcomers due to their established networks and market experience. During the mass migration flow from Bulgaria in the 1990s, however, knowledge workers could easily find jobs in public institutions even as newcomers and were promoted

quickly due to their skills and hard work (TRED_03). Today, the recognition of foreign diplomas is often times difficult. Moreover, many workplaces refuse to make preliminary contracts with migrants before their diplomas are recognized by the Turkish educational system. In a vicious cycle, for the recognition of foreign diploma, a migrant needs to present a preliminary contract to the Turkish authorities. When neither of the two institutions steps back, the migrant often has to return home (TRED_01).

Second, **entrepreneurs** who deal with trans-border trade or own small businesses are a frequent migrant category in Edirne. CEE entrepreneurship was initiated by the Polish circular migrants of the 1970s with suitcase trade and continued by Romanian circular migrants in the 1990s until Romania's EU membership. Following their mass migration from Bulgaria, Turkish migrants were provided financial credits by the Turkish government to open businesses in Edirne linked to their education. In addition to this state support, Turks from Bulgaria have the advantage of bilingualism that is a high asset due to Edirne's proximity with Bulgaria (TRED_01). Edirne also hosts Greek entrepreneurs, although in smaller numbers, who likewise benefit from their bilingualism in doing trade with Greece. The most common entrepreneurship areas for CEE migrants in Edirne are small business areas such as restaurant management, beauty centers and goldsmiths. An interview with Edirne's Chamber of Commerce demonstrates that newcomer entrepreneurs usually cooperate with Turkish partners for their business in order to survive in the market.

Third and in lesser numbers are the **manual workers** who work in the areas of construction and agricultural areas in Edirne. The Romanian migrants of the 1990s, most of whom had at least high school diploma and spoke Italian, French or English as second language were the most skilled workers in the history of this urban region. Although their integration process was not easy at first due to language problems and many were not registered, these manual workers became well-known in areas such as carpentry and tailoring and worked irregularly in construction sites, agricultural lands and bakeries (TRED_06). The integration process was less difficult for the Bulgarian migrants of the 1990s who, with great support from the Turkish authorities, quickly joined the regular labor force. After the membership of Bulgaria and Romania into the EU facilitated the visa process to Turkey, seasonal agricultural jobs strengthened the circular migration flows to Edirne. Today, apart from the substantial permanent migrant population in Edirne, circular migration from Bulgaria takes place for employment in agriculture, especially in wine-making. Concerning the gender dimension of manual labor, CEE migration brought novelties to this urban region. Upon their arrival to Edirne in the 1990s, the women in this migrant

community took on traditional male jobs and worked, for instance, as crane operators in construction sites. Today, permanent and circular female migrant workers are still employed in agriculture in Edirne.

Fourth, and less visible compared to other migrant categories, are the **persons who work in private households** in Edirne. A limited number of middle aged, female CEE migrants often with nurse or medicine diplomas from Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova are recruited as caretakers in wealthy households. In-depth interviews illustrate that Romanian caretakers have the reputation as the most qualified group in this category (TRED_07). However, persons who work in private households are part of the irregular labor force in Edirne and live in their employer's house to save their earnings of 400 to 500 US Dollars.

Fifth, and possibly the most visible CEE migrant category in Edirne are the **students** from Kosovo, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece and Albania. While some CEE students enrolled to The University of Trakya receive scholarships, others frequently join the irregular labor force as waitresses or bartenders in cafes or bars or as some Bulgarian or Greek students do, find irregular jobs as translators for businesses between Edirne and their origin country. Lastly, survey results demonstrate that most students from the CEE countries would prefer to find permanent employment and continue living in Turkey after their graduation.

Sixth, the significant number of intercultural marriages between Turkish citizens and migrants in Edirne has led to a high number of **non-working spouses**, mostly wives with degrees from the CEE countries. As these women's non-participation in the labor force is usually a decision made by the husband, in-depth interviews demonstrate that the women's economic dependence on the husband is a common ground for divorce for women.

2.3.2 Housing and neighborhood consequences

Permanent CEE migrants from Bulgaria, Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine form Edirne's highest socioeconomic group and reside in the most well-off *Binevler* region which constitutes *Şükrüpaşa* and *Fatih* neighborhoods built in 1970s and 1980s for the ethnic Turks from Bulgaria. Utilizing the mortgage options offered by the Turkish state, these Bulgarian migrants were able to buy houses in Edirne by the early 2000s. In-depth interviews with stakeholders demonstrate that jealousy arose among the low socio-economic groups in Edirne such as the Roma and internal migrants from Eastern Turkey after this state support on housing as these groups still live in the poorest neighborhoods of Edirne with bad housing conditions (TRED_03).

Findings of the survey study conducted in Edirne are generally in line with the observations on the public perceptions about the housing and neighborhood conditions of the CEE migrants (*See Table 4*). In terms of housing, only a small number of respondents, approximately 15 percent, believe that knowledge workers and manual workers have problems while even lesser number of respondents who believe the remaining migrant categories have housing problems. In terms of neighborhood consequences, 20 percent of respondents consider knowledge workers to encounter difficulties concerning their neighborhoods while the remaining migrant groups seem to have lesser problems. While these survey results shed light on the general framework of perceptions towards CEE migrants concerning housing and neighborhood implications, stakeholder interviews and the Urban Living Lab provide more information on the challenges faced by different categories of CEE migrants.

Table 4: Relevance of Housing and Neighborhood Implications for different types of migration, Edirne		
Housing Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	2	13
Entrepreneurs	1	14
Manual workers	2	13
Persons working in private households	1	5
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	2	16
Non-working spouses/partners, children	1	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Neighborhood Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	3	15
Entrepreneurs	1	14
Manual workers	1	13
Persons working in private households	0	5
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	2	16
Non-working spouses/partners, children	0	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Source: Online Survey, n = 24.		
* Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

According to the in-depth interviews, Turks from Bulgaria as the largest CEE migrant community in Edirne received mortgage from the Turkish Government in the early 1990s and thus, were able to buy houses in this urban region. Some migrants from this community could even buy second houses and rent them to newcomers. However, a dilemma seems to appear here. While some respondents claim that migrants were offered free houses by the state, others claim that migrants' mortgage plans were usual and that they rose to today's well-off socio-economic status as a result of their hard work. Due to this non-verbal tension, it appears that ethnic Turks from Bulgaria do not completely blend in with the non-migrant population and instead, they socialize with other members of their high socio-economic class. Apart from the housing history of these Bulgarian migrants, **knowledge workers, entrepreneurs** and the less frequent **manual workers** from all CEE countries generally live in the most upscale *Şükrüpaşa* neighborhood in conditions better than the city's housing standards. Meanwhile, in-depth interviews reveal CEE migrants' skepticism against the internal migrants from Eastern Turkey who live in the lowest socioeconomic neighborhoods of Edirne (TRED_02).

In contrast to the positive housing and neighborhood experiences of the permanent CEE migrants in Edirne, information gathered at the Urban Living Lab sheds some light on the challenges irregular manual workers, persons working in private households and students face. First, in the case of **irregular manual workers**, Romanians, starting from 1989, used to live in construction sites and bakery shops while even today, Bulgarian circular migrants live in tents in agricultural areas in the harvest time (TRED_06). However, the exact number of these workers and the details of their housing conditions are unknown. Second, **persons working in private households** also reside in their workplace both because their irregularity does not allow them to comfortably settle in the city and they need to save their wage. Living with the employers naturally make these migrants vulnerable against exploitation, however, this migrant category remains mostly in the dark due to the disinterest of the stakeholders. Third, the housing process for the migrant category of CEE **students** is relatively more complicated and depends on the type of students' education. On the one hand, short-term students engaged in Erasmus or *Farabi*¹⁴ programs benefit from their own dormitory in the university campus and face no challenges regarding housing. Long-term CEE students, on the other hand, apply to a public office that places students in dormitories, which are insufficient due to the high number of students in spite of the ten percent quota allocated for foreigners. Since the waiting period to be placed in a public dormitory is between three to five months and occasionally of up to one year, several CEE investors started buying houses in order to rent to CEE

¹⁴ An exchange program similar to Erasmus, funded by the Turkish state.

students. Although the Turkish authorities are in the process of building new dormitories specifically for foreigners, many CEE students share housing as crowded groups due to their limited budget. The public's perception of these students, according to the in-depth interviews, is generally positive and the students' preference of Edirne for their university education seems to be a source of pride for the locals (TRED_02).

2.3.3 Registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation

The implications concerning the domains of registration, social security and welfare, and societal and political participation do not seem to differ greatly according to the migrant category. Instead, migrants' experiences in these domains depend on their residence status of regularity or irregularity. At a first glance, the majority of CEE migrants in the categories of knowledge workers, entrepreneurs and manual workers in Edirne are registered as citizens and are able to benefit from the social security system. Registration, therefore, is a more critical issue for the irregular manual workers, persons working in households and students. Regarding the domain of societal participation, regular CEE migrants are quite visible in the urban life in Edirne and are well represented by the numerous NGO's specific to their migrant community. It is important to note that these migrants have not united under organizations embracing all CEE migrants and instead, chosen to be represented by their own minority groups. More, in-depth interviews reveal that politically, CEE migrants from ex-socialist countries are often negative towards left-wing NGO's and instead, are strongly attached to NGO's advocating their own migrant group and national roots, e.g., "Organization of Turks from Bulgaria's Kardzhali" and "Turks from Bulgaria's Razgrad". Being labeled as *muhacir*¹⁵ by Edirne's non-migrant population might have triggered this high attachment to their own migrant group and religion as the pillars of their migrant identity. Regarding social security and welfare, the Urban Living Lab reveals how migrants' social well being is strengthened by the fact that registration for regular CEE migrants is unproblematic and due to the fact that Turkey has recently made high investments in the health sector. In addition, according to the in-depth interviews, Edirne has fine health services due to its good performance on the way to becoming a health tourism center attracting high numbers of patients from Bulgaria, Romania and Greece to its well-known hospital under the University of Trakya (TRED_03).

Survey findings demonstrate the public view that CEE migrants are not highly relevant to the topics of registration, social security and welfare, and societal and political participation (*See Table 5*). Less than 15 percent of survey respondents state that knowledge workers and students from CEE countries have

¹⁵ Forced migrants from Balkans.

problems during registration process. A similar percentage of respondents states that the migrant categories of knowledge workers and manual workers face challenges in the societal and political participation issue. Lastly, a few respondents believe that CEE migrants in general have difficulties concerning the social security system. In-depth interviews and the Urban Living Lab offer more insight on the implications of CEE migration.

Looking into the migrant categories and their relevance to the domains of registration, social security and welfare, and societal and political participation, first, CEE **knowledge workers** are in a satisfactory condition regarding registration as the Turkish state is strongly attached to the Reciprocity Agreement with CEE countries and thus, short-term knowledge workers and entrepreneurs can benefit from the Turkish social security and health system. In-depth interviews concerning these domains reveal that the city's public institutions encourage **entrepreneurs** and facilitate the registration process for investors in order to enliven the existing small industry. With this aim, the Chamber of Commerce of Edirne has introduced an electronic system for business registration and assists the CEE entrepreneurs during their registration process; making the whole process much easier today compared to the 1990s. While the experiences of **manual workers** are similar to knowledge workers and entrepreneurs, irregular manual workers suffer from the consequences of their residence status and cannot benefit from the social security system. Similarly, **persons working in private households** most of whom are Bulgarian, Romanian and Moldovan caretakers join the labor force without work permit as irregular workers, do not exist as active participants in the society and instead, are assisted only by migrants from their origin country. Still, local migrant NGO's are often willing to lend a hand to migrants from their origin country and even though these assistances are limited and non-systematic, irregular manual and household workers from Bulgaria, Greece and Kosovo are more advantaged due the existence of a larger diaspora in Edirne (TRED_03).

With a distinct registration process for their own, CEE **students** in Edirne complete a long bureaucratic procedure between the Ministry of Education, their university and the police department in order to receive a residence permit based on education. Once the Turkish Ministry of Education recognizes their high school diploma and their university receives the recognition document, students apply to the police department, which will then prepare the residence permit. In this long process, most problems arise at the primary step where the Ministry of Education may not recognize a student's high school. Thus, being accepted to a Turkish University does not guarantee a residence permit. Regarding

Table 5: Relevance of Registration, Social security and Societal-political participation implications for different types of migration, Edirne

Registration Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	1	14
Entrepreneurs	0	13
Manual workers	0	12
Persons working in private households	0	4
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	2	15
Non-working spouses/partners, children	0	9
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Social Security Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	2	13
Entrepreneurs	1	13
Manual workers	2	12
Persons working in private households	0	4
Sex workers, trafficked persons	1	1
Students	2	15
Non-working spouses/partners, children	0	9
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Societal and Political Participation Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	2	15
Entrepreneurs	0	14
Manual workers	1	13
Persons working in private households	0	5
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	0	16
Non-working spouses/partners, children	0	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Source: Online Survey, n = 24.		
*Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

social security and welfare issues, short-term students who usually have private insurance and long term students with scholarship from the Turkish Government seem to have fine conditions. For the majority, however, health costs are expensive and it is not possible to speak of a well social security system. This vulnerability and economic incapability drive CEE students close to Islamic organizations, which offer scholarships (TRED_02). In spite of this vulnerability, CEE students are well represented by the migrant organizations they establish in Edirne, such as the Kosovan Students Club or Bosnian Students Club. Very active in these organizations, CEE students even have networks with migrant business people for support and are connected with other migrant student organizations. In contrast to this unity among themselves, CEE migrant students do not seem to completely blend in with the local students which may stem from the economic disparity between the two groups as most Turkish students are economically better off compared to the CEE students (TRED_02).

Concerning the migrant category of **non-working spouses/partners and their children** and the domains of registration, social security and welfare, and societal and political participation, to begin with, in-depth interviews demonstrate that mixed families, typically composed of Turkish husbands and CEE wives, are frequent in Edirne. Regarding their registration, female CEE migrants in these mixed marriages are usually willing to obtain Turkish citizenship, which takes between six months and three years and can often smoothly benefit from the social security system. Although CEE women usually adapt to the Turkish society easily, in-depth interviews reveal that in cases where the partners have different religious orientations and both sides are strongly committed to their religion, women have difficulties in adapting to the Turkish culture and are neither politically nor socially active (TRED_07). Furthermore, migrant children seem to be well integrated and not face problems in the three domains. However, in-depth interviews with the members of the Bulgarian migrant community reveal how migrant children were alienated by the local classmates who refused to accept their *Turkishness* following their mass migration in the 1990s. While this type of treatment has long ceased to exist, the only problem mentioned in the survey study concerning children was in cases of divorce when the children of dual citizens seem to be torn between two countries.

2.3.4 Education and language

The domains of education and language of CEE migrants are not heated topics in Edirne and thus, only very little information was gathered regarding the implications in these areas. Overall, the implications concerning education and language seem to vary mostly in connection with the migrants'

duration of residence in Edirne. First of all, the education level of most CEE migrants in all categories appears to very high compared to the standards of this urban region. Second, as a general observation, language does not seem to be a challenge for this migrant population. Here, the only migrant category with language problems appears to be the students who have yet had no time to learn Turkish. Apart from the issue of Turkish, in-depth interviews demonstrate the hardship of preserving the mother tongue in relation to Ukrainian as the second and third generations of Ukrainians in Edirne are now fully integrated into Turkey and a main concern has become the preservation of their language and culture.

According to the survey data, which is generally in line with the general observations, less than 15 percent of survey respondents think that knowledge, workers and non-working spouses are relevant to the topics of education and language (*See Table 6*). However, one in four survey respondents considers CEE students to encounter difficulties concerning education. Regarding language, survey findings show that almost 40 percent of respondents state that students might have problems concerning Turkish. More, between 20 and 30 percent of survey respondents think that non-working spouses, manual and knowledge workers have problems with language. In-depth interviews and the Urban Living Lab offer a little more insight on these subjects.

According to the in-depth interviews in Edirne, CEE **knowledge workers** and **entrepreneurs** are usually well educated. Even though the CEE knowledge workers sometimes experience language problems during business negotiations, the high number of bilingual CEE migrants in this urban region facilitates finding translators for business. The most efficient languages for business are Bulgarian and Greek, and the bilinguals who arrange business connections with these countries are highly appreciated due to their contribution to Edirne's economic development (TRED_01). CEE entrepreneurs in Edirne state that especially in the weekends when tour buses come from across the borders, they hear more Bulgarian and Greek than Turkish. High human mobility in the borders revives the trade in Edirne and has encouraged even the local entrepreneurs to learn CEE languages. At the same time, Bulgarian entrepreneurs have started attending Turkish courses in their countries to trade with business people in Edirne. Recently, Turkish and Bulgarian governments agreed to facilitate the establishment of public institutions for Bulgarian language course in Edirne and public institutions for Turkish language course on the Bulgarian side of the border. The aim is to strengthen the links via language (TRED_04).

Table 6: Relevance of Education and Language Implications for different types of migration, Edirne

Education Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	2	15
Entrepreneurs	1	14
Manual workers	1	13
Persons working in private households	1	5
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	4	16
Non-working spouses/partners, children	1	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Language Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	3	15
Entrepreneurs	1	14
Manual workers	3	13
Persons working in private households	0	5
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	1
Students	6	16
Non-working spouses/partners, children	3	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0
Source: Online Survey, n = 24.		
* Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

Language and education problems regarding CEE **students** differ based on their duration of stay. The Trakya University of Edirne, with its Balkan Research Center, Balkan Languages Translation Department and the well-known Medicine Faculty follows a determined policy to attract both long and short-term university students from abroad and especially the Balkans. The university's aim to become a center for foreign students in the region reflects to the migration patterns in the province. Thus, CEE students in University Trakya in 2013 were almost half of the total foreign student population with the largest student communities from Kosovo, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania. In this context, non-Turkish speaking long term CEE students are obliged to attend a one year Turkish Language Program before their studies. While Turkish speaking students from Kosovo, Gagauzia or Macedonia may face challenges due

to differences in their Turkish, it is the short term CEE students of exchange programs such as Erasmus and *Farabi* with the most serious language problems as they need to learn Turkish while they also attend their regular department studies in Turkish. More, the fact that department classes are in Turkish often create difficulties for the home university to accept course credits. As language is a critical issue for foreign students in Edirne, private Turkish language courses for the students are visible in the city center.

For the **manual workers, persons working in private households** and **non-working spouses**, the general education level and language orientations are not known. Limited information received from the stakeholder interviews demonstrates that all three categories are generally well educated and some, especially Romanians, learn Turkish after their arrival to Edirne. As repeated several times in this section of this report, these migrant categories are partially in dark due to the general lack of interest of the stakeholders.

3 Implications of CEE migration in Istanbul

3.1 CEE migration in Istanbul

First and foremost, Istanbul is home to approximately 19 percent of Turkey's population and still has an increasing population trend primarily due to the high in-migration and low out-migration rates. While the total number of CEE migrants residing in Istanbul is not known, the national census of 2000 demonstrates that three percent of Istanbul's population was born outside of Turkey among which 0.08 percent was born in the EU member countries. Despite the lack of more specific, updated information on the origin countries of migrants living in this urban region, statistics prove the high mobility towards Istanbul. In 2010, entries through Istanbul's two airports and two seaports reached seven million people, constituting 24 percent of all foreign entries to Turkey, among which the CEE portion amounted to 600,000 arrivals. The largest group among the CEE entries was Ukrainians with 137,000 arrivals, followed by Romanians with 53,000 arrivals and Bulgarians with approximately 50,000 arrivals.

To begin with, Istanbul is Turkey's migration hub as a huge center of trade and industry, which attract migrants of various backgrounds from around the globe. First of all, Istanbul attracts knowledge workers, entrepreneurs and manual workers of both regular and irregular status. Non-working spouses and children are an indispensable part of these migration flows as revealed by the fact that most common ground for acquisition of citizenship in Turkey is marriage with Turkish citizens. Second, the lack of social policies regarding child and elderly care services create a vast employment area for the female private household workers. Third, nine public and 40 private universities host short and long term

international students. Lastly, this urban region is home to a high number of sex workers and trafficked persons from numerous countries and especially after the massive migration flows from Syria, to beggars and homeless people.

Researching the implications of CEE migration in Istanbul is challenging due to three reasons. First, this urban region is heavily migrant-populated and consists of both internal and external migrants, which often make it impossible to distinguish the implications of CEE migration from the implications of migrants in general. Second, and more importantly, the Syrian mass migration in Istanbul overshadows migrants of other nationalities. As the unforeseen, intensive flows of Syrians and their highly visible presence in Istanbul is a much heated topic both with the public and state authorities, “migrant” has recently become synonym to “Syrian”. Therefore, it is currently challenging to extract information from most stakeholders in Istanbul regarding the CEE migrants in particular. The third factor complicating the research on CEE migrants is the deteriorating public image of migrants due to the sudden appearance/surfacing of extreme xenophobia following the arrival of Syrian migrants in unexpectedly high numbers in Istanbul. Due to the scapegoating against the Syrians and migrants in general, locals typically either adopt a totally negative stance against the presence of migrants in Istanbul, or their negativity towards the Syrian migrants pushes them to consider the CEE migrants as “better migrants”¹⁶.

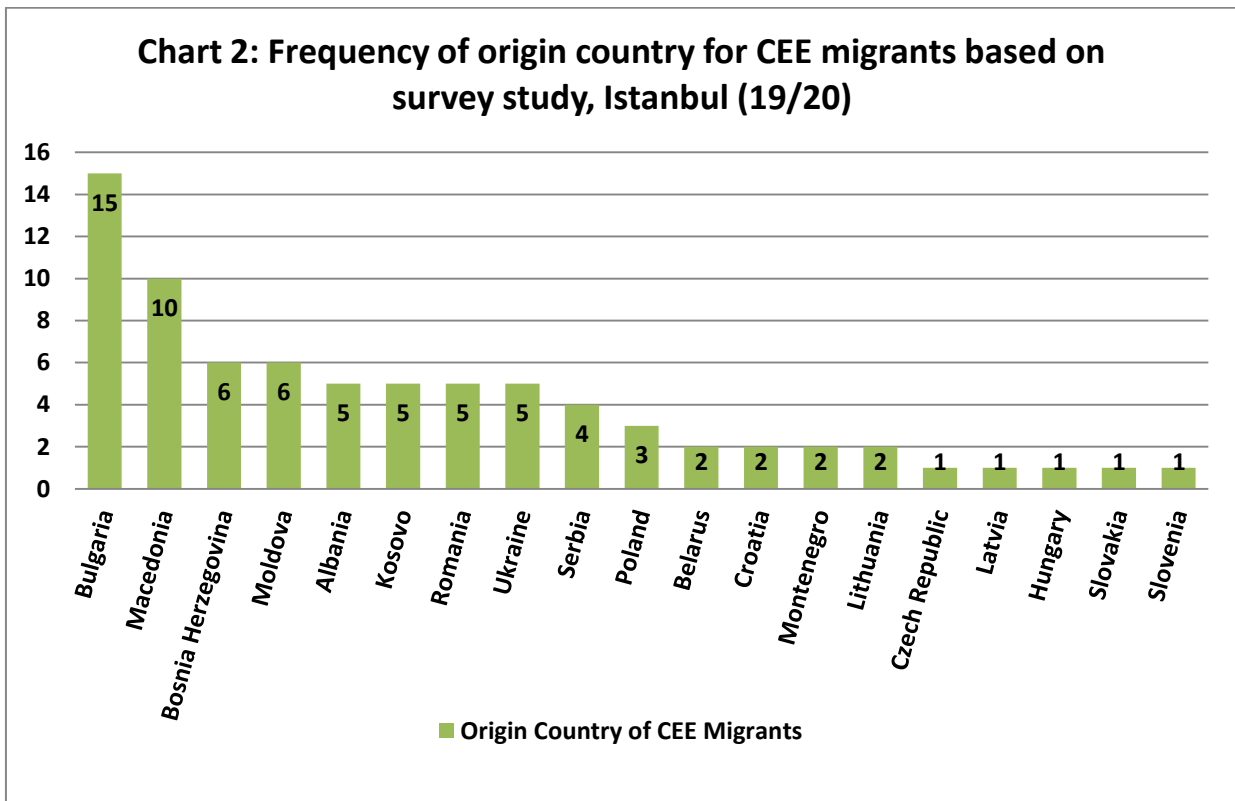
3.2 General observations on CEE migration

Looking specifically into the CEE migration, Istanbul experiences a continuing inflow of CEE migrants. A frequent CEE migrant category in Istanbul is the high skilled **knowledge migrants** such as the Hungarian professionals who are attracted to Istanbul as a result of the historic ties between the two countries, their proximity, and practical advantages such as direct flights. CEE **entrepreneurs**, such as the Czech migrants who establish small-scale enterprises with Turkish partners, as required by the Turkish business laws and **manual workers**, of regular and irregular status, are common in Istanbul due to the vast labor market. Entrepreneurs and manual workers are considered as the most frequent migrant categories by the survey participants in Istanbul (*See Table 7*). Despite their frequency, very limited information could be gathered on these migrants’ typical period of stay in Istanbul and their work areas.

Against this quick background of CEE migration in Istanbul, several stakeholders including representatives of local municipalities, CEE migrant organizations, NGO’s, educational institutions and

¹⁶ Interestingly, Balkan humanitarian aid agencies such as the Association for Solidarity in Sarajevo and the Islamic Community of Montenegro, according to SETimes news dated March 27, 2015 help the Syrian migrants residing in Turkey’s refugee camps close to the Syrian border.

employees in local businesses were asked in a survey study how they considered the presence of CEE migrants in this urban region. More than half of the stakeholders who participated in the survey study responded that they have positive opinions concerning the CEE migrants, while two stakeholders consider the CEE migrant presence in Istanbul as very positive and five stakeholders are neutral to their presence. No significant difference can be detected between the responses of public offices, NGOs and intermediate institutions. Stakeholders were also asked the most important CEE sending countries in their urban area (*See Chart 2*). Consistent with the results of expert interviews and the ULL¹⁷, the most visible group is Bulgarians. With the exception of Estonia, all CEE countries were mentioned by at least one stakeholder and migrants from Macedonia, Bosnia Herzegovina and Moldova follow the Bulgarians in term of visibility.



¹⁷ ULL stands for Urban Living Lab.

Table 7: Relevance of different types of migration for stakeholders' work, Istanbul urban region		
TOM	Very Relevant/ Relevant	Relevance
Knowledge workers	5/21	Medium
Entrepreneurs	10/21	High
Manual workers	10/21	High
Persons working in private households	5/21	Medium
Sex workers, trafficked persons	2/21	Low
Students	4/21	Low
Non-working spouses/partners, children	4/21	Low
Beggars and homeless people	1/21	Low

An extensive CEE migrant category in Istanbul is the **migrants working for private households**. While the recent amendments to the domestic labor laws have facilitated the bureaucratic processes for residence and work permits, employers' unwillingness to pay for the migrants' social security fees and the workers' lack of documents still lead to irregularity among domestic workers in Istanbul. Here, the line between temporary and permanent migration is blurred, as some irregular female migrants are known to spend many years in Turkey despite this status. In addition to the known risks stemming from irregularity, female caretakers suffer from the prejudice that they engage in prostitution. Most CEE migrants in this category are Moldovans and Ukrainians, but the only migrant community exempt from this prejudice seems to be the Bulgarian Turks due to their Turkish ethnicity.

Migration based on family reunification adds to this trend when these highly skilled migrants and entrepreneurs are often times joined by their families in Turkey and thus, **non-working spouses and children** appear as the fifth CEE migrant category. Concurrently, as in the Hungarian case, female CEE migrants married make up most of the Hungarian migrant population in Istanbul. Furthermore, recent amendments to the Hungarian citizenship laws facilitate the dual citizenship of spouses and children, which lead to a recent increase in the Hungarian and Turkish dual citizens. Similar to the Hungarian case, most Czech migrants also reside in Turkey due to family unification and marriage. Among the Czech migrants, however, dual citizenship is rare. In both cases, while short-term migratory movements do not demonstrate a gendered pattern, the majority of permanent CEE migrants are female migrants from Hungary, Czech Republic, Moldova, Ukraine and Latvia married to Turkish citizens and their children.

A highly populated category of CEE migrants in Istanbul are the **students** from families with high socioeconomic status of Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Montenegro, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Serbia and Slovenia. As most CEE students are enrolled in exchange programs such as Erasmus or special student exchange programs based on bilateral agreements between Turkey and other countries, student migration to Istanbul is often for short periods. While it is common knowledge that students share apartments in their short stay, no details are known on issues such as the neighborhood consequences of CEE students and access to social benefits during their stay.

The last category is **sex workers and trafficked people** in Istanbul. Until the year 2008, the most common origin countries for this category were Moldova, followed by Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria and Romania. Today, however, the highest numbers of trafficked people are known to be from Turkmenistan. Unfortunately, the invisibility of this category reduces the availability of information on issues such as length of stay, access to registration or social benefits, housing situation, social and political participation, education and language etc.

Beggars and homeless people from the CEE countries, however, either do not exist or are not noticed among the vast number of Syrian beggars and homeless. Therefore this section will not include this category.

In order to better comprehend the implications of CEE migration in Istanbul, the next section will focus on four domains: **labor market, housing and neighborhood consequences, registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation, and education and language**. These four domains will be elaborated considering different categories of CEE migrants including **knowledge workers, entrepreneurs, manual workers, migrants working in private households, sex workers and trafficked persons, students, non- working spouses and children**.

3.3 Implications of different types of migration in central domains

3.3.1 Labor market

Istanbul's vast labor market consists of various CEE migrant categories. With a quick glance at these migrant categories, permanent CEE knowledge workers and entrepreneurs are mostly from Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania and Ukraine. For manual workers, Moldova, Belarus, Croatia, Montenegro, Poland and Serbia can be added to this list. In the case of persons working in private households, Moldovans and Ukrainians have gained a good reputation above all others. The migrant category of CEE sex workers and trafficked persons, until 2008, mostly consisted women from

Romania and Moldova and were the largest migrant community among all sex workers and trafficked persons in Istanbul. Since then, their numbers have decreased and fallen behind the Central Asian migrants. Finally, CEE students in Istanbul often times are involved in the labor force as irregular workers.

Survey results illustrate that most categories of CEE migrants are considered to be relevant to market implications (See *Table 8*). Persons working in private households are regarded by 83 percent of the survey respondents as encountering difficulties in the labor market. According to 50 to 75 percent of survey respondents, sex workers, knowledge workers by 67 percent, students, non-working spouses and entrepreneurs experience hardships in employment. Less than half of the respondents believe that manual workers and beggars and homeless people encounter problems in the labor market.

Table 8: Relevance of labor market implications for different types of migration, Istanbul		
	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	6	9
Entrepreneurs	6	11
Manual workers	5	12
Persons working in private households	5	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	3	4
Students	4	6
Non-working spouses/partners, children	3	5
Beggars and homeless people	1	3
Source: Online Survey, n = 21.		
*Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

Looking deeper into the CEE migrant categories through information gathered from the in-depth interviews and the Urban Living Lab, the first category is the **knowledge workers**. For this migrant category, the main challenge is Istanbul's highly competitive labor market, which includes both local and international migrants and reduces the likelihood of finding permanent employment in the sector. For instance, among the migrant labor force, high number of East Asian and Indian engineers with high skills and low demands has better chance in finding permanent employment in Istanbul (TR IS_01).

The second category, CEE **entrepreneurs** in Istanbul, are mostly involved in suitcase trade and sell the goods and products they buy from Turkey in their home country of Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bosnia

Herzegovina, Kosovo and Romania due to the demand for Turkish goods. Entrepreneurs also transport goods to the families of irregular CEE migrants. The Turkish goods weekly carried by freight cars to the families of Moldovan irregular migrants are considered to be worth more than a million dollar (TR IS_05 I ULL). Due to the high demand for Turkish commodities and the continuing need of irregular migrants to transport goods to their families, entrepreneurs in this labor branch seem to be generally well off.

The main challenge for the CEE **manual workers**, the third category, is irregularity in Istanbul. Although the Syrian, Afghan and Iraqi irregular migrants take the current disqualified jobs, Bulgarian migrants worked in the temporary, low-skilled jobs as irregular migrants in the 1990s. There is no consensus on how the irregular labor force should be evaluated. On the one hand, some believe irregular workers should be registered to end their vulnerability and to standardize better working and living conditions while on the other hand, state's registration may first, increase unemployment and second, generate the risk of deportation for the irregular migrants (ULL). In any respect, the irregularity of CEE manual workers leads to lack of information on their numbers, market conditions and profile although it is known that many work in Istanbul's textile sector.

Likewise, in the fourth category of **private household workers**, the main challenge is irregularity. In this category, most Ukrainians are registered and considered to have good working conditions because they work for the permanent Ukrainians such as the wealthy entrepreneurs or knowledge workers in Istanbul (TR IS_05 I ULL). In contrast, female migrants in this category are typically those who enter with tourist visa, overstay and then become irregular workers (TR IS_07). Moreover, due to the difficulties of getting equivalence for their diplomas despite their education, private household workers have to live in their employers' house to save money as caretakers or cleaners. Due to these migrants' vulnerable status, employers seize their passports and can exploit them due to their invisibility. Earning wages around 600 to 800 US Dollars, domestic workers typically send most of their earnings to their families in their home country.

The fifth category, CEE **students** also face the difficulty of irregularity in Istanbul's labor market. Due to the low number of scholarships and the insufficiency of existing scholarships' allowances, many CEE students are forced to work (TR IS_05 I ULL). As the working hours allowed for students is 24 hours per week and this right is not valid until a student completes the first academic year, so many CEE students join the irregular labor force. CEE students generally work in tourism and service sector as most speak Turkish, Russian and English. However, due to their irregularity, they are vulnerable against employers and they encounter the risk of losing scholarships.

Due to their invisibility, the labor situation and working conditions of the remaining migrant categories- **sex workers and trafficked persons** and **non-working spouses** are not known.

3.3.2 Housing and neighborhood consequences

CEE migrants in Istanbul are found dispersed across the urban region where their housing and neighborhood consequences differ significantly based on their residence status rather than migrant category. An analysis of the heavily migrant-populated *Beyoğlu*, *Fatih* and *Zeytinburnu* districts demonstrates this dissimilarity. While a high number of regular CEE migrants from Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania live in *Zeytinburnu's Telsiz* neighborhood, irregular CEE migrants are found in the poorer *Beyoğlu's Tarlabası* and *Fatih's Aksaray* neighborhoods all of which are also home to regular and irregular migrants from Syria, Iraq, Uzbekistan and African Countries.

According to 60 to 80 percent of survey respondents, non-working spouses, students and knowledge workers are relevant to the domain of housing while 33 to 50 percent consider that the remaining migrant categories are relevant to this domain (See Table 9). Regarding neighborhood consequences, 80 percent of respondents think that non-working spouses and 30 to 50 percent think that remaining migrant categories encounter difficulties. Beggars and homeless people from the CEE however are not considered to have problems, most probably due to the lack of information regarding this category. In this section, as the living conditions depend mostly on the districts and several CEE migrant categories are found together in the same neighborhoods, focusing on the specific migrant- populated neighborhoods will be more informative compared to focusing directly on the migrant categories.

To begin with, *Telsiz* neighborhood of *Zeytinburnu* district is home to a high number of regular, permanent CEE **entrepreneurs** and **manual workers** from Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Romania with good reputations as talented, disciplined and trustworthy migrants well integrated in their neighborhood. Among these migrant communities, Bulgarian Turks are the highest socioeconomic group as a result of the strong state support they received upon their arrival, which included low mortgage rates to buy land and real estate (TR IS_03). CEE migrants in the *Telsiz* area, unlike their Syrian, Uzbek and Turkmen neighbors who live in crowded apartments have fine housing conditions.

Table 9: Relevance of Housing and Neighborhood Implications for different types of migration, Istanbul		
Housing Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	6	10
Entrepreneurs	4	10
Manual workers	5	12
Persons working in private households	3	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	2	4
Students	4	6
Non-working spouses/partners, children	4	5
Beggars and homeless people	1	3
Neighborhood Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	3	10
Entrepreneurs	5	11
Manual workers	4	12
Persons working in private households	3	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	2	5
Students	3	6
Non-working spouses/partners, children	4	5
Beggars and homeless people	0	3
Source: Online Survey, n = 21.		
* Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

Second, *Aksaray* neighborhood of *Fatih* district is home to many female migrants from ex-socialist countries who work as **manual workers** and **private household workers**. In spite of the high rents for migrants, these women do not live in overcrowded apartments. In the past, *Aksaray* was known with its CEE **sex workers** who now seem dispersed in the urban region. Still, it is very common in these neighborhoods to label CEE women as “natashas” or in other words, migrant sex workers from the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe even if they do not engage in this business. As another negative example, Georgian manual workers in *Aksaray* are claimed to often have disputes with the local residents and seem to be generally disliked because they are believed to engage in theft. In contrast, in

the heavily migrant populated district of *Fatih*, CEE migrants seem to be more accepted compared to migrants from African countries or more recently, migrants from Syria (TR IS_02).

Finally, only a few steps from the elite districts of *Cihangir*, *Nişantaşı* and *Taksim*, *Tarlabaşı* neighborhood of *Beyoğlu* district is a hub for irregular migrants in spite of its high rent standards for low quality housing. Like other irregular migrants in this area, CEE **manual workers** often rent single rooms alone or share flats with other CEE migrants who often work in textile shops which sell cheap leather products to foreigners in *Aksaray* (ULL). Apart from the migrants living in these three districts, it should be noted that most Ukrainian and Moldovan **private household workers** live in Istanbul's most well off neighborhoods. Even though they face the risk of exploitation by their employers due to their irregularity, they live in better housing conditions compared to the irregular manual workers in *Tarlabaşı*. For the non-working spouses, no information is available regarding housing and neighborhood consequences due to the facts that they are dispersed across the urban region and are a heterogeneous category.

3.3.3 Registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation

The consequences of CEE migration in the three domains of registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation depend on the migrant categories and the residence status. To begin with, between 50 and 85 percent of survey respondents believe that private household workers, non-working spouses, sex workers and students from the CEE countries encounter difficulties during the registration process in Istanbul. Second, a similar number of stakeholders consider that non-working spouses and students experience hardships with social security and welfare as well (*See Table 10*). Third, according to 40 percent of stakeholders, entrepreneurs, students, knowledge workers and non-working spouses in Istanbul face problems in the domain of societal and political participation.

First of all, CEE **knowledge workers** from ex-socialist countries face prejudice from both the public and the state regarding the authenticity of their diplomas due to the phenomenon of purchased diplomas in their countries and must undergo an exhausting bureaucratic process during the recognition or verification of their documents (TR IS_01). Typically, a company would like the job candidate to have residence permit in order to employ her while state authorities frequently refuse to issue a residence permit if a foreigner has not found stable employment. This key complication may create problems in access to knowledge workers' social security and welfare system. Regarding the societal and political participation of knowledge workers, no information was found.

Table 10: Relevance of Registration, Social security and Societal-political participation implications for different types of migration, Istanbul

Registration Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	4	10
Entrepreneurs	5	11
Manual workers	4	12
Persons working in private households	5	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	3	5
Students	3	6
Non-working spouses/partners, children	4	5
Beggars and homeless people	0	3
Social Security Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	3	10
Entrepreneurs	4	11
Manual workers	3	12
Persons working in private households	2	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	0	4
Students	4	7
Non-working spouses/partners, children	4	5
Beggars and homeless people	1	3
Societal and Political Participation Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/ Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	4	10
Entrepreneurs	5	11
Manual workers	3	12
Persons working in private households	1	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	1	5
Students	3	7
Non-working spouses/partners, children	2	5
Beggars and homeless people	0	3
Source: Online Survey, n = 21.		
*Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

Second, in the registration domain for the entrepreneurs and manual workers, **entrepreneurs** are encouraged to make their monthly wage payments to their **manual workers** via Turkish banks as a means for the Ministry of Finance to monitor the registration of foreign workers and repress irregular employment (ULL). While the registration of irregular migrants may protect them against exploitation, registration may generate the risk of deportation in times of economic recession or increasing unemployment (ULL). No information is available on whether entrepreneurs and manual workers have access to social benefits. Regarding the domains of societal and political participation, entrepreneurs and manual workers from Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia Herzegovina and Macedonia with regular residence status in *Telsiz* neighborhood of *Zeytinburnu* are integrated in their community and socially well connected with other migrants in their neighborhood. While migrants of the same religion often attend the same mosques or churches, marriages usually take place among community members (TR IS_03). Having established numerous NGO's in Istanbul, CEE migrants are very active in attending community activities. Furthermore, their political ideologies appear to be of lesser importance compared to their group loyalty. Thus, when a community member joins a political party, others often support this party even if they do not share their political views (TR IS_04 I ULL).

Third, as they typically enter Turkey with tourist visa and then join the irregular labor force, **private household workers** in Istanbul find it risky to approach the police authorities due to the fear of deportation even if they wish to be registered (ULL). Due to their vulnerability, the organized crime groups often target this migrant category. For instance, according to the law, those who overstay their visa are required to pay fee to the police authorities at the airport prior their departure from Turkey. In the case of irregular domestic workers, they often they pay fees around 3000 US dollars to crime groups who then arrange the migrants' departure through fake passports (TR IS_05 I ULL). In spite of the recent laws facilitating the registration of irregular household workers into the social security system, the insurance fees an employer is required to pay in order to register an employee in the social security system is criticized for being too high. Thus, most employers are reluctant to pay their employee's social security insurance or they suggest reducing the employee's wage in return to paying for their insurance, which is mostly refused by the employee. Furthermore, employers often seize irregular domestic workers' passports to ensure employees will not run away. As a result of their vulnerable status stemming from irregularity, the social and political participation of CEE house workers is usually restricted in their own community. Possibly due to the instinct to remain invisible, these irregular migrants do not seem to aspire to establish NGO's and instead, they socialize with other household workers from their own migrant community.

Similar to knowledge workers, CEE **students** encounter the difficulty of having their diplomas recognized in Turkey, which is a barrier against receiving valid residence permit based on education. Even when a foreign student is accepted to a university in Istanbul, a residence permit cannot be obtained without the recognition of the student's high school diploma. Concerning societal and political participation, attendance in student organizations is very rare among the CEE students in Istanbul and only handful student organizations are established in spite of the high population of CEE migrants. Among the limited number of such NGO's, Balkan Dialogue groups draw attention because they bring together students from various Balkan countries.

Unlike the rest of the migrant categories, fifth, **non-working spouses** do not appear to encounter registration difficulties. Typically consisting of women married to Turkish citizens, migrants in this category often apply for citizenship and receive their citizenship between six months to three years and then easily integrate with the social security and welfare systems. Still, this category's political participation does not seem to exist and more, social participation remains limited to other wives from their origin country (e.g. Latvian wives). Furthermore, **non-working partners** who give birth outside marriage may be supported by CEE migrant NGO's, such as the Moldovan NGO, which helps women whose partners refuse to take the children's responsibility.

For the category of **sex workers** and **trafficked persons** from CEE countries, the domain of registration appears to be more problematic compared to the other migrant categories. In some cases, a very thin line separates domestic workers from sex workers or trafficked persons and without considering the possibility of human trafficking, migrant women may be deported by the authorities. Attempts to provide legal aid and protection for trafficked persons are yet insufficient as instances of fraud and lawyers' demand for excess payments from trafficked migrants are known¹⁸.

3.3.4 Education and language

At a first glance, CEE migrants in Istanbul have diverse educational backgrounds and their language proficiency depends on the duration of their stay and area of employment. To begin with, while 50 to 75 percent of survey respondents consider that non-working spouses, students and private household workers encounter difficulties regarding education, less than 30 percent of respondents think so for the remaining categories (*See Table 11*). Concerning the domain of language, all survey respondents believe that non-working spouses face problems and 50 to 70 percent of survey respondents consider private

¹⁸ Legal background of for sex workers and trafficked persons in Turkey will be examined in the Work Package 3 Report.

household workers, students, knowledge workers, sex workers and entrepreneurs to encounter hardships in language.

Table 11: Relevance of Education and Language Implications for different types of migration, Istanbul		
Education Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	3	10
Entrepreneurs	3	10
Manual workers	3	12
Persons working in private households	3	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	1	5
Students	5	7
Non-working spouses/partners, children	3	5
Beggars and homeless people	0	3
Language Implications		
Type of migrant	Very Relevant/Relevant	No. Stakeholders who answered for TOM*
Knowledge workers	6	10
Entrepreneurs	5	10
Manual workers	5	12
Persons working in private households	4	6
Sex workers, trafficked persons	3	5
Students	4	6
Non-working spouses/partners, children	5	5
Beggars and homeless people	1	3
Source: Online Survey, n = 21.		
* Total number of persons who indicated that the specific TOM would be "very relevant", "relevant" or "less relevant" for their work.		

First, the language domain for the well-educated CEE **knowledge workers** seems primarily to depend on their employment area. The motivation to learn Turkish is very low among permanent or short-term CEE employees of international firms and also universities. As English is often a valid working language in international companies and many universities and because CEE migrants either socializes with other migrants or English speakers, learning Turkish may not be required for the high-educated knowledge workers to live in Turkey. While learning Turkish seems to be more crucial for the **entrepreneurs**, the

issue of education, however, is not well known for both categories of knowledge workers and entrepreneurs, as they are heterogeneous group.

In contrast, CEE **manual workers** may not be as high educated as knowledge workers and whether regular or irregular, often need to learn basic Turkish to get on by every day. However, there seem to be no state efforts for the integration of foreign manual workers into the education system or provision of language courses for permanent or short-term migrants. Furthermore, the substantial community of Turkish migrants from Bulgaria who have no language problems and can be considered as the most settled CEE migrant group in Turkey seems to have encountered a major challenge regarding education. While the first generation of this community were highly educated in Bulgaria, their second generation raised in Istanbul can be considered as unwilling towards education as they join the manual work force immediately after high school graduation.

In Istanbul, CEE **students** are mostly enrolled in short term university exchange programs for which they may not need to learn Turkish. As most universities offer programs in English, Turkish is not an obligatory language for university studies. While the numbers of CEE students in Istanbul are less than students from Western European countries, learning Turkish with the intention to enter trade business between Turkey and their home countries seems to be a common future plan for CEE students. The major problems for foreign students in Istanbul are the insufficient number of scholarships, the low allowances provided by the existing scholarships and the restriction of weekly working hours which does not allow students earn enough to cover living expenses (ULL). In consequence, some students join the irregular labor force and become subject to the risks of exploitation.

In the category of **non-working spouses and children**, no information is available regarding the implications of spouses concerning education and language. However, children born in Turkey have the right to attend public schools, regardless of their residence status.

In the two categories of **private household workers** and **sex workers and trafficked persons**, migrant profiles seem to vary greatly but as most members of these groups are invisible, no concrete data exists on the educational backgrounds. However, in-depth interviews reveal that learning Turkish increases sex workers' chances for working in households or as manual workers. Concerning the utilization of language abilities, CEE caretakers in some cases are preferred so they can teach Russian to the children.

4 Implications of CEE migration – Edirne and Istanbul compared

Findings regarding the implications of CEE migration in Istanbul and Edirne can draw out the parallel and contrasting features in the two urban regions. The heart of the distinctions between the implications of migration lies at their dissimilar characters. On the one hand, Edirne is a strictly controlled, small border city with a narrow industrial base and mostly permanent migrant population. On the other hand, Istanbul is a less strictly controlled, massive city, still receiving extensive flows of internal and international migration with both short term and long term stayers. This context shapes the similarities and differences between Edirne and Istanbul concerning the implications of CEE migration in the specific domains of labor market, housing, neighborhood consequences, registration, social security, societal and political participation, education and language.

As the first key element, the most visible CEE migrant categories **in Edirne** are **knowledge workers, entrepreneurs** and **students** among which ethnic Turks from Bulgaria, Macedonians, Kosovans and Bosnians is the majority. Edirne's permanent CEE migrants are well integrated in Edirne's urban fabric; they form the highest socioeconomic group and are known to have enlivened the city through their high education and skills. The migrant categories of CEE **sex workers** and **trafficked persons** and **beggars** and **homeless** people are not present in Edirne. **In Istanbul**, the most visible CEE migrant categories are **entrepreneurs** and **manual workers** and those who come from Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo. However, general statements on CEE migrants are harder to make due to the heterogeneous migrant profile. In addition, while the category of **sex workers** and **trafficked persons** is known to exist (although very little is known about this category), **beggars** and **homeless** people, similar to **Edirne**, may not be present in **Istanbul**. In both urban areas, **knowledge workers, entrepreneurs** and **students** receive most of the attention and overshadow the remaining categories of **manual workers, non-working spouses** and in the case of **Istanbul, sex workers** and **trafficked persons**.

Based on the survey results, the second key element related to the implications of CEE migration is the migrants' duration of stay distinguished as permanent and short-term stayers, where the duration of stay for the latter is differentiated in temporary stayers, mid-term stayers and circular migrants (See *Table 12 and 13*). In both **Edirne** and **Istanbul**, the most frequent trend is permanent CEE migration followed by circular migration. The high proportion of circular migrants in both **Edirne** and **Istanbul** may depend on by the existence of dual citizens, the strong role of trade in the two economies and particular to the latter, the substantial number of irregular domestic workers. Furthermore, permanent migrants in

Edirne are the majority in all categories. **Istanbul**, on the other hand, is home to both permanent and short-term migrants such as mid-term, circular and temporary stayers in high numbers.

Against this background, concerning the domain of **labor market**, CEE migrants in **Edirne** appear to be generally more privileged in comparison to Istanbul. In Edirne, most CEE migrants are **knowledge workers** and **entrepreneurs**, strongly supported by the local authorities. Admired for their hard-work and high skills, it is widely accepted that CEE migrants have transformed **Edirne** by enriching the labor market. Regarding **manual workers**, **Edirne** experiences very low levels of circular migration from across the border. In **Istanbul**, CEE migrants are mostly **entrepreneurs** and **manual workers**. However, a much higher level of competition and the availability of both local and foreign knowledge workers complicate the labor market for **knowledge workers**. Unlike **Edirne**, **Istanbul** is home to a high number of both regular and irregular **manual workers**. While the position of **knowledge** and **manual workers** are dissimilar, **entrepreneurs** in both urban regions are well advantaged. **Edirne's** proximity to the border and the transnational life style make bilingualism an asset for trade and the high demand for Turkish commodities in migrants' home countries makes trade very profitable in **Istanbul**. Several other similarities also draw attention. First, concerning **knowledge workers**, the recognition of foreign diplomas is currently difficult in both **Edirne** and **Istanbul**. As workplaces often refuse to make preliminary contracts with migrants before the migrants' diplomas are recognized and that a migrant is required to present a preliminary work contract for the recognition of foreign diploma creates a vicious cycle which forces the **knowledge workers** to often leave for home. Second, in both urban regions, **private household workers** are mostly irregular and invisible. Third, the low number of scholarships and the insufficiency of existing scholarships' allowances push **students** to join the irregular labor force and face the risks of exploitation. Finally, the labor situation and working conditions of the remaining migrant categories- **sex workers** and **trafficked persons** are unknown due to a combination of their invisibility, lack of policy and expertise on this migrant category and the fact that **sex workers** and **trafficked persons** are overshadowed by more visible migrants.

Regarding the domain of housing, CEE migrants in **Edirne** are generally more advantaged compared to migrants in **Istanbul**. In **Edirne**, permanent CEE migrants typically reside in the two most well off neighborhoods. Well-integrated in their neighborhoods, CEE migrants' presence is generally accepted to have enlivened **Edirne**. In **Istanbul**, CEE migrants are dispersed in the city where especially **manual workers** live mostly in the heavily migrant populated areas rather than the most elite neighborhoods. While their housing conditions are better in comparison to migrants from Turkmenistan

or Syria, migrants often share apartments to pay for the high rents for low quality housing. While the heterogeneity of the neighborhoods where CEE migrants reside does not allow general statements, still, locals consider ethnic Turks from Bulgaria as an advantaged community due to the state support they received concerning housing. Moreover, CEE migrants in **Istanbul** may not always be as well integrated as in **Edirne**. Female CEE migrants are often labeled as **sex workers** regardless of their employment and certain communities, such as the Georgians, are claimed to commit small crimes. In both urban regions, **students** who do not stay at the dormitories often stay in over-crowded apartments. Similar in both urban regions, **persons working in private households** typically live in their employers' houses facing exploitation.

Regarding the **registration** of migrants, the majority of CEE migrants in **Edirne** are registered while irregularity is certainly more frequent in **Istanbul**. In more detail, **knowledge workers, entrepreneurs** and **manual workers** in **Edirne** are typically registered as citizens and are able to benefit from the **social security** and **welfare system**. More instances of irregularity are visible among **manual workers, persons working in households** and **students**. In **Istanbul**, irregularity may be common in all migrant categories due to the higher inflow of migrants. While it is common for **knowledge workers** to have difficulty in obtaining residence permits and then be forced to return or work irregularly, CEE **entrepreneurs** are found to employ irregular CEE **manual workers** in order to avoid taxation. Several similarities in the domain of registration in Istanbul and Edirne draw attention. First, **non-working spouses** do not appear to encounter registration difficulties when they are married to Turkish citizens. Second, **private household workers** in both urban areas find it risky to approach the police authorities due to the fear of deportation even if they wish to be registered. Third, **students** encounter the difficulty of having to wait for long periods for residence permits based on education even if they are enrolled in a program because they need to have their high school diploma recognized by the state authorities. For these migrant categories, the consequence of irregularity is typically the inability to benefit from the **social security** and **welfare** system. In both urban regions, migrant organizations are known to lend a hand to the irregular migrants in case of emergency; however, these attempts are non-systematic.

Regarding the domain of **societal** and **political participation**, regular CEE migrants are quite visible and integrated in the urban life in **Edirne**, well represented by the numerous NGO's specific to their migrant community. In contrast to the highly visible position of CEE migrants in Edirne's urban life, in **Istanbul**, CEE **entrepreneurs** and **manual workers** are generally integrated in their own migrant groups. With numerous NGO's and high participation in community activities, they often attend the

same mosques or churches and their marriages usually take place among community members. Furthermore, CEE **students** in **Istanbul** are not as active as the CEE students in **Edirne** who are highly engaged in their student organizations. While CEE migrants in Edirne are often strongly attached to nationalist and religious organizations, migrants' political ideologies in **Istanbul** appear to be of lesser importance compared to their group loyalty. Several similarities in the domain of societal and political participation can be highlighted. First, **private household workers** in both urban regions typically seem to socialize with other domestic workers and to stay invisible, do not seem eager to establish NGO's to protect rights. Second, while the domain of registration is comparatively easier for **non-working spouses** married with Turkish citizens, this migrant category seems to exist in the domain of societal and political participation. Third, there is no information on the societal and political participation of sex workers and trafficked persons neither in **Edirne**, nor in **Istanbul**.

In the domain of **education** and **language**, the implications concerning education and language seem to vary mostly in connection with the migrants' duration of residence in both urban areas. Permanent CEE migrants in **Edirne** are generally known to be very high educated, however circular migrants who come in harvest periods do not have such a strong reputation regarding their education. The domain of language does not seem to be a challenge for this migrant population except for the newcomer **students** who have yet had no time to learn Turkish but can attend the Turkish courses available at the university and private institutions. Moreover, bilingualism is a high asset in **Edirne** due to international trade with CEE countries and the high level of CEE tourists in this urban region. In **Istanbul**, the heterogeneity in the educational backgrounds of CEE residents and the lack of information on the subject does not allow general statements on education. However, the second generation of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria can be considered as unwilling towards education unlike their parents who were highly educated in Bulgaria. Regarding the domain of language in **Istanbul**, learning Turkish is not as frequent as in **Edirne**. **Knowledge workers** may use English as employees of international firms and universities and students are often in short-term programs that may not necessitate learning Turkish. While **manual workers**, regular or irregular, may need to learn basic Turkish to get on by every day, as there are only a handful of public courses teaching Turkish, they seem to learn the language by practice. In both urban regions, **students** are able to find employment due to their language abilities as translators. Similar in both urban regions, the educational backgrounds and language orientations of **private household workers** are not known in detail. However, in many instances the migrants in this category are known to have high education and skills, which they cannot put into use. This is also valid

sex workers and **trafficked persons** in Istanbul. In addition, knowledge of Turkish increases sex workers' chances for working in households or as manual workers.

5 Concluding remarks

This study on the urban implications of CEE migration in the domains of labor market, housing and neighborhood consequences, registration, social security and welfare, societal and political participation, education and language has encountered a number of challenges in its data collection. The unavailability of basic statistics concerning CEE migrants, lack of expertise on CEE migration, stakeholders' disinterest on some migrant categories and domains, invisibility of irregular CEE migrants and the effects of the appearance of Syrian mass migration as the most heated debate nationwide complicated to reach clear information concerning the migrant categories of knowledge workers, entrepreneurs, manual workers, migrants working in private households, students, non- working spouses and children, sex workers and trafficked persons and beggars and homeless people in Edirne and Istanbul. Still, the parallel and contrasting features of urban implications based on the existing information demonstrates how the dissimilar characters of urban regions shaped the outcomes for the CEE migrants and reflected on the specific domains for the migrant populations.

As Turkey's position in the international migration system has changed only recently with the acknowledgement that it has become a country of immigration, the diversity in the CEE migrant profiles in the two urban regions of Edirne and Istanbul is remarkable. On the one hand, Edirne, as a lowly populated border city with limited industry balanced with a reputation for its well university education can be characterized with more homogeneous migrant categories. In contrast to Edirne's settled CEE migrants most of whom constitute the highest socioeconomic group, due to its huge labor market providing space for unregistered activity Istanbul can be distinguished by intense migration flows consisting of both regular and irregular CEE migrants and migrant heterogeneity.

In spite of the numerous findings in this report, the data collection process demonstrates the vacuum of knowledge on not only CEE migration and its implications in the most basic domains, but also the lack of interest and expertise in all categories and profiles of international migrants in Turkey's urban regions. However, as Turkey is receiving increasing numbers of migrants with diverse backgrounds on daily basis, the management of urban consequences of temporary and more permanent forms of migration will be increasingly of key importance and research on migration implications will act as guide to the migration governance.

6 Appendix

Table 12: Period of stay for different migrant groups based on survey results, Edirne						
TOMS	Temporary	Mid-Term	Permanent	Circular	No Idea	Number of Stakeholders who answered for TOM
Knowledge workers	1	1	11	4	1	16
Entrepreneurs	2	1	9	4	1	14
Manual workers			8	4	2	13
Persons working in private households	0	0	5	0	0	5
Sex workers and trafficked persons	0	0	0	0	2	2
Students	4	8	6	3	0	16
Non-working spouses and children	0	0	9	1	1	10
Beggars and homeless people	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 13: Period of stay for different migrant groups based on survey results, Istanbul						
TOMS	Temporary	Mid-Term	Permanent	Circular	No Idea	Number of Stakeholders who answered for TOM
Knowledge workers	0	3	5	2	1	11
Entrepreneurs	0	3	6	4	0	11
Manual workers	1	2	7	4	0	12
Persons working in private households	0	2	2	2	0	6
Sex workers and trafficked persons	0	1	1	1	2	5
Students	1	6	1	1	0	8
Non-working spouses and children	3	0	0	2	0	5
Beggars and homeless people	0	1	0	0	3	4

Table 14:	List of experts involved in the expert interviews and/or the urban living lab	Expert Interviews	ULL
TR IS_01	People's Communist Party of Turkey	X	
TR IS_02	Head of Aksaray Neighborhood	X	
TR IS_03	Head of Telsiz Neighborhood	X	
TR IS_04 I ULL	The Municipality of Zeytinburnu	X	X
TR IS_05 I ULL	Moldovan Association of Friendship, Culture and Solidarity	X	X
TR IS_06	Human Resource Development Foundation	X	
TR IS_07	Crimean Association of Culture and Solidarity	X	
TRED_01 I ULL	Institute of Balkan Studies	X	X
TRED_02	Head of Şükrüpaşa Neighborhood	X	
TRED_03 I ULL	The Municipality of Edirne	X	X
TRED_04	Education and Science Worker's Union	X	
TRED_05	Police Department of Edirne	X	
TRED_06	Bar Association of Edirne	X	
TRED_07	Department of International Relations, University of Trakya	X	
ULL	Directorate General for Migration Management, Ankara		X
ULL	Directorate General for Migration Management, Istanbul		X
ULL	Galatasaray University		X
ULL	Former President of Research and Development Council and Human Rights Desk, Istanbul Governorship		X
ULL	Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed		X