BASELINE ASSESSMENT IN ISTANBUL
Field Observation Report
May-July 2019
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4,781 interviews were conducted between 24 May and 19 July 2019
MIGRANTS’ PRESENCE MONITORING IN ISTANBUL
BASELINE ASSESSMENT ROUND II I OBSERVATION REPORT
MAY-JULY 2019

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Observations based on Sub-Provinces

• REGION 1
  Arnavutköy
  Başakşehir
  Çatalca
  Silivri

• REGION 2
  Beylikdüzü
  Büyükçekmece
  Esenyurt

• REGION 3
  Avcılar
  Bahçeşehir
  Bakırköy
  Küçükçekmece

• REGION 4
  Eyüpsultan
  Gaziosmanpaşa
  Sultangazi

• REGION 5
  Beşiktaş
  Beyoğlu
  Kağıthane
  Şişli

• REGION 6
  Kartal
  Maltepe
  Pendik
  Tuzla

• REGION 7
  Adalar
  Ataşehir
  Kadıköy
  Üsküdar

• REGION 8
  Beykoz
  Çekmeköy
  Sariyer
  Şile

• REGION 9
  Şanlıurfa
  Sultanbeyli
  Ümraniye

• REGION 10
  Bağcılar
  Esenler
  Güngören

• REGION 11
  Bayrampaşa
  Zeytinburnu

• REGION 12
  Fatih

BASELINE 1

MARCH  APRIL  MAY  JUNE  JULY  AUGUST  SEPTEMBER

BASELINE 2
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>DGMM</td>
<td>Directorate General of Migration Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>DTM</td>
<td>Displacement Tracking Matrix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoT</td>
<td>Government of the Republic of Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBC</td>
<td>International Blue Crescent Relief and Development Foundation</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interview</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPM</td>
<td>Migrants’ Presence Monitoring Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SASF¹</td>
<td>Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSC²</td>
<td>Social Service Centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Temporary Protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>TÜİK</td>
<td>Turkish Statistical Institute</td>
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1. Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASF) are organizations established under the administration of the governorships. SASFs aim to assist people in need, including asylum-seekers and refugees, and provide them with cash assistance, non-food items and assistance for education. There are 40 SASFs operating in İstanbul.

2. Social Service Centers (SSC) are organizations that operate under the Provincial Directorates of the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services. SSCs are responsible for identifying people in need and providing them with protective, preventive and supportive services. There are 17 SSCs operating in İstanbul.
ABOUT MIGRANTS’ PRESENCE MONITORING (MPM) BASELINE ASSESSMENT

At present, Turkey hosts more than 4 million foreign nationals in its territory. The country’s central geopolitical location on the Eastern Mediterranean Sea Route, and its proximity to countries suffering internal crises (e.g., Iraq, Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan) has placed Turkey under sustained migratory pressure. To gain valuable insight into their presence, flows, locations, intentions and vulnerabilities of refugees and migrants living in Turkey, the International Organization for Migration’s (IOM) Migrant Presence Monitoring Programme (MPM), part of the global Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM), conducted an MPM Baseline Assessment. This Baseline tracks migrant presence in Turkey and creates a database that enables the Government of Turkey (GoT), humanitarian aid organizations and other migration-related stakeholders to understand and address the scale and complexity of the current migration flows to, through and within Turkey as well as the profile of refugees and foreign nationals present in the country.

The current round of the Baseline Assessment took place in Istanbul between May and July 2019, with the engagement of 12 team leaders and 24 enumerators.

In line with established methodology, the data collection for Baseline Assessment consists of two phases: Baseline 1 and Baseline 2. Baseline 1 is the initial phase of the Baseline, during which the MPM team gathers official data on migrant presence, at provincial and sub-provincial level, in coordination with the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM). Baseline 2 focuses on collecting data on migrant presence directly from the field. During this phase, the MPM team gathers data through Key Informant Interview (KII) methodology, where Key Informants include both mukhtars and other local authorities in mahalles (urban) and villages (rural). Similarly, Baseline 2 data collection also focuses on migrant presence, but it does so at mahalle and village levels. The results of both phases are then compared to identify differences which the MPM team then analyses for further insights. For example, the Baseline provides valuable insight on tracking changes in migrant mobility and identifying migrant figured per category, including estimated numbers of irregular migrants.

IOM’s MPM Programme, including this Baseline, is coordinated jointly with the DGMM, the lead national agency charged with managing migration issues in Turkey. The methodology and operational implementation of the MPM Programme activities are based on IOM’s DTM model which seeks to improve the information management capacity and aims to ensure that information and data on migrant/refugee presence are collected and corroborated in accordance with the applicable procedures.

4. Baseline methodology is detailed in the Analysis portion of this study.
5. In order to be considered a ‘Key Informant,’ it is essential that the respondent has good knowledge and awareness of the migrants’ population in his/her area (province, sub-province or mahalle/village).
6. Mukhtars are, in the Turkish administrative system, responsible for administering the smallest administrative units which are mahalles/villages.
ABOUT THE FIELD OBSERVATION REPORT

Given the large population and vast urban area, İstanbul was divided into 12 regions, each of which consists of one to four sub-provinces. This was done in order to organize and improve efficiency of the fieldwork. These regions were formed based on proximity of sub-provinces to one another (i.e. neighbouring sub-provinces were grouped together) as well as on the density of migrant population in each sub-province. Accordingly, data collected from Key Informants and observations made by the MPM team members during fieldwork were organized per sub-province.

All the information and observations were organized according to the four sections below:

Section 1: Migrant Profile and Settlement

This section focused on collecting data primarily on migrant profiles and locations as well as their motives for choosing a particular sub-province as residence. This section also includes data on the prevalent socioeconomic structure in each sub-province and analysed settlements at the mahalle level.

Section 2: Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

This section focused on employment sectors and livelihood activities of the migrant population in İstanbul province. In addition to nationality and arrival date of migrants, key informants were also asked about migrants’ sectors of employment and place of work based on their sex and nationality.

Section 3: Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

This section focused on assessing cohesion between migrants and host community members relying on examples and insight from mukhtars and other key informants. This section also shed light on difficulties encountered by migrants in accessing basic services.

Section 4: Migrant Mobility

This section focused on migrants’ movements between İstanbul and other provinces as well as on intra-province movements, occurring inside İstanbul province only. Their departure and destination points, as well as their motives for movement, are highlighted based on information obtained from key informants and observations of MPM field teams.

8. The views expressed in this field observation report do not reflect those of the IOM and DGMM.
9. Note that during fieldwork for the current Istanbul Baseline Assessment, the MPM team observed that migrants participate in economic activities both as employers and employees in various sectors.
10. Under this category, cultural differences and similarities, namely the differences or similarities in language, traditions, practices, conception of morality and the way of dressing or interacting with their environment between host and migrant communities as well as among migrant groups of different nationalities are referred to as a factor of lack of cohesion or good relations depending on traits of different communities living together.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2, there are 52,748 migrants and refugees in Arnavutköy sub-province with no migrant presence only in Dursunköy and Yassıören mahalles, whereas Baseline 1 suggests that 21,096 migrants and refugees are registered in the sub-province. This shows that the migrants’ presence accounts for around 19.5 per cent of the total population of the sub-province which is 270,549 according to Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) data. In Arnavutköy, Syrians have the largest migrant population (42,244), followed by Afghans (3,355), Pakistanis (2,203) and Turkmens (613). According to key informants in Arnavutköy, which is home to more than 30 nationalities, the main reasons behind the dense migrant population in the area are the Hadımköy Organized Industrial Zone in the sub-province, good living conditions, lower cost of rent (compared to those in other central sub-provinces of Istanbul) and existing migrant networks. In Arnavutköy sub-province, the mahalles, in which Syrians reside in the largest numbers are Anadolu, Merkez, Boğazköy, Islambey and Yunus Emre. The interviews conducted with the key informants (including SSC, SASF, Municipal Officers, mukhtars, Syrian shopkeepers) in these mahalles indicate that most of the Syrians in the sub-province came from Aleppo, Damascus and Idlib and registered in Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis, Bursa, İzmit and Kayseri provinces. The data from Baseline 2 recorded no presence of migrants in Dursunköy and Yassıören mahalles, and Sazlıbosna, Balaban, Hacımâşlı, Yeniköy, Karaburun, Baklali, Boyalik, Durusu and Terkos mahalles are home to only a few migrants, as they are located in the rural areas of the sub-province and job opportunities are limited.

Key informants emphasized that migrants started to come to the sub-province in 2015, but there was an increase after 2016. Most of the migrants from Afghanistan and Pakistan are unaccompanied males (19-25 y.o.) who came to Turkey alone. Interviews conducted with the shopkeepers and mahalle residents in Arnavutköy Merkez, Haraççı, İmrahor and Yunus Emre mahalles, where Afghan and Pakistani nationals live in large numbers, revealed that the migrants mostly live in basements, unauthorized houses and workplaces in unfavourable living conditions with bunk beds for 30-40 people. The mukhtar of Tayakadın mahalle reported that more than 1,000 Nepali nationals, who had come to the sub-province to work in the construction of Istanbul Airport until six months ago, left the sub-province after the Airport started operating.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was reported that migrants living in Arnavutköy sub-province are generally employed in construction works, car wash centres, paper collection / recycling sector, textile manufacturing, factories (Hadımköy Organized Industrial Zone) and in agriculture and animal husbandry sector. Interviews also revealed that Turkmen, Uzbek, Afghan and Syrian nationals mostly work in agriculture and animal husbandry sectors and work as caretakers at villas in the rural mahalles of the sub-provinces such as Boyalik, Baklali, Balaban, Sazlıbosna, Hacımâşlı, Teskos, Durusu, Yeniköy and Karaburun. In addition to this, according to the information obtained from the mukhtar and key informants in Hadımköy Atatürk
Organized Industrial Zone, there are more than 700 factories in the area. Many Syrian and Afghan workers are employed in these factories, sheltering at their working site. According to the information obtained, the migrants who had come to the sub-province in order to work in the construction of İstanbul Airport as casual employees left the sub-province upon the completion of the construction. Meanwhile, Azerbaijani, Uzbek and Turkmen women often hold employment as unregistered domestic workers providing homecare for sick, elderly and children.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Key informants reported that locals living in Arnavutköy sub-province, especially in the mahalles with the densest presence of Syrians (Anadolu, Merkez, Atatürk, Boğazköy, Islambey and Yunus Emre), had come to the sub-province from the eastern provinces of Turkey such as Batman, Adıyaman, Hatay, Van, Bitlis, Siirt, Muş, Hakkâri and Elazığ. For this reason, in Arnavutköy sub-province, social cohesion between the locals and Syrians is relatively good due to similarities in culture. Complaints of the local people generally focused around Pakistanis and Afghans in the area, suggesting that the latter behave recklessly and lack awareness about basic hygiene and their appearance, thus often project an image of self-neglect. More specifically, the mukhtar and residents of İmrahor mahalle claimed that the Pakistanis residing in the area attempt to extort money from the locals who go to İmrahor Picnic Area for picnic. Therefore, fights have been sporadically recorded between the Pakistani nationals and locals in the sub-province. In the same mahalle, some of the locals reported they felt uncomfortable due to alleged involvement of Syrians in illicit activities. Meanwhile, the mukhtar of Taşoluk mahalle stated that there are huge differences between the daily habits and lifestyles of the local people and the Syrian community.

Migrant Mobility

Interviews conducted with the SASFs, SSCs, Municipality, Sub-province Health Directorate and mukhtars revealed that Syrian nationals have recently started to move from Bağcılar, Fatih, Küçükçekmece, Zeytinburnu and Sultangazi sub-provinces to Arnavutköy mostly because of their relations and fellow countrymen. There is also migration out of Arnavutköy to the sub-provinces like Başakşehir and Esenler due to the job opportunities there.

It was observed that after the İstanbul Airport started operating the mobility of the migrants between the mahalles in Arnavutköy sub-province increased. As the flight attendants, pilots and airport workers began to prefer Arnavutköy as their place of residence due its proximity to the new Airport, the rents surged. This forced the Syrians to move to other mahalles. For instance, the mukhtar of Mustafa Kemal Paşa mahalle stated that Syrians residing in Mustafa Kemal Paşa mahalle started to move to Anadolu and Yunus Emre mahalles.

Some mukhtars who were interviewed in the sub-province reported that the disharmony between the locals and Syrian nationals increased during recent months, and there was a flow of Syrians from the sub-provinces such as Esenyurt and Küçükçekmece to Arnavutköy, although limited in number. This led to a rise of 10 per cent in the Syrian population in the sub-province, which was previously estimated by the Baseline Assessment carried out in October-December 2018. Arnavutköy sub-province is also a transit location, where the migrants come together with the intention to go to Europe or other locations. The proximity of Arnavutköy to Edirne province, which is an important exit point to leave Turkey, is the reason for this. The temporary houses in Taşoluk mahalle, noted during the previous Baseline Assessment, are still in use; this was confirmed by the mukhtar of the mahalle. According to the statements of the mukhtar and a community leader, the migrants congregate in these houses before attempting to go to Europe.
**Migrant Profile and Settlement**

According to Baseline 2, there are 107,203 migrants present across 10 mahalles in Başakşehir sub-province. Migrant presence identified in Baseline 2 accounts for around 25% of the population of the sub-province, which is reported as 427,835 by TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute). The largest migrant communities identified in the sub-province are Syrians (66,234), Egyptians (4,745), Iraqis (4,017) and Saudis (3,736). Başakşehir, where Baseline 2 Assessment recorded the presence of migrants of 90 different nationalities, is a multicultural sub-province with no prevalent socioeconomic status; the latter varies throughout the sub-province. Interviews conducted with key informants revealed that the primary reasons for the dense presence of migrants in Başakşehir are the multicultural structure of the sub-province; feeling safe due to the system of housing estates present in the sub-province (rather than individual building structures); the high potential for a social life; availability of newly built houses with affordable rents; and fellow countrymen and relations among the migrants who already settled in the sub-province. Additionally, the transportation network connecting this sub-province to the others (although itself not far from the city centre) and job opportunities in the sub-province (e.g. İkitelli Organized Industrial Zone and Kayabaşı Muhtelif Industrial Facilities) make Başakşehir sub-province one of the most attractive sub-province for foreign nationals. Finally, assistance provided by public institutions such as SASFs, SSCs and the Municipality to the migrants in need is another reason to prefer Başakşehir, especially for low-income groups.

There is a correlation between the economic status and the settlement areas in the mahalles of the sub-province. Accordingly, the fieldwork carried out in Güvercintepe, Şahintepe, Altınşehir and Şamlar mahalles revealed a high rate of squatting in these mahalles, where mostly local people and migrant groups with low income reside. Başak, Başakşehir, Ziyagökalp, Bahçeşehir mahalles of Section I and II are mostly composed of housing estates and villas and local people and migrants with higher level of income reside in these mahalles. Meanwhile, Kayabaşı mahalle mostly appeals to middle income group due to new housing projects. The remaining two mahalles, Bahçeşehir Section I and II, have houses at much higher prices and standard. Therefore, migrant population is lower in these mahalles.

The mahalle with the highest migrant population is Güvercintepe mahalle. The mahalle has illegal housing settlements with affordable rents, making it preferable for the Syrian nationals; consequently, Syrians make up most of the migrant population in the mahalle. In comparison to the previous Baseline Assessment, there is a significant rise (25 per cent) in the Syrian population in Güvercintepe mahalle. The main reason for this is the flow of Syrians to the sub-province from the other sub-provinces like Esenyurt and Küçükçekmece, where cohesion issues between the locals and Syrians have increased. In fact, Güvercintepe mahalle has become one of the most preferred mahalles by the Syrians who left these sub-provinces due to the said reasons and geographical proximity.

It was observed that, in addition to Syrians, high income migrants coming from Saudi Arabia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Russia, China, Libya, Yemen, Uzbekistan and Kuwait also preferred Başakşehir, as the sub-province is quiet and well-organized.

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**Table: Population, Area and Mahalle/Village**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>427,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area km²</td>
<td>104.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalle/Village</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Most of the Iranian, Jordanian, Egyptian, Libyan, Saudi, Kuwaiti, Iraqi, Palestinian and Syrian nationals living in Başak, Başakşehir, Ziya Gökalp and Bahçeşehir Section I and II in Başakşehir sub-province are politicians, educators and doctors with high income. Some run their own real estate agencies or other businesses and live on importing and exporting goods. Meanwhile, data obtained from SASFs, the Municipality and mukhtars revealed that Syrians and Afghans living in Güvercintepe, Şahintepe, Altınşehir and Ziya Gökalp mahalles work as unregistered employees in various factories at İkitelli Organized Industrial Zone. Afghans are also employed as unskilled labour such as paper collection / recycling, textiles and construction in Güvercintepe, Şahintepe, Altınşehir and Şamlar mahalles. Key informants reported that in Şamlar mahalle, which is a village-like residential area, migrants do not only work in agriculture and animal husbandry sectors but also work at Kayabaşı Muhtelif Industrial Facilities. The participation of migrant women in the workforce was observed to be rather limited. Uzbek, Turkmen and Azerbaijani women are generally preferred for homecare for the sick, elderly and children.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

In Başakşehir sub-province, one of the common opinions that many key informants have, is that the positive relationship established with the host community is one of the most important causes of new migratory flows both from Istanbul and from the other cities. In other words, the migrant population in the sub-province—especially migrants living in high-rise apartments in high-income mahalles such as Kayabaşı, Başak and Başakşehir, are accepted by the locals. People living in multi-storey apartment complexes see each other less during the day and because they have a certain socioeconomic standard, they live in harmony with others. In addition, the sub-province Governor’s Office and Red Crescent organize activities promoting social cohesion like scout camps for foreign and Turkish children. In addition, in order to solve the language barrier, which is one of the biggest obstacles to social interaction, additional Turkish lessons are given in schools for foreign students.

Nevertheless, the interviews conducted in Güvercintepe mahalle revealed conflicts between locals and migrants. This was because of the dense migrant population in the mahalle, the competition in the labour market between the local people and mostly Syrians and illegal activities in which migrants are allegedly involved. The key informants interviewed stated that they believed that the increasing number of migrants with new immigrants settling in the mahalle in recent months may trigger more such conflicts in the future.

Migrant Mobility

The interviews held in the sub-province revealed that Başakşehir is one of the most important arrival and transit points for migrants within Istanbul. Key informants noted that there has been an increase in the numbers of people of various nationalities such as Syrian, Saudi Arabian, Russian, Uzbek, Iranian, Iraqi, Egyptian, Jordanian, Kuwaiti, Libyan, Yemeni, Palestinian, Afghan and Chinese in the recent six months. During the latter, migrants have been coming from other sub-provinces of Istanbul such as Küçükçekmece, Esenyurt, Arnavutköy, Gümüşre, Başçakı, Esenler and Sultangazi in order to settle in the sub-province.

An interview with the mukhtar of Şahintepe mahalle revealed that there were Afghans coming from Zeytinburnu sub-province, the main settlement of the people of Afghanistan in Istanbul, to the mahalle.

When only Syrians are considered, SASF and the mukhtars in the sub-province reported that the Syrians coming to Başakşehir sub-province are mostly registered in Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kayseri, Bursa, Ankara and Mardin and they lived in the cities of Damascus and Idlib in Syria before coming to Turkey. The real estate offices in the sub-province stated that some Syrian families were looking for home through acquaintances residing in the sub-province before they even arrived in the sub-province and even in Istanbul.

There is a limited flow from Başakşehir to other sub-provinces of Istanbul. Key informants stated that there were migrants who moved to and settled in sub-provinces such as Avcılar, Esenyurt and Fatih.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

Although Çatalca is the largest sub-province in terms of the area it covers, it is home to the third lowest migrant population (974) in Istanbul. The sub-province is partly rural, far from the city centre and does not have many residential areas, which make it unattractive for migrants. However, Baseline 2 Assessment recorded that there is a presence of migrants, although limited in number, in all 39 mahalles, with the exception of five: Atatürk, Belgrat, Çiftlikköy Merkez and Nakkaş.

Syrians are the highest in number (419), followed by Afghans (214), Turkmen (84) and Uzbeks (70). The reason for the presence of these nationalities in the sub-province is that they are perceived to be highly capable in agriculture and animal husbandry sectors. As such these migrants have employment opportunities for daily labour, as they work for lower wages than the Turkish people. In addition to the ability to find jobs, residence in the sub-province is also much cheaper than the other sub-provinces in Istanbul.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

The key informants interviewed stated that the main source of livelihood in Çatalca sub-province is agriculture and animal husbandry. However, it was reported that local people often go to other sub-provinces of Istanbul, due to limited job opportunities in these sectors. In terms of the nationalities, according to the information obtained, Syrians work as caretakers at villas, residential areas and farms and as construction workers. Afghan, Turkmen and Uzbek nationals are generally employed in agriculture and animal husbandry. Most of the mahalle mukhtars stated that the latter are preferred as employees, as they perform better than locals. The migrants who are unable to find a job in the sub-province go to neighbouring sub-provinces, such as Büyükçekmece and Silivri, to work at illegal textile ateliers and factories there.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Interviews conducted with key informants and mukhtars suggest that the locals welcome migrants, as they offer workforce in agriculture and animal husbandry sectors, while also showing an interest in integration; consequently local complaints against migrants are few. Low visibility of the migrants, due to the low overall migrant presence in the sub-province, facilitates better integration and cohesion.
Migrant Mobility

Migrant mobility is limited in the sub-province due to the limited job opportunities and low migrant presence. There are some migrants, however, who commute to different sub-provinces on a daily basis based on work opportunities.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

Baseline 2 data recorded that 5,834 migrants are present in all the mahalles of Silivri except for Büyüksinekli, Bekirli and Sayalar mahalles. Majority of the migrant population is formed by Syrians (3,873), Uyghur Turks coming from Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region (875), Afghans (233) and Uzbeks (118). Similar to the neighbouring Çatalca sub-province, despite its location far from the city centre and large forested areas, the main reason Silivri is home to a high migrant population of various nationalities is TEM11 and D-100 roads. The latter run through the residential areas to İstanbul’s neighbouring industrial areas, which also facilitates access to the surrounding sub-provinces and job opportunities.

When compared to the findings from Baseline Assessment Round 1 conducted between October - December 2018, a drop in the presence of Syrian, Afghan and Azerbaijani nationals in the sub-province was recorded. According to the statements of mukhtars and other key informants, Afghan nationals who were employed as unregistered workers were reported by the residents of the mahalle to the Gendarmerie and taken to the Removal Centres. It was also reported that Syrians, found to be employed as unregistered workers, and those who were not registered in İstanbul province, were sent to the cities in which they were registered. The interviews revealed that Azerbaijani nationals moved between different sub-provinces in İstanbul since they work as caretakers in homecare.

Uyghur Turks of Chinese origin, who have the second highest migrant population in the sub-province, are settled in Selimpaşa mahalle, which is one of the central mahalles of the sub-province. Similarly, most of the Syrians live in this mahalle.

Silivri sub-province is one of the preferred locations for the new arrivals to Turkey because of the migrant network, association and the school that the migrants of Chinese origin living in the mahalle established. Accordingly, the data shows that there has been a rise of about 11 per cent in the Chinese population in the sub-province. The information obtained revealed that some of the new arrivals have entered Turkey recently while the others have moved to Silivri from other sub-provinces such as Zeytinburnu and Küçükçekmece.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

According to the interviews conducted with the mukhtars and employees at the Municipality, Sub-province Directorate of National Education and SASF in Silivri sub-province, foreign nationals living in the sub-province mostly work in various sectors including textiles, construction, paper collection / recycling and unregistered manufacturing plants in the central mahalles of the sub-province, such as Yenimahalle, Mimarsinan, Selimpaşa, Fatih and Alipaşa. Mukhtars of Fevzipaşa and İsmetpaşa mahalles in particular stated that some migrants reside in the

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11. Trans-European Motorway
factories in which they work Syrians, Turkmens and Afghans are employed in agriculture and animal husbandry sectors in the rural mahalles, located far from the central mahalles; meanwhile, Azerbaijanis work mostly as domestic workers, providing homecare for the sick, children and elderly. Some site managers and mukhtars interviewed in the sub-province stated that there has been an increase in the number of Ukrainian, Moldovan, Uzbek and Turkmen nationals who work in sex industry in the last 2-3 months.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Interviews with mukhtars, the Municipality, SASF and Sub-province Directorate of National Education revealed that the economy in the sub-province flourishes with the coming of vacationers during the summer months; this attracts migrants, thus increasing the migrant population. Accordingly, some problems arose between the locals and migrants due this increase in migrant numbers. Nevertheless, these problems do not constitute a central theme and migrant communities continue to be welcomed by the locals.

Silivri sub-province is also a transit location for the migrants who seek to cross into Europe illegally through Greece, due to its proximity to Edirne and Tekirdağ provinces and due to the coastline on Marmara Sea. Key informants who were interviewed stated that Syrians and Afghans continue to go to Edirne, Tekirdağ and Kırklareli by using Silivri as a transit location.

Migrant Mobility

Since Silivri is a holiday destination for those who live in the inner parts of Istanbul, the population in the sub-province increases significantly during the summer months. Increased employment opportunities lead to seasonal migrant influx. Accordingly, the migrants who live in different sub-provinces of Istanbul were observed to come to the sub-province either as daily labourers, or come to settle in the sub-province for work during the three months of summer.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

The findings from Baseline 2 suggest that there are 22,305 migrants present in 10 mahalles in Beylikdüzü sub-province. The migrants account for 6.73 per cent of the total population in the sub-province, which is 331,525 according to TÜİK data. Syrian nationals constitute the highest migrant population (8,302), followed by Afghan (5,534), Turkmen (1,136) and Iranian (1,115) nationals. During interviews CSOs, the Sub-province Directorate of National Education, SASF and SSC personnel, mukhtars and shopkeepers noted that the main reasons for the dense migrant presence in Beylikdüzü are: varied local employment opportunities; good connectivity to other sub-provinces due to its location on the E-5 Road (connects Asia and Europe); a location on an important maritime trade route along the coastline of Marmara Sea; the Ambarlı Trade Port and Beylikdüzü Organized Industrial Zone. In fact, according to the data from Baseline 2 migrants of more than 50 nationalities live in the sub-province. Specifically, key informants stated that Syrian and Afghan nationals mostly reside in Barış, Kavaklı and Adnan Kahveci mahalles, located in the surrounding area of the industrial area in Beylikdüzü; most of these migrants came in 2016 and after. A lower presence of migrants was recorded in Sahil and Dereağzı mahalles which are located near the coastline, far from the business centres, where the rents are higher.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Key informants interviewed stated that employment opportunities are increasing daily in Beylikdüzü Organized Industrial Zone, whose strategic location and the rapidly increasing number of workplaces is gaining in importance. It was reported that the Syrian nationals with high income get into partnerships with the firms in the industrial zone while those with low income level work in machinery, plastics, textiles and food sectors. It was also stated that Afghan nationals work mostly in recycling, electricity, food sector and as day labourers. It was found that Uzbek and Turkmen men are employed mostly in construction and recycling jobs or in car washing and carpet cleaning jobs while the women are employed as domestic workers usually for cleaning or baby sitting at home. Iranians with high socioeconomic status generally engage in trade through the companies they set up either alone or with partners in the sub-province.
Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

The mukhtar of Gürpınar mahalle and the shopkeepers who were interviewed stated that “Syrian and Afghan nationals swim in the sea with inappropriate clothes, wander about in the parks and gardens in large groups, stay at these places until late night and talk loudly and sometimes verbally harass passers-by, and thus disturbing the other residents”.

Migrant Mobility

Key informants who were interviewed in the sub-province reported that Beylikdüzü attracts migrants from both European side of Istanbul and provinces such as Adana, Hatay, Mersin, Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep. This migration also includes the Syrian groups with high income level who came from the provinces of Aleppo, Damascus and Latakia in the Syrian Arab Republic. The main factors making the sub-province attractive for migrants are increased economic opportunities in the sub-province, the well-developed transportation network and the abundance of new housing areas.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

The findings from Baseline 2 Assessment revealed that there are 11,710 migrants present in the 24 mahalles in Büyükçekmece sub-province. The migrants account for 4.73 per cent of the total population of Büyükçekmece sub-province, which is 247,736 according to TÜİK data. Syrian nationals form the highest migrant population (5,005), followed by Turkmen (1,351), Afghan (1,309) and Uzbek (1,029) nationals. According to the Sub-province Directorate of National Education, SASF and SSC personnel, mukhtars and shopkeepers, Büyükçekmece sub-province, where migrants of 38 different origins live (Baseline 2 data), is preferred by migrants, since it has become an attraction centre in the fields of education and industry and has an advanced settlement and infrastructure and has various cultural events as well as a connection to other locations via sea.

Key informants reported that Syrian nationals live in Ulus, Türkoba and Hürriyet mahalles due to the fellow townsmenship and the affordability of rents. The information obtained also revealed that there is an increase in the presence of migrants in Yenimahalle, Bahçelievler and Güzelsel mahalles, which are located near the coastline, due to the migrants who come to the area for holiday in summer and that Ahmediye mahalle having a border with Çatalca sub-province where people live on agriculture and animal husbandry is not preferred by migrants. It was recorded that there are villas and luxury housing estates in Karacaağaç and Alkent 2000 mahalles; therefore, migrants coming from the Gulf countries12 with high socioeconomic status live in these areas.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

The key informants who were interviewed reported that the service sector has a significant share in the economy of the sub-province (tourism, hotels, and eating and drinking places etc) and new employment areas have been created thanks to the trade businesses in the sub-province. In line with this fact, it was stated that some of the Syrians and other migrants who came from the Gulf countries such as Qatar and Saudi Arabia engage in trade and are people with high economic status. It was observed that some other Syrians work at groceries, markets, butchers and phone shops in Hürriyet, Türkoba and Ulus mahalles. It was also recorded that Turkmen and Uzbek women are employed as domestic workers in luxury villas and housing estates in Alkent 2000 mahalle and that Afghans work in agriculture and animal husbandry sectors in Türkoba mahalles or in paper recycling sector in Ulus, Pinartepe and Cumhuriyet mahalles.

11,710
Migrants and Refugees

Map 6. Büyükçekmece Sub-province Map and Location in İstanbul

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>247,736</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area km²</td>
<td>181.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalle/Village</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. These are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, and Oman.
Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

The mukhtars of Yenimahalle, Bahçelievler and Güzelce mahalles and shopkeepers interviewed stated that the locals were disturbed by the fights of Syrian and Afghan nationals between each other as well as their inappropriate behaviour. The mukhtar of Ulus mahalle reported that Syrians have an intention to move to the neighbouring Esenyurt sub-province due to the conflicts they have with the local community. Nevertheless, fieldwork in all other mahalles of the sub-province, revealed no further cohesion problems.

Migrant Mobility

The key informants interviewed reported that the majority of Syrian nationals who reside in Büyükçekmece sub-province came from other provinces, in which they are registered such as Düzce, Tekirdağ, Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa. On the other hand, it was stated that foreign nationals do not prefer Büyükçekmece sub-province due to high price of house rents; this is despite the fact that the sub-province neighbours Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü and Arnavutköy sub-provinces with high migrant population.
MIGRANTS’ PRESENCE MONITORING IN ISTANBUL
BASELINE ASSESSMENT ROUND II | OBSERVATION REPORT
MAY-JULY 2019

ESENYURT SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 results, there are 214,205 migrants present in 43 mahalles in Esenyurt sub-province. The migrants account for 24.03 per cent of the total population of Esenyurt, which is 891,120 according to TÜİK data. In Esenyurt sub-province, Syrian nationals form the highest migrant population (127,210), followed by Iranian (8,669), Egyptian (8,575) and Iraqi (8,452) nationals. According to key informants, there are many migrants in Esenyurt sub-province where migrants of more than 90 nationalities were recorded by Baseline 2. This is because the sub-province is located on the national and international transportation routes and a quality life is more affordable. The presence of people with various socioeconomic statuses, relatives and friendships which were made previously, and the variety of the employment sectors are also among the main reasons contributing to the high population of migrants in the sub-province. In Esenyurt sub-province, the mahalles where Syrian migrants are the highest in number are Bağlarçeşme, Fatih, Üçevler, Talatpaşa and Yeşilkent. Key informants including SSC, SASF, the Municipal Officers, mukhtars and Syrian shopkeepers reported that the host community living in these mahalles are people who came from eastern and south-eastern Anatolia; therefore, Syrian Kurds also prefer to settle in the same mahalles. It was also reported that there was a decrease in the presence of Syrian nationals due to the allegedly reduced cash and in-kind support provided by the institutions recently as well as cohesion problems between the locals and migrant groups. The lowest migrant presence was recorded in Ardıçlı and Esenkent mahalles, located near the border with Avcılar sub-province with relatively higher rents.

Key informants, During interviews, reported that most of the Iranian, Egyptian and Iraqi nationals came in 2016 and after, contrary to the Syrian nationals. A large number of Iranian nationals were reported to live in Cumhuriyet and Mevlana mahalles near Beylikdüzü, where also an industrial zone is located and in Zafer and Yeşilkent mahalles, located near the arterial roads (Avrupa Otoyolu and D-100).

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Migrants were mostly found to be working in service and industry sectors in Esenyurt and the neighbouring sub-provinces. The mukhtars, SASF and SSC personnel who were interviewed reported that the Syrian nationals run their own café and restaurants particularly in Bağlarçeşme, Fatih and Talatpaşa mahalles and have their own jewellery shops, groceries, phone shops and hair styling saloons. Some of them were reported to work at first and second class factories that manufactures textiles, food, parts for cars, shoes, aluminium, kitchen appliances and plastics located in Osmangazi and Akçaburgaz mahalles within the boundaries of Esenyurt sub-province. The information obtained revealed that Iranian, Iraqi and Egyptian
nationals work in big companies as managers where they are shareholders, translation agencies and engage in real estate agency jobs as well as trade. Turkmen and Uzbek men were observed to be employed in construction, textiles, transportation, plastic and metal packaging companies as well as car washing and carpet cleaning businesses while the women are employed as domestic workers (children caring and house cleaning etc.)

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Interviews with the mukhtars and other key informants suggest that Syrian and Afghan nationals experience difficulties in integrating into the local community. Furthermore, locals are disturbed by the Syrians and Afghans who allegedly wander about in parks in big groups, behave inappropriately towards women, and commit burglaries. Tensions between the locals and Uzbek and Turkmen women were also reported due to the latter alleged involvement in prostitution.

Meanwhile, Iraqi, Iranian and Egyptian nationals have higher socioeconomic status and are thus better integrated into the host community.

Migrant Mobility

The interviews conducted with SASF and SSC personnel, mukhtars, and shopkeepers revealed that the Syrian nationals are recently migrating to the sub-provinces of Arnavutköy, Başakşehir, Zeytinburnu, Fatih and Gaziosmanpaşa. On the other hand, it was stated that migrants from Kenya, Cameroon and Nigeria are moving from the central sub-provinces such as Fatih and Beyoğlu to Esenyurt sub-province.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to findings from Baseline 2, there are 48,323 migrants living in the sub-province. In Avcılar sub-province, Syrian nationals represent the majority of the migrant population (30,021), followed by Iraqi (4,842), Turkmen (3,453) and Uzbek (1,178) nationals. Most foreign nationals came to the sub-province in 2015 or before.

During interviews with the sub-province have started to change. It was reported that Syrian nationals still come from Adana, Hatay, Bursa and Gaziantep provinces to Yeşilkent and Tahtakale mahalles, which are not preferred by the host communities due to low rent prices and the long distance to transportation routes; therefore, the migrants’ presence have increased particularly in these mahalles.

Housing estates growing rapidly and shanties increasing in number due to unplanned urbanization were observed in Ispartakule town of Tahtakale mahalle. The estate managers who were interviewed stated that most of the Syrians live in shanties and that the foreign nationals coming from Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Egypt own houses and reside in housing estates mostly in summertime.

Many of the Iraqi nationals, who have the second highest migrant population in Avcılar sub-province, live in Merkez, Denizköşkler and Ambarlı mahalles near the coastline to the South of the sub-province. According to the information obtained from the real estate agency employees, relatively affordable rent prices and the availability of transportation to the coast with ease and its proximity play an important role in Iraqis’ decision to prefer these mahalles. Most Iraqis living in Avcılar came from Baghdad, and there is also a high presence of Iraqis who use the houses they bought in the sub-province as summer houses if not as a regular settlement. It was observed that the Iraqi population has increased in the mahalles other than Üniversite and Firüzköy mahalles where rent prices are high.

The SASF and SSC personnel who were interviewed stated that Turkmen and Uzbek nationals, whose population is increasing rapidly in the sub-province, come to Turkey alone mostly in order to work and save money before bringing their families; they thus often reside in group housing, renting houses as a large group to save money. They were observed to live mostly in Merkez mahalle which has a well-developed transportation system and job opportunities.
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was observed that Syrian nationals work at textile ateliers in Cihangir and Yeşilkent mahalles; Afghan nationals work in paper collection in Fırızköy and Yeşilkent mahalles and in recycling industry; Iraqis work as real estate agents with their fellow countrymen who came to the sub-province previously and in language schools and in auto galleries. Turkmen and Uzbek nationals were observed to work in small restaurants as dishwashers or waiters.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Interviews with key informants revealed that the host community and the guest community share similar cultural and religious traits in Yeşilkent and Tahtakale mahalles in Avcılar sub-province, so that there is a positive relationship between the parties.

Migrant Mobility

The key informants interviewed in the sub-province stated that most Syrian nationals settled in the sub-province in 2015 and before. The sub-province was exposed to a migration flow by the people of this nationality and their presence has continued decreasingly since 2017.

The mukhtars and SASF personnel reported that Iraqi, Turkmen, Uzbek and Afghan nationals settled in the sub-province after 2016; therefore, their visibility has increased recently. The shopkeepers interviewed in the sub-province stated that Afghan nationals were once taken on white minibuses with their bags and driven to another residence area by civilians. It was also reported that people of the same nationality have intention to go to European countries, preferably Greece and Germany, and that they are mostly active during the Marıtsa in Edirne tides.

Mukhtars in mahalles other than Yeşilkent and Tahtakale, where the foreigner presence is high, stated that there are more complaints and disturbances. In addition, the host community feel frustrated because Syrians, who have lived in Turkey for years, still do not speak the language. Finally, key informants suggested that locals in Avcılar feel unsafe because of the presence of a variety of foreign nationalities in the sub-province.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 data, Syrians (29,899) form a major part of the migrant presence in Bahçelievler (45,603). Baseline 2 also recorded the presence of Turkmen (2,558), Iraqi (1,478) and Georgian (1,415) nationals in the sub-province.

Syrians mostly reside in Zafer and Şirinevler mahalles although they are present in all mahalles in the sub-province. During interviews with the mukhtars, it was reported that Syrian nationals isolate themselves from the locals and live together with their fellow countrymen with whom they share similar economic status and sociocultural experience and that they set up their own shops.

During interviews, key informants stated that the migrants’ presence is low in Bahçelievler where rents are higher compared to the other mahalles in the sub-province and the locals with high socioeconomic status live and that the Syrians and Afghan nationals residing in these mahalles live in basements or warehouses as crowded groups like in a ward. Additionally, it was stated that the migrant presence is low in Yenibosna Merkez Mahalle since the number of the houses is limited because of the fact that a large area of the mahalle is covered by Doğu Sanayi Bölgesi and that foreign nationals come to this mahalle for work.

Fieldwork recorded that Zafer, Şirinevler and Hürriyet mahalles have the highest migrant population in the sub-province. The key informants who were interviewed reported that the number of Iraqi and Pakistani nationals coming to Hürriyet mahalle is increasing and the locals have intention to leave the mahalle as people of these nationalities involve in criminal offenses. It was found that the mahalle is preferred since the rents are low, the variety of nationalities is high and there are public offices in the mahalle. In the same mahalles, it was recorded that the visibility of the migrants, known as of “Dom” community coming from Syria, who live on panhandling has recently decreased.

Turkmen, Uzbek and Georgian nationals are also significantly present in the sub-province. According to the interviews with the locals, Turkmens and Uzbeks who are registered in this sub-province but not visible are employed in other sub-provinces and come back home in certain days of a week. It was also recorded that the presence of Afghan and Pakistani nationals is reaching a considerable extent.

The interviews conducted with mahalle mukhtars revealed that the presence of Iraqi nationals have increased in recent 6 months. The reason for this was referred to as the cultural similarity between them and the Egyptian nationals and the intention to form a social group. Indeed, the Iraqi and Egyptian presence in Şirinevler and Hürriyet mahalles proves this opinion.
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was found that the Syrian nationals in the sub-province mostly live in Soğanlı, Hürriyet and Zafer mahalles and are employed in textile ateliers and set up their own businesses as markets, barbers, and women’s hair styling saloons.

Turkmens were observed to be employed especially at car washes and firms (packaging, machinery and electricity) in the industrial zone. Turkmen and Uzbek women were found to be employed mostly as domestic workers and homecare providers. The information obtained from the mukhtars and other key informants also revealed that they mostly live in the abandoned apartments in Şirinevler, Hürriyet and Soğanlı mahalles and engage in sex industry.

The mukhtars stated that the foreign nationals of Pakistani origin come together in the job market in Kocasinan and Çobançeşme mahalles early in the morning, after which they are taken away in order to be employed in jobs requiring physical strength. It was reported that the Egyptian nationals set up businesses such as consulting agencies and school and engage in trade in Şirinevler mahalle.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

During interviews with the mukhtar and SASF, it was stated that the local residents of the sub-province are not open to social integration. There is no common language between the locals and the migrants; therefore, there are problems with communication. Shopkeepers in the sub-province often state that the host community is disturbed by the foreign nationals who solicit money from the locals in the sub-province. According to the statements of the mukhtar of Hürriyet mahalle and other key informants, Afghans often quarrel among each other and break the public order in the sub-province.

Migrant Mobility

According to the information obtained from the mukhtars, SASF, Sub-province Directorate of Health and Law Enforcement interviewed, there has been a decrease in the presence of the Syrian nationals. SASF officers stated that there were Syrian families who returned to Bursa and Gaziantep provinces. They also reported that the Syrians moved to Zeytinburnu and Bağcılar sub-provinces due to social cohesion problems.

Migrant mobility was observed especially between Bağcılar and Bahçeşehir sub-provinces.

Meanwhile, Syrians who are not registered in İstanbul mostly came from Hatay, Gaziantep and Mardin provinces. The SASF employees who were interviewed reported that the foreign nationals who submit applications to the foundation for assistance are mostly of Egyptian and Iraqi origin and there has been an increase in the number of applications in the last six months. Mukhtars and other key informants state that the Afghans and Pakistanis are generally unregistered; therefore, they do not interact with official authorities, but their visibility in the sub-province has increased.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 data, there are 8,130 migrants present in the sub-province, with Turkmens forming the majority (2,699), followed by Uzbeks (1,261), Iranians (820) and Syrians (790).

Mukhtars and other key informants reported that most of migrants living in the sub-province have a high socioeconomic status, and most have been settled there for years securing consistency in the social structure. The sub-province is vibrant during the day, as there are various social opportunities and attraction points in the sub-province.

Despite neighbouring the sub-provinces of Bahçelievler and Zeytinburnu, an influx of new migrants is practically non-existent, which is likely related to the socioeconomic structure of the sub-province. In other words, Bakırköy is located near the sea with luxury villas and housing estates, which are too expensive for migrants. According to the information provided by local authorities, there are two migrant profiles in the sub-province. The first profile includes the nationalities of the families having companies and real properties, thus high income and economic status. Bakırköy has the most developed and profitable sectors of education services, tourism, and business centres and World Trade Centre where Turkish export goods are exhibited, which attracts foreign nationals with high economic status. The second profile is formed by the migrants coming from Turkic Republics who work as caretakers at home and stay overnights. It was reported that the employers’ last resort is to employ Turkmen and Uzbek nationals as Turkish nationals do not accept staying overnight at the employer’s house.

Interviews conducted with the postmen revealed that Syrian, Afghan and Turkmen nationals live particularly in Sakızağacı, Yenimahalle, Zeytinlik, Cevizlik and Kartaltepe mahalles with families or alone and that these migrants are in middle income groups. It was reported that Turkmen and Uzbek migrants who are working at homes and staying overnights live in Şenlikköy, Yeşilköy and Yeşilyurt mahalles. It was recorded that Iranian nationals are present in all of the mahalles in the sub-province especially in Sakızağacı, Kartaltepe and Cevizlik mahalles. According to the information provided by the mukhtars, every day more and more Iranians come to the sub-province. Bakırköy sub-province meets Iranians’ criteria for a residential area as it is quieter and more decent compared to the neighbouring sub-provinces. This is often referred to as the reason for the Iranian presence in the sub-province.

The postmen argued that there are many Turkmen and Uzbek migrants working and staying overnight in the housing estates in Ataköy Section mahalles.

The interviews conducted with the mukhtars revealed that the locals have reached a consensus that they should not employ foreigners any more due to the increasing fraud and burglary incidence in Zuhuratbaba and Basınköy mahalles. Although the statements of the shopkeepers and SASF employees interviewed corroborated this statement, the presence of the foreign nationals were observed to increase.
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Syrians and Iranians settled in Bakırköy sub-province are generally company owners or businessmen/women. They operate officially in different sub-provinces in Istanbul. Key informants state that Iranians in large numbers engage in real estate agency sector.

Besides, it was found that Turkmen and Uzbek men, whose visibility is the highest in the sub-province, work as shopkeepers and deliverers in small restaurants throughout Bakırköy while women are mostly employed as domestic workers.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Especially in Yeşilköy, Yeşilyurt and Şenlikköy mahalles with many luxury buildings and housing estates, communication both within the host community and between the host community and foreigners is rather limited. It was found when the cultural, social and economic structures of the locals and the settled foreign nationals were elaborated that the similarity between them is only limited to economic activities. It was observed that the locals and foreign nationals do not interfere with each other’s life, and foreign nationals residing in the city are well-integrated into the local community. The shopkeepers and mukhtars interviewed reported that the foreign nationals who come to the sub-province for settlement but do not meet the standards in the sub-province are not rented houses, as they are not accepted by the people in the sub-province.

According to the statements of the key informants, although there are little social conflicts occurring in Yenimahalle, Cevizlik and Zeytinlik mahalles, which are mostly inhabited by people with middle income, they are resolved quickly before leading to more serious problems. The Governor of Bakırköy sub-province stated that quarrels between the locals and foreign nationals are most frequent during summers, due to the latter’s presumably inappropriate behaviour at the beach and coastline. However, this is only a problem experienced with Syrian nationals who come to the area from other sub-provinces for picnicking, and not Syrian settled in the sub-province.

Migrant Mobility

According to the statements of the mukhtars and other key informants, Turkmen and Afghan nationals mostly come to Bakırköy from Zeytinburnu sub-province to work. Turkmen and Afghan nationals work at fish restaurants and small restaurants as waiters and water distributors. The shopkeepers interviewed in the sub-province stated that they have difficulty identifying which foreign nationals looking for job are settled in Bakırköy and which are coming from other sub-provinces. It was also found that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals call their acquaintances and relations when they leave the sub-province.

Also, the real estate agencies in the sub-province stated that Algerian migrants came to the sub-province before 2015, while the Libyan population has decreased following the closure of the Libyan school located in the sub-province early in 2019.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 data, a major part of the migrant presence (66,801) in Küçükçekmece sub-province is formed by Syrians (49,479), followed by Chinese (5,059), Turkmen (2,469) and Afghan (1,728) nationals who also live in the sub-province in large numbers.

Küçükçekmece is home to a high migrant population and a neighbour sub-province to Başakşehir, Esenyurt and Bağcılar sub-provinces where foreigners live with a population above average. It was recorded that foreigners live in all mahalles of the sub-province which covers 21 mahalles and that Syrian nationals are present in 20 mahalles.

The mahalles with the highest foreign population are Mehmet Akif and Atatürk mahalles located near the border with Başakşehir Organized Industrial Zone and Kanarya mahalle, located by Küçükçekmece lake. Key informants reported that the common features of these mahalles are that they are home to many migrators from the south-eastern Anatolian region of Turkey (Mardin, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa), have low rent prices, are close to industrial zone thus offering more job opportunities, and that the inspection by the Municipality and Law Enforcement is limited in these mahalles. The number of Syrians, especially those living without being registered or registered mostly in south-eastern provinces, is higher in these mahalles. It was found that the Syrian nationals living in these mahalles were integrated into the life with locals due to the similarity in culture and language and therefore their population increased much faster. They established a shopkeeper network by setting up their own shops.

Fieldwork also revealed that Beşyol mahalle is the one with the lowest migrant presence without any Syrian population. In Beşyol, which is the only mahalle situated under the arterial road (E5) of the sub-province, it was observed that the population residing in the mahalle is low due to the abundance of buildings owned by private sector and the small number of houses.

The employees at Eastern Turkestan Association and the shopkeepers who were interviewed stated that the population of Uyghur Turks who are escaping from the pressure of Chinese Government is increasing day by day. It was found that their population is higher than that of the Syrians in the town of Sefaköy, comprised of Fevziçakmak, Kemalpaşa and Tevfikbey mahalles. An employee at the association stated that there is a correlation between the increase in the presence and the amount of donation and referred to a rise in the donation as a result of the increasing population. The employee stated that individuals originating from Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China therefore try to make sure that they live together to ensure the continuity of the financial assistance. It was reported that second-hand goods are collected in the basements of some apartment blocks and new arrivals and the families in need are provided with goods from these storages.
It was also observed that Turkmen, Afghan and Azerbaijani nationals prefer the sub-province as a settlement area since they pay lower rents, have no difficulty finding jobs and can easily adapt to a complex social structure.

**Migrant Participation in Economic Activities**

It was observed that Syrian nationals work at textile ateliers in Mehmet Akif and Atatürk mahalles and there has been increase in the number of Syrian shopkeepers.

Uyghur Turks coming from China were found to be employed mostly in textile manufacturing, carpentry and logistics. The shopkeeper of Chinese origin who came from Uyghur Autonomous Region stated that people of the same nationality set up textile ateliers and most of them do not have problems with work permit as most of them work in these ateliers. The shopkeeper also reported that the unlicensed taxis are also common providing transportation between Zeytinburnu, Küçükçekmece and Aksaray.

It was found that Azerbaijani nationals are taken away from the job markets in Halkali and Kanarya mahalles in the mornings to different sub-provinces for work and that they are employed in construction.

Most of the Turkmen and Uzbek nationals in the sub-province were observed to be employed mostly in small restaurants as waiters and deliverers. The postmen interviewed reported that there are Turkmen, Uzbek and Kyrgyz nationals who are employed as domestic workers for caring in Atakent mahalle.

**Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities**

The mukhtars and the sub-province Governor reported that the sub-province has a rich culture due to migrants from the Balkans (e.g. Albania, North Macedonia).

It was found that there are problems occurring because of the difference in ethnicities although there are cultural similarities between the foreign nationals and the residents in Kanarya and Atatürk mahalles, which are inhabited by the citizens of Kurdish origin in large numbers.

The mukhtars interviewed stated that the Syrian nationals living in Mehmet Akif, Atatürk and Kanarya mahalles have internal conflicts within their community due to differences in their sects. Furthermore, instances of sexual harassments reported on social media further damages relations between migrants and locals.

According to the information obtained from the key informants, the presence of the Chinese nationals who started to settle especially in Kemalpaşa and Sultanmurat mahalles, where they are buying apartments, makes these mahalles less attractive for Syrian nationals. It was reported that the local community has a warmer attitude towards Turkmen, Afghan, Azerbaijani and Uzbek nationals whose population is increasing in the sub-province. Although the locals do not foster positive attitude towards Syrian migrants, it was observed that they have been accepted in the sub-province.

It was found that although at the beginning the attitude towards the individuals from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China was positive, their rapidly increasing population has started to unsettle the locals. An Uyghur shopkeeper interviewed revealed that there have been fights between the children and young people in Kemalpaşa mahalle in the last five months, and that the mahalle residents had been collecting signatures electing to evict migrants of Uyghur ethnic origin.

It was also observed that the host communities have started to react due to the recently increased number of sexual harassments in which Syrians are involved and the presence of the related news on social media.
Migrant Mobility

According to the information obtained from the Sub-province Governor, SASF personnel and mukhtars who were interviewed, Syrian nationals come to Küçükçekmece sub-province from Sakarya, Kocaeli and Bursa provinces, which are close to Istanbul and from south-eastern Anatolian provinces such as Mardin, Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa. It was stated that Syrian nationals started to come to Küçükçekmece sub-province before 2015 but the main increase in their presence was observed between the years 2015 and 2017.

The mukhtars and real estate agents who were interviewed stated that most Syrian families moved from Küçükçekmece to Başakşehir sub-province’s Güvercintepe mahalle due to increasing tension between the local community and Syrians. The MPM team also observed that incidents of violence against Syrians have increased, the shops owned by Syrians were targets, and the visibility of the Syrians has started to decrease due to these incidents. The mahalle residents reported that single men started to leave their apartments.

Mukhtars and other key informants interviewed reported that Uyghurs migrated to Turkey from the countries (e.g. Malaysia, Thailand, Saudi Arabia), with which the Chinese Government made agreements on extradition. The recently increased presence of Uyghurs in Küçükçekmece sub-province proves this situation. An employee at the association who was interviewed during the fieldwork reported that some of the Uyghurs moved to Küçükçekmece sub-province from Zeytinburnu sub-province during previous six months. The same informant also stated that the Uyghurs continue to settle in Zeytinburnu and Sefaköy town. Even if the presence was reported to increase, the information obtained revealed that there are families that moved to Kayseri as they see Kayseri as the “ancestors’ land”.

Migrant Profile and Settlement

Baseline 2 data indicated that Syrians (20,736) make up the majority of the migrant population (29,274) in Eyüp Sultan. The migrant presence in the sub-province is formed by Afghans (2,021), Pakistanis (1,610) and Uzbeks (1,019). It was found that most of the Syrian nationals came in 2015 and earlier.

The sub-province has borders with Gaziosmanpaşa, Fatih and Kâğıthane which have high migrant population. The large area that the sub-province covers leads to differences in demographic structures, socioeconomic levels and cultural activities.

Migrant presence is low in rural mahalles like Ağaçlı, Akpınar and Çiftalan in the sub-province which has 28 mahalles with a migrant presence. It was reported in the interviews with the mahalle mukhtars and shopkeepers that foreign nationals have a high presence in Yeşilpınar, Güzeltepe and İslambey mahalles. The main reasons for being preferred by the migrants were referred to as transportation opportunities, affordable rents due to the low socioeconomic status of the locals, importance of Eyüp Sultan as a religious location (shrine and mosque etc.), the helpful attitude of locals towards the migrants and the abundance of job opportunities.

Afghan and Pakistani nationals who came to Eyüp Sultan sub-province after Syrians who form the migrant population with the highest population were found to have come to Eyüp Sultan in 2016 and after. The interviews with the mahalle mukhtars and shopkeepers revealed that Afghan and Pakistani nationals live in mahalles such as Düğmeciler, Yeşilpınar and Çırır, which are low in socioeconomic status. It was reported that Afghan and Pakistani nationals came to the sub-province as single individuals and live in basements as crowded groups and live at parks or in their workplaces. The reasons to prefer Eyüp sub-province were referred to as the presence of sectors that they can work in, the sufficiency of the transportation means (the sub-province is accessible both by sea thanks to Eyüp Pier and road) and the affordability of the rents.

Uzbek and Azerbaijani nationals who form another presence in the sub-province were found to live in Alibeyköy and Göktürk Merkez mahalles in large numbers and prefer the sub-province owing to the similar reasons with those of the other nationalities.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was found that Syrian nationals in Eyüp Sultan sub-province work in textile manufacturing and are employed as waiters at cafés and restaurants in Akşemsettin, Alibeyköy, Çırır ve Yeşilpınar mahalles where
socioeconomic status is low. It was also observed that they have dessert shops and run markets in Alibeyköy and Yeşilpınar mahalles.

The interviews conducted with mukhtars revealed that Afghan and Pakistani nationals collect paper and scrap, work in construction sector, bakeries located in Mimar Sinan mahalle and engage in animal husbandry in the mahalles such as Ağaçlı, Akpınar and Işıklar, located in the rural part of the sub-province.

The shopkeepers who were interviewed reported that Uzbek, Azerbaijani and Turkmen women are employed for house cleaning and caretaking and that men work as gardeners in Göktürk, Mıhtatpaşa and Mimar Sinan mahalles where the economic status of the people is high. Besides, Uzbek and Turkmen nationals were reported to work in textile manufacturing in Alibeyköy and Çıırır mahalles.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

It was found that there is no cultural, social and economic cohesion between the locals and migrants; however, they share similar religious beliefs. Accordingly, it was observed that the locals show positive attitude towards the migrants.

The mukhtars, shopkeepers and SASF employees who were interviewed stated that Syrian nationals live with their families in the sub-province and have good relationships with the locals. It was reported that Afghan and Pakistani nationals have problems in communicating with the locals and do not integrate into the social life of the community and that they live as single individuals in Düğmeciler, Yeşilpınar and Çıırır mahalles where they live in large numbers and their places are not hygienic, as they live in large groups in bad conditions. On the other hand, it was stated that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals have established social cohesion with the locals as they live as families and most of them came to the sub-province in 2015 and earlier.

Migrant Mobility

The Syrian shopkeepers who were interviewed in Düğmeciler mahalle reported that some of the Syrian nationals migrated to Fatih sub-province because of the urban transformation in the mahalle. On the other hand, it was also stated that there are migrants moving to Eyüpsultan due to the demolition of the shanties in Eskihabipler mahalle in Sultangazi sub-province.

The mukhtars and shopkeepers who were interviewed stated that some of the Syrian, Iraqi and Palestinians living in the sub-province migrated to European countries. It was observed that migrant mobility is not high since there is a settled migrant presence in the sub-province in general.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 findings, there are 51,613 migrants living in Gaziosmanpaşa sub-province, with Syrians forming the majority (37,362), followed by Pakistanis (3,665), Azerbaijanis (3,377) and Afghans (3,231).

It was recorded that there is migrant presence in all the mahalles (16) in the sub-province and a major part of it concentrates in Karadeniz mahalle which has a border with both Sultangazi and Esenler. The mukhtars, shopkeepers, SASF and SSC personnel who were interviewed reported that the migrants in the sub-province live in crowded houses. Nevertheless, houses are rented for higher prices to migrants, while many employers make the migrants work for low wages without granting their social rights.

It was found that the Syrian nationals live in large numbers in Karadeniz, Bağlarbaşı and Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa mahalles and in other mahalles. The mukhtars and shopkeepers who were interviewed reported that the Syrians preferred the sub-province to live in because of the well-developed transportation network, affordable rent prices, the availability of various sectors in which they can work and the similar income levels that the guest and host communities share. Besides, it was also stated that the number of Syrian nationals increased slightly.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was observed that the Syrian nationals in the sub-province work in textile manufacturing, car and lighting industries in the Industrial Zone and that they work in constructions and run markets in Karadeniz mahalle at the same time. The shopkeepers interviewed in Hürriyet mahalle reported that Afghan and Pakistani migrants work in the bakeries in the mahalle and that they also accommodate in them. It was also stated that there are many of them living on collecting papers and scraps. Uzbek, Azerbaijani and Turkmen nationals were found to be working in manufacturing textiles.

Map 13. Gaziosmanpaşa Sub-province Map and Location in İstanbul
Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

The mukhtars, shopkeepers and SASF director who were interviewed stated that the Syrian nationals do not enjoy good relations with the locals and are not able to fully integrate into the community; they often have quarrels within their own community and with locals.

It was reported that the Afghan and Pakistani nationals in the sub-province live alone or in crowded group housing. The locals feel uneasy as migrants often move in large groups and are unable to adapt to the culture in the sub-province.

The mukhtars and shopkeepers who were interviewed stated that Azerbaijani, Uzbek and Turkmen nationals came to the sub-province previously and live as families and have integrated into the host communities owing to the similarity in language and culture.

Migrant Mobility

According to the findings from Baseline 2, there is a slight increase in the population of Syrian nationals in Gaziosmanpaşa sub-province. The mukhtars and shopkeepers who were interviewed referred to the presence of relations and acquaintances who are already settled in the sub-province as the reason for the increase.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 data, migrants of 32 different nationalities (totalling 83,521 people) reside in the sub-province. Syrians form the majority (63,331), followed by Pakistanis (9,969), Afghans (7,019) and Uzbeks (565). Although the area of the sub-province is small, covering 15 mahalles, both its total population and migrant population are high. The sub-province borders Esenler and Başakşehir, whose migrant presence is above average compared to others in Istanbul. Facilities where an individual of any belief can pray in were observed.

Fieldwork revealed that Syrian nationals live in Cebeci (the largest mahalle in the sub-province), Esentepe, İsmetpaşa and in all other mahalles of Sultangazi sub-province and that most of them are unregistered migrants. Mukhtars, Turkish and Syrian shopkeepers (owners of market and restaurants) interviewed reported that the Syrian nationals preferred the sub-province and specifically these mahalles since they have strong social networks in these mahalles and there are many residential areas and job opportunities in the sub-province. The low socioeconomic status of the people in these mahalles and that they are welcome by the locals are the other reasons for them to prefer the sub-province and these mahalles.

The mahalle mukhtars and shopkeepers who were interviewed reported that the populations of Pakistani and Afghan nationals who form the second highest migrant presence after Syrians is increasing and that most of them came to the sub-province in 2016 and after. It was stated that the Pakistani and Afghan nationals preferred the sub-province for the same reasons with Syrians. It was reported that Afghan and Pakistani migrants live in Cebeci, İsmet Paşa and Sultançiftliği mahalles in large numbers.

It was found that the people of South African, Nigerian and Senegalese origin live in İsmetpaşa where many shopping malls and a tramline are located. It was observed that they preferred the mahalle because of the relations and friends who settled in the mahalle previously.

The key informants who were interviewed stated that the Eski Habipler and Habipler mahalles with the lowest migrant presence in the sub-province are not preferred by the foreign nationals as the urban transformation has just started in these mahalles and transportation networks are limited.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Syrian nationals were found to be employed in textile manufacturing, constructions and furniture manufacturing and painting at Sanko Industrial Zone. It was also observed that they run their own markets, small restaurants and shops selling hookah and tobacco equipment, which can be found in large numbers in the sub-province. It was found that the Afghan and Pakistani nationals work in the sub-province as paper and scrap
collectors. The interviews with the key informants revealed that they also engage in animal husbandry in Eski Habipler mahalle which has large rural areas. It was also stated that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals work in shoe and textile manufacturing in the sub-province.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

The mukhtars and the shopkeepers who were interviewed in the mahalles stated that the migrants can find a rented house with ease due to the similarity in the income levels of the host community and the guest community and that the sub-province accepts the migrants since they accept working for lower wages.

The interviews conducted with key informants revealed that the Syrian nationals live with their families in the sub-province and have good social relationship with the locals. On the other hand, it was reported that Afghan and Pakistani nationals live as single individuals, walk in the streets as crowded groups and have quarrels frequently within their own community and with the other migrant groups. This is a disturbance to the locals; therefore, Afghan and Pakistani nationals have almost no communication and interaction with locals.

Migrant Mobility

The local and foreign shopkeepers who were interviewed reported that some of the Syrian nationals migrated to Kayabaşı mahalle in Başakşehir sub-province or returned to their country of origin. However, it was stated that these people were immediately replaced by others and therefore there is an ongoing migrant mobility. Additionally, the interview conducted with the mukhtar of Eski Habipler mahalle revealed that Syrian nationals living in this sub-province migrated to the neighbouring sub-province of Eyüp since the shanty towns were removed. According to the findings from Baseline 2, the population of the Azerbaijani, Uzbek and Turkmen migrants increased before 2015 in Sultangazi sub-province, whereas that of the Syrian, Afghan, Pakistani migrants and those of other nationalities increased after 2016.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

Turkmens (1,302) constitute the largest migrant group in Beşiktaş sub-province, unlike the neighbouring sub-provinces (Beyoğlu, Kağıthane, and Şişli) according to the Baseline 2 data. The second largest migrant group is that of Uzbeks (750) due to their cultural and lingual similarity with the local community. The following foreign national groups are those of Syrians (637) and Azerbaijanis (421), respectively (totalling 5,571 people).

It was found that Turkmen and Uzbek nationals usually reside in Akat, Ulus and Gayrettepe quarters, while Syrian nationals reside in Cihannüma and Vişnezade mahalles.

Key informants indicated that despite its entertainment hubs, desirable location and historical value, the migrant population is relatively low in the sub-province mainly due to economic factors. It was indicated that the major factor affecting migrant settlement in the neighbouring sub-provinces is ethnic/national association, whereas the determining factor in foreign national settlement in Beşiktaş is the high-income level. During interviews with residential complex managers, it was understood that mahalles such as Kuruçeşme, Akat and Etiler host high-income migrants such as executives of international companies, consulate employees, and Iranian and Saudi merchants.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Migrants residing in the sub-province engage in mainly two types of economic activities. It was observed that high-income foreign nationals are businesspeople who engage in trade, whereas those from low-income groups work in service industry and domestic service industry. Mukhtars of high-income mahalles such as Kuruçeşme, Etiler, and Ortaköy stated that high-income Iranian and Saudi merchants, retired Syrian judges, and Iraqis who were bureaucrats and military officers before the war have been living in these mahalles for a long time.

The other group, which includes migrant domestic workers, particularly women, work in abovementioned
high-income mahalles. Key informants stated in the interviews that these migrant workers (e.g. Moldovans, Azerbaijanis, Filipinos) are preferred for being well educated and speaking a foreign language and that they work in better conditions. Turkmens and Uzbeks are preferably hired particularly as waiters, cooks, dishwashers, and cleaners in cafes and restaurants in Sinanpaşa, Abbasağa and Türkali mahalles.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

Beşiktaş stands out with its migrant population being in harmony with the local community because of having two different income groups. Key informants indicated that migrants coming from Turkic Countries—i.e. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, do not experience any integration problems due to cultural and linguistic similarities. Meanwhile, other migrants with high-level income and education do not experience any issues with the locals due to their relatively isolated lifestyles. However, they also stated that a nightclub serving only Arab customers in Levent mahalle disturbed the locals recently and was reported to the authorities and police.

Migrant Mobility

It was observed that the most mobile migrant group in Beşiktaş constitute Turkmen and Uzbek women who commute to Kağıthane mahalle to do domestic work. It was found that foreign national consulate employees, exchange students, and foreign teachers and academics residing in the sub-province show little mobility. The interviewed residential complex managers indicated that those who work in trade and finance as well as international company executives show low mobility, and particularly Saudi and Iranian nationals reside in Turkey for certain periods of time.
Beyoğlu hosts a dense migrant population (totalling 67,363 people), according to Baseline 2 data, although being one of the least populated sub-provinces of İstanbul according to official records. The largest migrant groups in the sub-province are Syrians (39,298), Nigerians (4,906), Uzbeks (4,153), and Afghans (3,947), respectively. Syrians and a small number of Nigerians came to Turkey with their families, whereas Uzbeks, Afghans, and Turkmen came alone. The interviewed informants stated that Syrians travelled to Turkey by land due to the on-going war and that the majority of them came to Istanbul/Beyoğlu from various provinces (e.g. Hatay, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş), in which they were registered. It was understood that Afghans entered the country using land routes most of the time, whereas other foreign nationals (Uzbeks, Turkmen, and Nigerians) entered legally using airway transportation. They chose to come to the sub-province because of the existing migrant communities and job opportunities. Besides, the large number of daily visitors to the sub-province reduces the visibility of foreign nationals, thereby allowing some freedom of movement.

The two leading factors affecting the migrant settlement in the sub-province are low housing costs and economic opportunities. Russian, Moldovan and British people reside in Cihangir and Müeyyedzade mahalles where rent prices are relatively high, while Syrian, Afghan and Nigerian people reside in Piyalepaşa and Fetihtepe mahalles where rent prices are relatively low. The highest migrant population is in Fetihtepe and Örnektepe mahalles, fellow-national relationships within ethnic groups and expanded presence of textile industry. Western migrants (e.g. Austrians, Germans) make up a relatively small population and reside in touristic areas around Taksim Square/Istiklal Street and Şahkulu and Tomtom mahalles. Cultural/arts hubs, native population persistence, and income and education level of the locals in these mahalles cause a low migrant population density.

According to the interviews with local shopkeepers in Beyoğlu, Turkmen and Uzbeks are the most preferred foreign workers for being Turkic and Muslim and hired in food and retail businesses as couriers and restaurant staff. Also, Turkmen, Uzbek, Filipinos, and Moldovans work as domestic workers (child and elderly caretaker, help) in the sub-province, with Turkmen making up the largest group.

In the interviews mukhtars stated that the most popular economic activities among migrants are within textile, construction, and restaurant industries particularly in Tarlabası and Kasımpaşa mahalles. Meanwhile, it was observed that Afghan and Pakistani nationals also work as load carriers and shippers as well as paper collectors in these mahalles.
It was found that Syrians and Nigerians start their own food, retail and service businesses (hair salon, cargo, cafe/bar) and hire people from their country of origin. It was observed that Mongolian people whose population grew recently are engaged in textile industry Örnektepe and Fetihtepe mahalles.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

It was observed that migrants from Turkic republics, particularly Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan, and African countries (Nigeria and Congo) are accepted by the local community. Key informants stated in the interviews that local Roma people and Afghans occasionally have fights due to economic reasons (paper collection, daily manual work) and sometimes the tension builds in Çukur, Bostan and Bülbül mahalles. Although it seems like a state of harmony took the place of cohesion problems Syrians and host communities had at the beginning, a general disturbance exists in the area according to the interviews. It was reported that the locals force especially Syrians, Afghans, and Pakistanis into migration within the province or sub-province.

A rapid growth in migrant population was observed in Fetihtepe, Örnektepe and Piyale Paşa mahalles, which make up the part of Beyoğlu that neighbours Kağıthane and Şişli sub-provinces. It was found that these three mahalles receive migrants from within Beyoğlu as well as the two neighbouring sub-provinces. According to key informants, these mahalles offer migrants freedom of movement for constituting a junction in between said sub-provinces. They are popular among Syrians for neighbouring Fatih sub-province, Mongolians for neighbouring Kâğıthane sub-province and Africans for neighbouring Şişli sub-province due to active relationships within ethnic groups. It was understood that the migrants residing in the sub-province keep in touch with their contacts (linguistic and cultural unity, job opportunities) in the neighbouring sub-provinces due to convenient access.

While the number of migrant domestic workers does not change much, mobility is higher among those who take up marginal employment (carrier, construction worker), which is affected by factors such as urban transformation and labour exchange, thus these people move between sub-provinces.

Migrant Mobility

According to the interviews with community leaders and mukhtars, Syrian Kurdish migrants residing in Çukur, Bülbül and Bostan mahalles, which constitute Tarlabaşı quarter, started to migrate to European or other developed countries using their relationships with their relatives living there, thus causing a reduction in the Syrian population in the quarter.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

Syrians make up the major part (36,640) of the group of migrants (62,705) in Kağıthane sub-province. Turkmens (5,620), Azerbaijanis (4,105), and Afghans (2,680) are the next largest migrant communities following Syrians in the sub-province, respectively.

It was discovered that most of the migrants came to the sub-province in 2016 and later, and still there is a movement of migration. According to the interviews with Yeşilce and Sultan Selim mahalle mukhtars, the existing migrant network and the need for unskilled workers (e.g. industrial workers, restaurant and market staff) increased the number of Azerbaijani migrants in the sub-province. They indicated that Azerbaijani nationals reside in abandoned/rugged buildings in the industrial zone and low-cost housing converted from workplaces rather than residential areas inhabited by host communities.

According to the key informants, migrant population density is relatively high in Çağlayan, Harmantepe and Hürriyet mahalles, which always host migrant communities and where low rent prices and dense economic activities increased the number of Mongolian migrants. It was found that Iraqi, Iranian and Syrian middle-class migrants prefer mahalles such as Çeliktepe and Emniyetevler where the migrant population density is low, and the socioeconomic profiles of host communities and migrant communities are similar.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was understood that migrants residing in Kağıthane sub-province are employed in similar lines of work as its neighbouring sub-provinces such as Şişli and Beyoğlu. It was observed that some migrants work as restaurant staff, couriers, and carriers/shippers, while a small number of them, notably Syrians, own food (restaurant, buffet, cafe) and textile businesses as well as grocery stores in Çağlayan, Hürriyet and Gürsel mahalles. The worker profile standing out in Kağıthane sub-province is male Azerbaijani migrants employed in the automotive parts industrial park in Yeşilce mahalle.

According to the key informants, migrants coming from particularly Mongolia and Turkic republics work in daily construction and shipping/carrying jobs, gathering at a certain point in Taşocağı street, which is close to Gürsel, Hürriyet and Çağlayan mahalles and creating a worker market. They indicated that Afghan and Pakistani nationals who came to these mahalles over the past six months try to engage in this line of work.
It was found that Azerbaijanis whose number gradually increases in the sub-province work in various areas; men as helpers and general cleaners in the automotive parts industrial park as well as staff or courier in food businesses and shops in Yeşilce and Sultan Selim mahalles, and women as dishwashers, cooks, cleaners in similar businesses in the sub-province. It was also understood that some of the Turkmen and Uzbek women work as daily cleaners and child caretakers in Beşiktaş and Şişli sub-province.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

According to key informants, migrants do not seem to have cohesion problems with the host communities—they often group together in mahalles with relatively high migrant population. Key informants also stated that the number of complaints about illicit activities such as robbery and drug trade decreased over the past six months.

It was understood that the locals in Gültepe, Harmantepe and Merkez mahalles show tolerant attitudes towards Turkmen and Uzbek meanwhile there is cohesion between the Syrians and host community in Çağlayan mahalle in the sub-province.

According to the information provided by the mukhtars, the most important issue in the sub-province the cohesion problem between migrant groups. They stated that there are cohesion problems between Syrians and Afghans in Gürsel mahalle and between Afghans and Mongolians on Taşocağı Street, which can escalate to violence occasionally.

Migrant Mobility

It was observed that the migrant population grew and declined in the internal parts of the sub-province (Çağlayan, Hürriyet) while there were no significant changes in border mahalles (Nurtepe, Seyrantepe, Sultan Selim) during the past six months. It was understood that the migration flows in Kâğıthane are related to economic reasons. According to the key informants, in addition to the Mongolians dominating the daily manual worker market created by migrants grouped at a point in Taşocağı street which separates Çağlayan, Gürsel and Hürriyet mahalles from each other, Afghans also offer a growing labour supply there, which causes tension between the two groups and, although a small number, Mongolian people to leave the sub-province.

According to the information collected from the key informants as well as migrants, Uzbeks and Turkmen create two types of migration flow due to increases in exchanges: they either migrate to other sub-provinces to seek employment opportunities or return to their homelands. It was discovered that migrants of the relevant nationalities who reside in the sub-province commute to Akatlar, Kültür and Ulus mahalles of Beşiktaş sub-province to work as domestic workers.
**Migrant Profile and Settlement**

The sub-province hosts 58 different nationalities, totalling 19,500 migrants, according to Baseline 2 data. Syrians represent the majority (5,705), followed by Turkmen (1,863), Nigerians (1,784), and Mongolians (1,643). While having elite parts (e.g. Nişantaşı quarter and Halil Rifat mahalle), Şişli sub-province also hosts lower-middle and low-income groups (e.g. Kurtuluş and Kuştepe mahalles).

It was found that majority of migrants in the sub-province reside in the mahalles neighbouring Kağıthane and Beyoğlu sub-province such as Mahmut Şevket Paşa, Eskişehir, and Feriköy. According to mukhtars, migrants prefer these mahalles for their extensive transport networks, existing migrant social networks, plenty of job opportunities, and low rent prices. They stated that the high-income migrant group also prefers the sub-province quite frequently and reside in mahalles inhabited by high-income Turkish citizens such as Teşvikiye and Meşrutiyet (Nişantaşı quarter).

Besides all these, Nigerian, Ethiopian and Cameroonian migrant groups stand out in the sub-province with their high population densities. According to the key informants, these nationals reside in 19 Mayıs and Mecidiyeköy mahalles and prefer these for linguistic, religious and cultural unity as well as fellow-national relationships. It was observed that these migrants also own cafes, restaurants, couriers, and entertainment businesses.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

According to key informants, the locals are highly disturbed by the alleged involvement of Moroccan and Syrian women in sex work in Feriköy and Eskişehir mahalles; they hesitate to go out after a certain time at night due to safety reasons.

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**Map 18. Şişli Sub-province Map and Location in Istanbul**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>274,289</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area km²</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalle/Village</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**19,500 Migrants and Refugees**

**Migrant Participation in Economic Activities**

Şişli sub-province has high rent prices, voters that constitute the minority of the population and many businesses. It was found that some of the resident migrants work in domestic services, whereas some of them are company executives. According to local shopkeepers, Syrians residing in Şişli sub-province work in cafes, restaurants, buffets, and parking lots in Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu sub-province instead of working in Şişli. They stated that Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Mongolian nationals work in water firms and parking lots as well as cleaning and food industries.

In addition, an increase was observed in the number of Iranian nationals in Şişli, who either own or work in cafes, restaurants, and garment shops on the main street of Ergenekon mahalle.
Locals in Kuştepe mahalle stated that the tension between Afghans and Syrians still continues. They indicated that the disturbances mostly occur due to conflicts of interest in illegal businesses (sex work, small-scale trade of electronic items and drugs). On the other hand, it was observed that African residents of the sub-province live in great harmony with host communities.

Migrant Mobility

It was discovered that foreign nationals such as Algerians, Tunisians, and Libyans settled in Feriköy mahalle in the past few months, meanwhile rent prices increased and thus number of Syrians dramatically dropped due to urban transformation in Halide Edip Adıvar mahalle.

According to the interviews with key informants, another reason for the increase in rent prices is the new hospital built in the sub-province which helped nearby mahalles thrive and brought hospital staff as new residents, thereby causing Syrians to move to Esenyurt and Bağcılar sub-provinces.

They also stated that Iranians buy or rent housing in the mahalles with higher rent prices and relatively high socioeconomic status locals, which result in an increase in their number.

It was observed that a reverse migration occurred from Fetihtepe and Piyalepaşa mahalles of Beyoğlu to Paşa and Mahmut Şevket Paşa mahalles of Şişli due to economic conditions and affordable housing.
KARTAL SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

In Baseline 2 carried out in Kartal sub-province, the total number of migrants was 9,271, with the largest migrant communities including Syrians (2,457), Uzbeks (2,200), Afghans (1,459), and Turkmen (876), respectively. The migrant presence accounts for approximately two percent of the population of the sub-province, which is 461,155 according to TÜİK data.

The mahalles with a coastline and in close proximity to transportation lines such as subway and train have relatively higher welfare levels among 20 sub-provinces in Kartal. So much so that the migrant population density is higher in mahalles relatively distant from the centre and transportation lines, such as Hürriyet and Karlıktepe, despite the balanced distribution of migrant population in the sub-province in general. Factors such as rent prices, proximity to job opportunities, keeping a low profile, and staying away from inspections affect the mahalle-level distribution of migrant population in the sub-province. Mahalle-level migrant population assessments show that the Syrians, being the largest migrant community in the sub-province, have the most balanced distribution. The mahalles such as Yakacık, Cumhuriyet, and Hürriyet have significantly large slum settlements with locals and migrants who work in factories in the sub-province, notably Syrians with the largest number compared to remaining mahalles. Nonetheless, according to the interviews with mukhtars of Cumhuriyet and Hürriyet mahalles, recently accelerated urban transformation process caused a decline in Syrian population in these two mahalles. Yunus and Çavuşoğlu mahalles stand out with their hosting almost half of Afghan community in the sub-province.

According to the interviews conducted in relevant mahalles, the major factor in the increase in Afghan population is the existence of more than 10 paper warehouses. According to mukhtars, mail carriers, and shopkeepers across the sub-province, there is a significant increase in Uzbek population particularly. Uzbeks and Turkmen rent housing where they live collectively and work in service industry and domestic service industry in many mahalles, notably Esentepe and Cumhuriyet. Another migrant community with a remarkable population in Kartal sub-province is South Koreans. According to Baseline 2, the largest South Korean community in İstanbul is in Kartal sub-province. Almost all of these people reside in Karlıktepe mahalle due to the church located there and are known for their missionary activities.
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

During the fieldwork conducted in the sub-province, it was observed and also confirmed by informants that foreign nationals are employed in many businesses such as restaurants, hardware stores, textile workshops. Uzbeks and Turkmens are the most preferred groups among all foreign national groups hired by employers. Cultural similarity, close relationships with locals and being known as hardworking people give them advantages in finding jobs. It was understood that Afghans work in labour-intensive jobs in paper warehouses and constructions in the sub-province.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

According to the informants interviewed in Kartal sub-province, there is a direct correlation between locals’ socioeconomic status and their attitude towards migrants in the sub-province. Most of the key informants indicated that the local community of the sub-province lived there for a long time and experienced many problems related to the sub-province for a long time. They stated that most of the problems the community used to live with were solved and the sub-province thrived in recent years, only they could not enjoy it due to the increasing migrant population. According to them, although most of the problems of Kartal were solved, negative developments overshadowed these positive improvements, due to the migrant influx into the sub-province. The locals’ negative attitudes toward Syrians in particular, who have relatively high visibility caused the latter to leave the sub-province and settle somewhere else. Afghans, however, do not face locals’ reactions as much as Syrians because they usually reside and work in remote areas, out of sight. Nonetheless, it was observed that the locals think these people pose a risk in terms of community health and hygiene as they work as paper and plastic collectors. Turkmens and Uzbeks, on the other hand, are the most accepted and embraced migrant groups due to ethnical and religious similarities as well as their easier integration process, good command of Turkish language, and strong work ethic. So much so that the key informants avoided providing information about and tended to protect some of these people as they are unregistered workers.

Migrant Mobility

The MPM team observed an intense urban transformation process in Kartal while carrying out Baseline 2. There is a decrease in the number of resident low-income migrants due to the high rent prices of new residences built within the scope of transformation of slum mahalles. In addition to this, locals being relatively hostile toward migrants compared to neighbouring sub-province such as Pendik, Sancaktepe, and Sultanbeyli recently caused migrants to move to other sub-provinces. Mukhtars as well as organizations such as SASF and SSC in the sub-province observed a migration flow from the sub-province to Pendik and Sultanbeyli sub-province.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2, there is a migrant population of 15,655 people in Maltepe sub-province. The migrant population makes up 3.5 per cent of the total population of the sub-province (497,034) according to TÜİK data. In addition, Baseline 2 data demonstrates that Uzbek (4,170), Syrians (3,065), Afghans (2,371), and Turkmens (2,285) constitute the major part of migrants in Maltepe sub-province.

As for the mahalle-level distribution of migrant population in the sub-province, the mahalle located in the coastal side of the D-100 Road have higher levels of welfare and government, which makes them challenging for migrants to reside. Meanwhile, the upper side of the road includes old slum mahalles, a large forestry area, and campuses such as university, hospital. This upper part enables foreign nationals to reside and work thanks to the presence of middle- and low-income slum mahalles as well as the fact that factories, workshops and businesses tend to hire foreigners. Besides, the presence of mahalles with large populations allows foreign nationals to work as domestic workers residential complexes and flats.

The mahalle-level distribution of migrants directly depends on the population and location of relevant mahalle. The coastal mahalles of Altintepe, Küçükkyali Merkez, Çınar, İdealtepe and Altayçeşme stand out as high-income mahalles. According to mukhtars, shopkeepers, community leaders, and postal workers, there is scarcely any Syrian presence in Küçükkyali, İdealtepe and Altintepe mahalles. It was observed that there are Syrian and Afghan nationals only in Küçükkyali mahalle, working at the second-hand market and paper warehouse. It was understood that these migrants work as groups of 10-15 people and stay at the workplaces or warehouses they work in. There are also Uzbeks, Turkmens, Moldovans and Russians residing and working as domestic cleaners and caretakers in Küçükkyali. The situation in Altintepe mahalle is more or less the same. There is a scarce number of migrants in the mahalle apart from a few Syrian households found with the help of the mukhtar. İdealtepe is a high-income and quiet mahalle, similar to Küçükkyali and Altintepe. According to an interview with the mukhtar, Afghans came to work when there was a plenty of construction sites in the mahalle, but most of them left once construction was completed. Similarly, in Altayçeşme mahalle which neighbours İdealtepe, there is a small Syrian population, and Afghans reside and work there because of the local paper warehouse.

While sharing the same status with the abovementioned mahalles, Çınar mahalle has a larger migrant population. It was understood that Syrians and Afghans work in labour-intensive jobs, e.g. construction, and live in relatively bad housing in the mahalle. Similar to the general situation Maltepe, interviewees from the mahalle stated that at least one Uzbek, Azerbaijani, Moldovan, Russian or Georgian work at almost every household with a baby or an elder. They indicated that Turkmens and Uzbeks who accept lower wages replaced Russian, Moldovan and Georgian workers in the past 1-2 years.
Yalı mahalle, on the other hand, stands out for having the largest Afghan population in the sub-province due to around 10 paper warehouses located in the mahalle. The mukhtar also stated that there were complaints from locals concerning the allegations that Uzbeks and Turkmens, who make up two of the largest migrant groups in the mahalle as well as the warehouses, carry out illegal activities at their homes.

As for the upper side of the D-100 Road, there is a higher population density and diversity. Being two of the most populated mahalles of Maltepe, Zümürtevler and Findikli mahalles also stand out for having the largest migrant population. During the fieldwork conducted in Zümürtevler mahalle, it was observed that there is a foreign worker in almost every local business while also many foreign nationals run their own businesses. Uzbeks, Turkmens and Afghans have the highest migrant population density in the mahalle. A similar migrant profile was observed in Gülsuyu, Gülensu and Esenkent mahalles that are located in the upper part of the sub-province, neighbouring Kartał sub-province. For instance, it was found that many Syrians used to reside in Esenkent mahalle in the previous years but their number gradually decreased due to local complaints. Interviewees indicated that they moved to Gülsuyu and Gülsu mahalles and were replaced by Uzbeks and Turkmens. Neighbouring Esenkent mahalle, Gülsu mahalle is dominated by working class generally accepting of migrants. It was understood that the population of resident Uzbeks and Turkmens declined in the past few months due to the recent fall of Turkish lira. Having a similar demographic and economic structure as Gülsu, Gülsuyu mahalle was found to have a higher migrant population density and diversity. In addition to the large Syrian population in the mahalle, it was understood that an Azerbaijani population of 100 to 120 households with residence and work permit came to the mahalle from The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic in the past 20 years. According to the mukhtar, they prefer Gülsuyu due to low-cost housing and the locals’ tolerant attitude towards migrants. Stating that he is also a member of the sub-province humanitarian aid committee, the mukhtar added that 10-15 Syrians used to apply to the mukhtar’s office for aid in the recent two-three years, however, this number decreased in the past six months for they started to apply to relatively major organizations.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Syrians came to the region following the start of the war and they work mostly in the upper mahalles of the sub-province. Afghans work in recycling/ paper collecting, factories, and labour-intensive industries such as construction and iron casting and stay at their workplaces. Turkmens and Uzbeks are employed in houses, workshops, and local businesses located in the coast. Many key informants stated that there is at least one Uzbek or Turkmen worker in almost every business located in coastal mahalles.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

It was observed that there is a negative attitude towards and complaints against migrants in the sub-province due to robberies and fights they are involved in. As it was found, there are allegations and complaints about Turkmens and Uzbeks carrying out some illegal activities in the housings they stay particularly in the area with paper warehouses in Yalı mahalle. Locals in Başbıyık mahalle show bigoted and intolerant attitudes towards migrants in general. Several events occurred in the mahalle on that account, thereby decreasing the Syrian population. According to the large number of interviews conducted in the sub-province, Syrians living in crowded households is one of the most disturbing situations for the host community.
Migrant Mobility

According to mukhtars, shopkeepers, community leaders, and postal workers, the Syrian population in the sub-province declined dramatically in the past few months. They stated that some of the Syrians moved abroad while others moved to different sub-province of İstanbul. They also stated that the Uzbek and Turkmen populations keep growing despite those who leave because they are ever replaced by newcomers. Although some of the Uzbek and Turkmen interviewees stated that they consider returning to their homelands due to the fall in Turkish lira, this was not a very common tendency among them. As for Afghans, it was found that they moved to other sub-province for better job opportunities because the construction business in the sub-province nearly came to a standstill. In addition, it was observed that some migrants moved to Zümrütevler, Gülensu and Gülsuyu mahalles, leaving their previous locations due to urban transformation.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2, there is a migrant population of 22,109 people in Pendik sub-province with the largest groups being Syrians (11,334), Afghans (3,201), Uzbeks (2,298), and Tajiks (1,482), respectively. The migrant presence accounts for around 3.2 per cent of total population of the sub-province which is 693,599.

Pendik is one of the first sub-province Syrians settled in Istanbul. According to the key informants, most of the Syrians in the sub-province settled in by 2015 and before. Syrians try to reside in mahalles with generally better conditions and humanitarian assistance activities. Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens, and Chinese who follow Syrians in terms of population density mostly reside in remote mahalles with affordable housing such as Kavakpinar, Çamçeşme, Esenler, Esenyalı, Kaynarca, Ahmet Yesevi, Fatih, Velibaba, Ertuğrulgazi, Sülüntepe, Şeyhli, and Çamlık. The migrant population in central mahalles with limited residential area and higher rent prices consists of those who commute there daily or live at housings where they serve as domestic workers.

Lastly, Afghans reside in Velibaba, Ertuğrulgazi, Sülüntepe and Şeyhli mahalles, while a significant growth in Pakistani population was recently observed in Güzelyalı mahalle. The reason for this is that Pakistanis are considered good mussel collectors and employed in this field.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was observed in Pendik sub-province that some Syrians started their own businesses such as market, hair saloon, restaurant, and international call services in the mahalles densely populated by Syrians. This is because Syrians prefer to shop from people they know and try to maintain their cultural habits, in addition to affordable prices. Besides, it was found that Syrians work in bakeries and factories in particular. However, it was stated and confirmed by many shopkeepers that they either quit from their jobs because they are dissatisfied with the wage or get fired due to poor performance or allegations of stealing.

As it was stated by the interviewed mukhtars and observed by the MPM team during the fieldwork, many paper warehouses were opened in the sub-province in the recent year. A significant number of Afghans and Pakistanis work in these warehouses as well as factories and constructions in the sub-province. Pakistanis are also employed in jobs that require specialty because they are considered competent,
such as denim sandblasting, faucet polishing, iron painting, and PVC window manufacturing. Some of the employers indicated that Syrians and Afghans are not competent to do these jobs, while Uzbeks and Turkmens do not prefer them due to poor hygiene conditions. It was observed that Uzbeks and Turkmens have the chance to work in better conditions because they speak Turkish as well as a foreign language.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

Being the most densely populated sub-province of the Anatolian Side of Istanbul, Pendik is a demographically diverse sub-province. Local communities in the coastal mahalles of the sub-province have a high-income and isolated profile, which makes these mahalles difficult as a place of residence for migrants. Besides, the mahalle comprising only residential complexes such as Kurtköy, Yenişehir, and Çamlık are not fit for foreigners with low-income and in need, notably Syrians. Foreign nationals are mostly found in mahalles such as Çakmak, Güzelyalı, Esenyalı, and Çamçeşme where low-income conservative community of Pendik reside. It was observed that Tajik nationals residing in Kavakpinar mahalle connected with the local community through Quran courses. As for the Syrians, Afghans, and Pakistanis, the locals hold hostile attitude towards them. Syrians face hostility even in the mahalles with relatively small migrant populations where locals hold Syrians responsible for economic problems of the country, notably unemployment.

Migrant Mobility

According to Baseline 2, there is a dense migration flow from Tuzla sub-province to Pendik. It was found that various foreign nationals, with most of them being Syrians, moved to Pendik from Kartal sub-province as well as Gebze and Çayırova sub-provinces of Kocaeli in addition to Tuzla. Nonetheless, a decline was observed in the Syrian population compared to the data from Baseline 2 conducted in the October – December 2018 period. The key informants, particularly mukhtars and Syrian community leaders, indicated that there was a flow from Pendik to Sultanbeyli and Sancaktepe sub-provinces. According to the interviewees, this is because of the disharmony with locals of Pendik, aid cuts, few job opportunities, and demolition of slums due to new housing projects. On the other hand, it was discovered that there is a dense flow of Afghan and Pakistani migrants to the sub-province. This situation, which can be observed in Istanbul in general, is visible through the migrants coming to work in Pendik.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

Total migrant population in Tuzla sub-province is found to be 8,638 in Baseline 2. The major part of this population includes Syrians (4,816), Uzbeks (1,349), Afghans (746), and Turkmens (502). The migrant presence accounts for around 3.4 per cent of total population of the sub-province which is 255,468.

Mahalle level distribution of migrant settlement in the sub-province varies depending on mainly proximity to the D-100 Road, which cuts across the sub-province, proximity to the coast and economic potential. Not many migrants were seen in Akfirat, Tepeören and Anadolu mahalles, which are remote from the centre of Tuzla. It was understood that there was not even any housing for migrants due to limited residential areas in Akfirat and Tepeören mahalles. And very few migrants reside in Anadolu mahalle, which is the smallest mahalle of Tuzla, due to limited economic activities.

On the other hand, it was observed that there is a relatively large number of Syrians in Orta mahalle, which neighbours Tepeören. It was found that there is a Syrian flow from nearby mahalles to Orta mahalle, where the locals, who come from the eastern provinces of Turkey and speak Arabic, help Syrian people in need. Migrants also densely populate Orhanlı mahalle for having the Tuzla office of the Red Crescent. It was understood that the Syrians in the sub-province try to reside in locations close to aid organizations, while on the other hand, the Syrian population in Orhanlı and Mescit mahalles declined recently due to the demolition of houses within the scope of urban transformation. There is also a significantly large population of Uzbeks and Turkmens in the sub-province, who usually live in the factories they work, whereas those living in residential areas stay as groups of 15-20 people, according to the mukhtars.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Fieldwork revealed that many businesses such as barbershops and markets are run by Syrians in Tuzla sub-province. In addition, more local employers prefer Syrians in Tuzla compared to Kartal, Maltepe and Pendik sub-provinces in the same region. According to the MPM team’s observations and key informants’ statements,
these people are employed usually in bakeries, markets, greengrocers, building sites, and textile workshops. As for Afghans who also have a large population in the sub-province, they work in labour-intensive jobs in constructions as well as factories in which they can also stay. Similarly, Uzbeks and Turkmens work in these fields and usually live as crowded groups of men.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

Interviews with locals suggest that the locals of Tuzla show a positive attitude towards migrant groups residing in the sub-province. According to the MPM team’s observations, a certain level of cohesion was achieved between the local community and migrant groups in Tuzla sub-province as opposed to neighbouring sub-provinces such as Kartal and Pendik. According the key informants, migrants’ offering cheap labour and contributing to the sub-province’s economy by shopping are factors that help achieve this cohesion.

**Migrant Mobility**

According to mukhtars as well as SASF and SHC representatives, Syrians started to settle in various mahalles of Tuzla in the first years of the war. Nonetheless, they also stated that a migration flow started from the sub-province to other sub-provinces such as Sultanbeyli and Ümraniye as well as Çayırova and Gebze sub-provinces of Kocaeli province due to the larger number of aid activities and more affordable housing they offer. The rise in rental prices the sub-province also created some mobility. It was discovered that migrants move from central mahalles to peripheral mahalles where housing is relatively affordable as well as Orta mahalle in which the Tuzla office of the Red Crescent is located. Another factor that accelerates the mobility in the sub-province is urban transformation. The key informants confirmed that migrants moved from Orhanlı and Mescit mahalles to peripheral mahalles as well as Sultanbeyli sub-province due to the urban transformation projects.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

The total population of Adalar sub-province is 16,119 according to data from TÜİK. According to survey findings, the total migrant population is 941 in the sub-province, which consists of nine islands with five of them (Heybeli, Kınalı, Burgaz, Büyük, and Sedef) being settled land and five mahalles. This shows that the migrant presence accounts for around 5.8 per cent of the population of Adalar sub-province. The number of migrants who work at restaurants, hotels, beaches, shops, and bakeries in Adalar sub-province, which attracts local and foreign tourists particularly in summer season, keeps increasing and these migrants stay at places the employers who hire them as seasonal workers provide.

The migrant population density is not high in the sub-provinces and said population varies depending on the seasons. The migrant population is relatively higher during summer months due to the increased job opportunities and staff requirement of local businesses on account of local and foreign tourist visits. So much so that a 20 per cent increase was observed in this survey compared to the Baseline Assessment conducted in the October–December 2018 period. Especially Maden and Nizam mahalles have relatively high migrant population due to their location in Büyükada, which is the most popular tourist attraction among all islands of the sub-province.

It was found that the largest migrant group in Adalar sub-province is Afghans. The large number of Afghans working for those who conduct horse-drawn carriage business can be explained by the importance of this business in the economy of Adalar sub-province. Being the second largest migrant group in the sub-province, Georgians are employed in hotels during summer months with a growing number. Syrians, Turkmens, and Uzbeks follow Georgians in terms of population size, respectively.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

The survey findings showed that Turkmens and Uzbeks work as dishwashers, kitchen hands, and bakery staff while Syrians are employed as wait staff and hosts/hostesses in restaurants because of the large number of Arab tourists visiting Adalar sub-province.

According to locals who know the sub-province very well, Georgians have been employed at the hotels (a total number of 49 in the sub-province) for a long time, thus having experience in hotel industry, and not many other foreign workers are found at the hotels. Families who reside in high-income sub-provinces of İstanbul such as Nişantaşı and Etiler in winter move to their summer houses in Adalar for summer holiday. Therefore, the number Moldovan migrants who serve these families as live-in domestic workers during summer increase in the sub-province.
According to a key informant who started to conduct carriage business a long time ago, Afghans stay at horse care places and work as grooms rather than carriage drivers. Therefore, they are not seasonal workers but residents in Adalar.

Lastly, according to mukhtars, Armenian migrants serve American and European nationals as domestic workers here.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

It was observed that migrants from the West who settled in Adalar a long time ago are accepted by locals, whereas Uzbek, Turkmen, Syrian, Afghan and Georgian workers who recently came to the sub-province have social cohesion problems with the locals due to social, cultural and economic differences. Although fewer in number than Afghans, Syrians are the second largest migrant community to settle in Adalar. It was observed that this is thanks to the harmony they achieved with the locals. According to the interviews with locals, Syrians attending sports activities such as football tournaments held in the sub-province and working in shops and restaurants that are open in winter prove their harmony as well as settlement. On the other hand, locals of Adalar are worried that the local profile they embraced years ago might change due to the presence of migrants and the small population of locals even though it is still larger than that of migrants. This negatively affects their cohesion and interaction with migrants.

**Migrant Mobility**

According to the mukhtars, migrants who reside in different sub-provinces of Istanbul in winter move to the sub-province in summer to work, thereby creating a migrant mobility in Adalar. While Syrians and Afghans live in Adalar in winter as well, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Georgians, and Moldovans leave Adalar in winter season.

According to the mukhtars, it was understood that Jews, Rums and Armenians who were perceived as natives of Adalar until ten years ago migrated to European countries or Armenia.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 findings, the migrant population in Ataşehir sub-province is 17,189. The migrant population in the sub-province accounts for around 4.1 per cent of total population which is 416,318 according to TÜİK data. The largest migrant community in Ataşehir sub-province is Afghans (4,550), followed by Syrians (3,377), Uzbeks (3,149), and Turkmens (2,380), respectively.

Neighbouring Üsküdar, Ümraniye, Çekmeköy, Sancaktepe, Kadıköy and Maltepe sub-provinces, Ataşehir is a sub-province comprised of 17 mahalles. Made up of mahalles taken from neighbouring sub-provinces in 2008, Ataşehir’s socioeconomic structure in general can be observed in some mahalles that are split into two parts by a road, having slums on one side and residences on the other.

Having business centres, high-protection residences, and slums that went under urban transformation, the sub-province is made fit for people with different income levels to settle. Ataşehir is basically divided into two as the Western Ataşehir (Barbaros, Yeni Sahra, Örnek, Mustafa Kemal, Esatpaşa and Fetih mahalles) that became a satellite town having mostly residential complexes and the Eastern Ataşehir (Atatürk, Küçük Bakkalköy, İçerenköy, İnönü, Kayışdağı, Yeni Çamlıca and Ferhatpaşa mahalles) that has relatively old settlements. The slums and abandoned buildings located in Barbaros, Esatpaşa, Yeni çamlıca, Mevlâna, Ferhatpaşa, Kayışdağı, Yenisahra, Mustafa Kemal and Aşık Veysel mahalles are habitable for Syrian and Afghan migrants, whereas high-income mahalles with newly built residences such as Atatürk, Barbaros and İçerenköy mahalles are liveable for Uzbek, Turkmen and Georgian migrants thanks to domestic caretaker job opportunities. Ferhatpaşa mahalle is the one with the highest migrant population because of the factories and recycling warehouses located there. Afghan and Pakistani migrants, whose populations in Ferhatpaşa, Yeni Çamlıca and Kayışdağı mahalles grew in the recent years, work and stay in factories and recycling warehouses in the region. The population density of migrants in the sub-province varies depending on the mahalle. For instance, while Afghans live particularly in the industrial zone in Ferhatpaşa mahalle, Iranians whose number significantly increased in the recent years reside in Barbaros, Atatürk and Örnek mahalles where Ataşehir’s residences and modern business centres are located in. Pakistanis, whose population also grew in the recent years, look like Afghans with their clothing, culture, and physical appearance and move together with them. Uzbeks and Turkmens first settle in the abandoned Türk-İş building complex located in Yenişehir mahalle and later move to Kayışdağı mahalle when they do better financially.

Ataşehir allows both high- and low-income migrant communities to grow by means of the urban transformation process started there in 2009. In addition to all these, mail carriers in Atatürk mahalle
indicated that the number of east Asian migrants settling in the region increased gradually with SPA and massage centres opened by Thai migrants in particular.

**Migrant Participation in Economic Activities**

According to the mukhtar and shopkeepers, Syrians residing in Mimar Sinan mahalle, which is the smallest one in Ataşehir, live in abandoned buildings and work in furniture industry. And according to the shopkeepers and religious officials in Mevlâna mahalle, Turkmens work as mosque staff as well as bussers, kitchen hands and dishwashers in restaurants and are accepted by the locals as their own. Recycling warehouse owners stated that there are approximately 150 recycling warehouses in the sub-province with around 30 of them being in Ferhatpaşa, 80 in Yenisahra, 10 in Yeni Çamlıca, 20 in Kayişağı and 10 in İçerenköy, and Afghan, Pakistani and Syrian migrants live and work in most of them. Both accessibility (D-100 and TEM roads) and the industrial zone in Ferhatpaşa are determining factors for the locations of recycling warehouses.

It was found that Afghans, Uzbeks and Turkmens who worked in second hand stores and constructions in Kayişağı mahalle started to work at the building sites of new residence projects in Esatpaşa mahalle as well in the recent years.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

According to the interviews conducted with shopkeepers and mukhtars during the fieldwork, there is no significant cohesion problem between locals and migrants because Ataşehir is a new sub-province established in 2008 and various foreign nationals reside there. It was observed that migrants have limited interaction with the locals and prefer to socialize within their community. According to mahalle residents and observations, Necmettin Erbakan Park in Ferhatpaşa mahalle and Deniz Gezmiş Park in Mustafa Kemal mahalle are Afghan migrants’ stamping grounds.

Rather socializing within their community, migrants usually gather together and perform traditional dances and play traditional games in Ferhatpaşa mahalle on weekends to maintain their cultures, according to the mukhtar and shopkeepers.

**Migrant Mobility**

Ferhatpaşa mahalle of Ataşehir is one with relatively large number of factories in the Anatolian side. It was found that the region gradually became a good option for migrants due to increasing job opportunities in factories. It became an important location particularly for new migration flows. Ferhatpaşa mahalle of Ataşehir has the highest number of Afghan migrants in Region 7 after Küçüksu mahalle of Üsküdar. According to a community leader in Ferhatpaşa, Afghan migrants come from the city of Sheberghan and introduce themselves as Uzbeks.
Located in the middle of Maltepe, Ataşehir and Üsküdar sub-provinces, Kadıköy sub-province comprises of 21 mahalles. Its total population is 458,638 according to data from TÜİK. The migrant population in Kadıköy was recorded as 22,566, which makes up 4.9 per cent of the total population. Apart from Dumlupınar, Fikirtepe, Eğitim and Hasanpaşa mahalles, it is a generally high-income sub-province with hardly any slums, being the heart of the Anatolian side in terms of business centres. A prejudice towards migrants was observed in Kadıköy, as it is a relatively old settlement area. This causes high-income Middle Eastern migrants not to prefer Kadıköy. However, it is a preferable sub-province for low-income migrants who have to stay at where they work.

According to mukhtars and shopkeepers, usually Middle Asian migrants meet the cheap labour demand in Kadıköy whose community is made up of mostly elders and high-income individuals. They also stated in the interviews that low-income migrants, who are employed in businesses such as cafes and restaurants for the cheap labour they offer, reside in buildings abandoned due to urban transformation in Dumlupınar, Fikirtepe, Eğitim and Hasanpaşa mahalles. Meanwhile, whereas domestic worker migrants live in their workplaces in mahalles such as Erenköy, Fenerbahçe, Caddeboştan, Suadiye, and Kozyatağı. It was discovered that particularly domestic workers plan to bring their families whom they left in their countries in time. Uzbeks and Turkmens prefer Fikirtepe mahalle the most due to its close proximity to the metrobus line they frequently use as well as the low-cost housing opportunity thanks to abandoned buildings there. They can easily commute to the European side by means of the metrobus line they apparently use frequently.

According to interviews with mukhtars and observations made in the field, high-income Western migrants who work in foreign missions or international companies in İstanbul usually prefer Kadıköy over other sub-provinces of the Anatolian side mainly because they feel more comfortable there in terms of personal freedoms.

Baseline 2 findings show that the five largest migrant groups in Kadıköy are Uzbeks, Turkmens, Afghans, Syrians, and Georgians. The number of employment opportunities in the service industry is a factor in the increase of Uzbek and Turkmen migrant populations. The increase in the Afghan migrant population, on the other hand, is directly related to the increase in recycling warehouses in the sub-province. According to the warehouse owners, many Afghans as well as relatively few Syrians work and live in these warehouses. As for the recent increase in the number of Georgians who are
another large migrant group in the sub-province, there are two reasons. First one is that, as opposed to Uzbeks and Turkmens, they regard Turkey as a transit country to work and save money before moving to European countries which are their ultimate targets, according to a representative from a migration consulting company. And the second one is that high income families in Kadıköy prefer Georgian child caretakers over Uzbeks and Turkmens for they speak better English.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

The main reason why Kadıköy is preferable for low-income migrants is the number of job opportunities there. According to warehouse owners, there are 27 warehouses in Kadıköy with ten being in Fikirtepe mahalle, 12 in Hasanpaşa mahalle and five in Göztepe mahalle where mostly Afghan migrants work and live in. Therefore, the distribution of Afghan population in Kadıköy depends on the number and location of recycling warehouses.

Sex is a determining factor in job preferences of migrants in Kadıköy. According to residential complex guards and mail carriers, Uzbek and Turkmen women work as child and elderly caretakers because they accept to be live-in workers. According to shopkeepers, Uzbek and Turkmen men work as bussers, waiters, and kitchen hands in food businesses located in Rasimpaşa, Osmanpaşa, Eğitim, Fikirtepe, Dumlupınar, Göztepe and Merdivenköy mahalles. It was also observed that they work in cargo companies and restaurants owned by fellow Turkmens and Uzbeks in Rasimpaşa, Fikirtepe, Dumlupınara and Osmanağa mahalles. While Afghans work in recycling and construction, no such specific work fields apply to Syrians. According to interviews with locals, religious officials, and shopkeepers, employers do not consider Syrians competent in terms of work discipline and professionalism. On this account, high-income Syrians start their own businesses and do not prefer to employ other nationals including Turkish citizens. It was observed that migrant presence and ethnic diversity significantly enhance food culture and gastronomy. The number of businesses owned by almost every migrant group offering culturally specific foods dramatically increased in the resent years.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

It was observed that migrants from Turkic republics are more accepted due to cultural similarities and being considered hard workers by employers. It was observed that these people better connected with Turkish families thanks to their caretaker jobs, so much so that many key informants stated that they do not regard people from Turkic republics as ‘migrants’ anymore. Uzbeks and Turkmens became the most preferable domestic workers because Turkish citizens do not want to be live-in workers. Mukhtars of especially mahalles with higher socioeconomic levels emphasized that the mahalle residents who need live-in caretakers or helps prefer Uzbek and Turkmen women. On the other hand, locals show a distant and bigoted attitude towards Syrians and Afghans. Those with higher income among these migrants prefer Üsküdar sub-province, while others with low income do not usually feel welcomed by the locals of Kadıköy. They have hardship finding jobs compared to migrants from Western and Middle Asia, thus becoming beggars or recyclable collectors. According to real estate agents and mahalle residents, Syrians and Afghans have difficulty affording rents as individuals; they therefore often stay in small places as groups, comprising multiple generations, with a number three times more than the actual capacity of the places. Waiting for the weekend to socialize, migrants engage with their own people and hardly interact with the local community.
Migrant Mobility

Kadıköy is not one of the first destinations for migrants arriving in Istanbul due to its socioeconomic structure, high rent prices and relatively distant attitude towards migrants. Migrants can settle in the sub-province by way of starting a job with the reference of their friends and relatives. Therefore, the migrant population in Kadıköy appears to be dynamic. On the other hand, according to the mukhtar and shopkeepers, migrants recently started to leave the sub-province due to the increased number of police raids to arrest unregistered migrants and demolition of abandoned buildings by the municipality. The survey findings showed that there is a movement from the sub-province towards nearby sub-provinces and mahalles with low cost housing (Unalan mahalle of Üsküdar and Yenisahra mahalle of Ataşehir).

According to a representative from a company offering migrants consulting services about residence permits and visa procedures; Georgians, Turkmens and Uzbeks who send money to their families at home started to move from Turkey to Russia and European countries, notably Germany, due to the recent fall of Turkish lira.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to Baseline 2 findings, there are 16,469 migrants living in Üsküdar sub-province. According to TÜİK data, the sub-province has a population of 529,145 and the migrants’ share in the total population is 3.1 per cent. Afghans (5,195) stand out as the migrant group with the strongest presence in Üsküdar sub-province, followed by Syrian (4,008), Uzbek (2,326), and Turkmen (1,499) nationals, respectively.

In different parts of Üsküdar, which is a neighbouring sub-province of Kadıköy, Ümraniye, Ataşehir and Beykoz, there are different demographic structures. Specifically, at the centre of Üsküdar, on the coastline, and in mahalles such as Altunizade and Bağlarbaşı inhabited by long-standing mahalle residents, a self-enclosed attitude is displayed towards foreigners. Mahalles close to the border of Ataşehir and Ümraniye have a more multicultural characteristic due to the relatively low costs of housing. Mahalles such as Yavuztürk and Ferah are generally inhabited by migrants who have lower income levels compared to the centre of Üsküdar.

The main reason why Afghans are the biggest migrant group in Üsküdar is the labour market in Küçüksu mahalle and its dynamic operation for years. It is observed that Afghan nationals coming to İstanbul generally go to Zeytinburnu sub-province first and later they move to this area with the hope of finding a job. Its conservative structure and housing opportunities with cheaper rents make this sub-province preferable for Syrian nationals. It is observed that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals working in domestic services in Kadıköy sub-province are preferred to fulfill the need of cheap labour in Üsküdar. It is revealed that most of Azerbaijani nationals have been living with their families for 8-10 years and therefore they are settled in Üsküdar sub-province.

According to the information received from SASF and various aid organizations, the presence of a number of aid organizations (foundations, CSOs, volunteer houses) in Üsküdar sub-province lead migrants with low incomes to prefer this sub-province. Several foundations and CSOs in the sub-province provide scholarships and dorms for students; and supplies, money, free healthcare services for families and people in need; hence this causes the migrants to prefer residing in Üsküdar. Notably, migrants from African countries coming for religious education stay at the dorms of the mentioned foundations, and this is one of the most important reasons of the multinational composition of Üsküdar.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

In Barbaros, the mahalle with the highest income level in Üsküdar, key informants confirmed that there are Uzbek and Turkmen nationals working in these complexes. In addition, according to the information received from post office employees and
mukhtars, Georgians are preferred as gardeners, while Asians are preferred as chefs and Filipinos as caregivers at villas in Kısıklı, Küçük Çamlıca, Kuleli, Kuzguncuk, Kandilli and Beylerbeyi mahalles. According to the information received from tradesmen, it is observed that Syrian nationals mainly work at textile workshops in Cumhuriyet, Bulgurlu, Yavuztürk and Ferah mahalles. According to the information received from mukhtars and building complex security, in recent years the number of Azerbaijanis and Georgians working in homecare gradually decreased; now this sector has been almost completely taken over by Uzbek and Turkmen nationals. According to the information received from tradesmen and residents, it is discovered that Uzbeks and Turkmens work at restaurants in Mimar Sinan and Ahmediye mahalles and their working area is extended to Salacak coast. According to the interviews with employees of the Harem Bus Terminal, it is learned that there are also Afghan nationals who run errands at the terminal.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

Based on field observations conducted, it is discovered that the conservative structure of Üsküdar sub-province is not convenient for the integration of migrants with local communities. Specifically, in mahalles such as Barbaros, Koşuyolu and Acıbadem, located between Üsküdar and Kadıköy, there are building complexes for various occupational groups (such as Teachers and Press) and high-income groups; thus, migrant presence is not welcomed at these complexes. It is observed that migrants working as caregivers go out to park in the evening hours and socialize among themselves. It is learned from the interviews with the religious officials in Selami Ali, Murat Reis, İcadiye, Cumhuriyet, Bulgurlu mahalles that diversity is welcomed and migrants living in these mahalles join the mosque congregations. During interviews with local residents and tradesmen, it was observed that since Azerbaijani nationals settled in Üsküdar for a long time and have similarities in terms customs and language; they are not described as migrants. In addition to all these, it was observed that in Ferah, Yavuztürk and Ünal mahalles 8-10 migrants were staying in an apartment in order to pay the rent; for this reason house owners increased the rents, and since this increase was reflected on the overall rental value of mahalles, local residents reacted and did not want the migrants to live in their mahalles.

In Üsküdar Küçüksu area (Üsküdar Küçüksu mahalle, Beykoz Yenimahalle, Ümraniye Hekimbaşı mahalle), according to the information delivered by Afghan nationals, a building has become an entertainment centre for migrants, who get together there once a week, and Afghans not only from Küçüksu area but also from sub-provinces such as Zeytinburnu, Ataşehir come to this entertainment centre. It is learned that dance shows and music recitals were hosted at this entertainment centre. It is also observed that Afghan migrants gather socially and retain their cultural traditions.

During the interview with South Turkestan Assistance and Solidarity Association, it is discovered that associations are started to be established in order to enhance the social and cultural integration in the Küçüksu area. It is learned that migrants are informed about Turkey’s cultural and social norms, and various religious and cultural trainings are provided in these associations.

In addition to all these, it was observed that in Ferah, Yavuztürk and Ünal mahalles 8-10 migrants were staying in an apartment in order to pay the rent; for this reason house owners increased the rents, and since this increase was reflected on the overall rental value of mahalles, local residents reacted and did not want the migrants to live in their mahalles.

Information received from a key informant in Üsküdar suggested that non-Syrian migrants, who were claimed to be involved in crime, introduced themselves as Syrians due to the fear of deportation.
Migrant Mobility

Interviews with the mukhtar and shopkeepers of İcadiye mahalle suggested that a few Syrian nationals, who live in Selami Ali, Murat Reis and İcadiye mahalles of Üsküdar and have high-income level, obtained residence permits in the last two years and were moving to European countries. According to the information provided by real estate agents and mukhtars, due to high real estate prices and rents in centre mahalles of Uskudar, migrant density is higher in Ferah, Yavuztürk and Küçüksu mahalles. Küçüksu mahalle is a transit point for Afghan nationals. According to the information received from an Afghan national in Üsküdar Bahçelievler mahalle, due to the increase in rents and decrease in job opportunities, some Afghans left for Kocaeli and Yalova to work in animal husbandry.

During interviews with community leaders, it is discovered that Afghan nationals are in movement in Küçüksu area which is comprised of Yenimahalle (Beykoz), Hekimbaşı (Ümraniye), Bahçelievler (Üsküdar) and Küçüksu (Üsküdar) mahalles. The main reason for this movement is that Afghan migrants head towards other mahalles as a result of the increasing local pressure. According to the information provided by community leaders, this area’s capacity is full, and because of the decrease in the number of houses, it is not a preferred destination for new migration flows anymore. According to the information gathered, it was discovered that since the construction sector were shrinking and urban transformation projects were suspended throughout Istanbul, it became harder to find a job at the labour market in Küçüksu area, and Afghan migrants started to go mainly to Ataşehir and Ferhatpaşa mahalles on the Anatolian side, and also many Afghan nationals were moving to the sub-provinces on the European side. Additionally, migrants who wanted to go to European countries came to this area; thus, it became an assembly centre for irregular migrants.

According to the information received from mukhtars—as urban transformation projects started to be implemented in Kirazlitepe mahalle, along with the demolition of slums and abandoned buildings, migrants living in this area were moving towards Bahçelievler, Mehmet Akif Ersoy and Yavuztürk mahalles.

Based on the interviews with the owners of textile workshops followed by the observations conducted, it was discovered that mainly Syrian nationals worked at textile workshops in Yavuztürk, and due to the increase in rents, these people started to move to the adjacent Kazim Karabekir mahalle in Ümraniye. It is also learned from the collective information from the interviews with tradesmen in Ferah mahalle that as a result of the local pressure, Syrian and Afghan nationals moved first to Yavuztürk; and because of the increase in rents they started to move from Yavuztürk to Kazim Karabekir mahalle.
Beykoz, Çekmeköy, Sarıyer, Şile

Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, the migrants in the province total 15,338, with Afghans representing the majority (5,835), followed by Syrians (4,416), Turkmen (2,277) and Uzbeks (958).

Interviews with mukhtars and tradesmen that the key point in Beykoz is Yeni Mahalle (Üsküdar - Beykoz sub-province border, separated from Küçüksu mahalle by Küçüksu Stream), and this is the centre of Afghan nationals in the Anatolian side. It was noted that the first, most crowded and safest assembly point for Afghan nationals is Küçüksu. It was stated during interviews with Afghan tradesmen that young Afghan men were thinking of leaving Afghanistan with either the worry of safety or the aim finding a job and sending money to their hometown, and Turkey was their first preferred country. It was noted that their reasons for coming to Turkey were religious similarities with the local community, Turkey's being 'the last castle of oppressed nations' as expressed by the Afghans and the opportunity to fulfill their basic needs easily throughout Turkey.

During the fieldwork, it was discovered that in Beykoz the density of the migrant population is higher in specific mahalles and these are Acarlar, Yenimahalle and Tokatköy. It was observed that foreign nationals working at non-live-in jobs in Acarlar mahalle, which is comprised of luxury building complexes, prefer living in Soğuksu, İncirköy and Çiğdem mahalles due to easier transportation to Acarlar. These mahalles are the places where a large number of Syrian nationals live since they are in the centre of transportation networks, thus the transportation is relatively easy. During interviews with SASF personnel, it was mentioned that Afghan nationals in Beykoz are mainly comprised of single men, and they are mainly living in groups of 10-15 in bachelor houses. It was stated that as of 2012 when foreign nationals came to their mahalle, the local community in Tokatköy transformed their coal sheds, barns, garages into rooms and rented them especially to Syrian nationals.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

During interviews with building complex managers, they noted that in Acarlar Uzbek and Turkmen nationals worked live-in; and Georgian and Kazakhstani nationals worked by obtaining a work permit in this mahalle.

During interviews with sub-province police, they stated that Afghan nationals were working informally as marble-cutters, stone-cutters and construction workers in heavy-labour jobs. It was also learned that Afghan nationals were taken for daily jobs in the morning hours from the labour market, which was comprised of foreign nationals, situated along the Küçüksu Stream.

It was observed that Syrian nationals were working at car washes, cafés, restaurants and bakeries in Tokatköy.
Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

During interviews, the founder of the South Turkestan Educational, Cultural and Solidarity Association and mukhtars stated that the young men coming from Afghanistan to Istanbul for the first time were given information on social etiquette, common courtesy and personal hygiene in order to avoid hardship during their social integration process and prevent problems with the local community.

During interviews with SASF and SSC personnel, it was noted that recently, local community is not comfortable with Syrian nationals. It was stated that the locals in the sub-province held migrants, especially Syrian nationals, responsible for the increase in rent.

Migrant Mobility

During interviews, mukhtars and tradesmen informed that there was internal migration from Küçüksu and Yenimahalle to certain mahalles of Kadıköy (Fikirtepe) and Üsküdar (Çengelköy). It was stated that these people left Küçüksu with internal migration; however migrant density increased due to the new arrivals from Afghanistan.

Same informants noted that newcomers from Afghanistan to Turkey started to settle into Sangazi mahalle in Sancaktepe sub-province. It was also mentioned that previously newcomers from Afghanistan settled in Zeytinburnu (European side) sub-province and Küçüksu (Asian side) mahalle; however, they recently started to settle in Sangazi mahalle.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, the migrants total 5,257 in the sub-province, with Syrians representing the majority (3,067), followed by Afghans (687), Uzbeks (656), and Turkmens (632).

During interviews held with SASF, the personnel stated that the increase in the settlement structure led foreign nationals to come to Çekmeköy sub-province with either local or economic reasons. Although migrant density is not high throughout the sub-province, there is migrant presence in all mahalles; notably Merkez, Aydınlar and Çamlık. It was noted that Merkez, Mimar Sinan, Çamlık, Hamidiye and Mehmet Akif mahalles are in the centre of the sub-province; and settlement and development increased in parallel with the increase in population. It was mentioned that migrants prefer these mahalles since they are adjacent to Sancaktepe and Ümraniye mahalles, and transportation and rent for new buildings are cheap. Sırapınar and Hüseyinli mahalles have the lowest migrant presence, because they are composed of forests and rural areas.

During interviews with mukhtars and post office employees, they stated that there are no empty spaces left in centre mahalles anymore, new residences emerged in mahalles where there is an ongoing urban transformation and also in the mahalles near the Northern Motorway, therefore they expect an increase in migrant presence in the future in these areas. On the other hand, they noted that they did not expect an increase in the population of village mahalles considering their structure and the economic activities in Çekmeköy sub-province.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

During interviews with mukhtars and personnel of SSC, they expressed that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals, who work in service sector in centre mahalles and are skilled in all kinds of labour, both work and live in village mahalles of Çekmeköy at horse farms, poultry processing facilities and textile workshops. There is a large number of enterprises on Şahinbey Street (Çamlık mahalle) and Turgut Özal Boulevard (Taşdelen mahalle). It was noted that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals, who can join the workforce in all kinds of enterprises, live densely in this area. It was also learned that Turkmen women work in domestic services at building complexes.

It is observed that Afghan and Syrian nationals both work and live at textile workshops and construction sites and collect discarded paper in Çekmeköy.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

Although Afghan nationals working informally reportedly caused legal and administrative troubles, the host community showed tolerance that they did not show towards Syrian nationals.
During interviews, the mukhtars stated that Turkmen and Uzbek nationals, who are protected and regarded as ‘one of us’ by the local community because of their ethnic identity, are not considered as the reason or the result of any adversity.

**Migrant Mobility**

During interviews with mukhtars, it was observed that the migration flow coming to the village mahalles of the sub-province was from the centre mahalles. Foreign nationals who could find permanent jobs in Sultanbeyli, Ümraniye, Sancaktepe sub-provinces had the tendency of moving to these sub-provinces.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, there are 11,307 migrants in the sub-province, comprised of Syrians (2,771), Turkmens (2,206), Uzbeks (1,883) and Afghans (494), respectively.

During interviews with local informants, it was stated that both general and migrant populations are below the average of İstanbul province. It was expressed that population and residential areas increased towards the south, the centre of the sub-province. Thus, the migrant presence in the sub-province is dense in certain mahalles (Zekeriyaköy, Yenimahalle, Derbent and Demirciköy). In Derbent mahalle, there are a large number of stores owned by Syrian nationals in the sub-province and migrants do not experience problems in accessing healthcare services.

During interviews with post office employees and building complex managers, it was stated that there are a large number of migrants working live-in as patient, child caregivers and domestic workers in Zekeriyaköy; as well as a large number of migrants working as administrators who have high social and economic welfare. It was noted that these migrants do not have a work or social environment that require them to go out of the building complexes, and there is at least one migrant working at almost each of the houses in the complexes. Similarly in Demirciköy mahalle, the building complexes formerly used as summer residences, have recently become year-round homes, and therefore there are live-in migrants employed as domestic workers.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

During interviews with local informants, they expressed that Syrian nationals are employed at different lines of work. It was noted that Afghan nationals generally work as construction workers, ironsmiths and paper collectors; Syrian nationals work as auto mechanics as well as own barbershops and grocery stores or become restaurateurs.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

During interviews with mukhtars, they stated that Syrian nationals bother the local community with their lack of family planning. It was also noted that as vaccines for newborns are provided free of charge, and each year 50-100 babies of Syrian families come to benefit from this free healthcare service, sometimes no vaccines are left for the babies of the local community; the community is thus uncomfortable with this situation. Local tradesmen are uncomfortable with the fact that Syrian nationals do not pay taxes for the stores they own.

Migrant Mobility

During interviews, SASF and SSC personnel expressed that foreign nationals are settled, as half of them have regular jobs at industrial sites and the other half work...
as tradesmen. However, it was noted that newcomers tend to move to a different sub-province in 3-4 months. It was also mentioned that daily mobility is high in the sub-province as there are four universities, comprehensive hospitals and skyscrapers.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, the migrant presence totals 863 individuals in the sub-province, with Syrians representing the majority (444), followed by Afghans (188), Turkmens (111) and Uzbeks (101), respectively.

Şile has the largest number of mahalles and is the third largest sub-province in Istanbul in terms of its size. Despite this, 30 of its 62 mahalles do not have migrant presence. Şile has the second lowest general population in Istanbul province; in parallel has the lowest migrant presence. 79 per cent of the sub-province is covered by forests and this limits the availability of settlement areas. Based on the fieldwork, Ağva-Bucak and Balibey are the mahalles with the highest migrant presence.

During interviews with Şile SSC personnel, it was expressed that families of Syrian students residing in Şile receive aid within the scope of ‘Child Education and Poverty Allowance.’ During interviews with the family health centre, a small number of informal migrants are admitted, examined and treated as ‘stateless.’ During interviews with pharmacies, pharmacies noted that they accept the prescriptions given to Syrian nationals, and some do not.

During interviews with mukhtars, it was learned that some of Afghan nationals in Şile are living with their families. It is expressed that Uzbek and Turkmen nationals are living crowdedly together in houses or buildings that they rent.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

During interviews with SASF personnel, it was learned that there are two main economic activities in Şile. The first is agriculture and animal husbandry continuing all year long, and the second is restaurant and hotel enterprises based on the increase in marine tourism during summer season. Almost all enterprises employ Uzbek and Turkmen nationals.

There are mahalles comprised of villages, thus having very low population. The community in these mahalles earns their livelihood by irrigating and harvesting crops in gardens in agriculture sector; and poultry keeping and shepherding bovine and ovine cattle in animal husbandry sector. During interviews with the locals, it was learned that in the villages of the sub-province, it is much more favourable to employ Afghan, Uzbek and Turkmen nationals because of their predisposition towards working in agriculture sector and their current experiences in animal husbandry. During interviews, rural mahalle mukhtars expressed that they want migrants to stay in their mahalles since they are useful for agriculture and animal husbandry. In addition, it was discovered that restaurant owners, who can employ more employees for less money, are also pleased with the migrants.
Police officers stated that there is a large factory that is considered as an industry site in Çayırbası mahalle and there are migrants employed there, even though they are few in number.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

It is observed that Afghan, Uzbek, Turkmen and Syrian nationals embraced Şile sub-province more easily compared to Istanbul’s centre sub-provinces owing to Şile’s low population density and absence of high-rise buildings; thus, migrants adapted to social life in Şile more quickly. It was discovered that local community is pleased since foreign nationals fulfil their workforce needs.

**Migrant Mobility**

During interviews with mukhtars, it was stated that single Afghan men in Şile came from near sub-provinces of Çekmeköy and Beykoz (Yenimahalle–Üsküdar Küçüksu). It is expressed that there is little migrant mobility from centre to the villages of the sub-province as the life in villages is much cheaper or less expensive.
REGION 9
Sancaktepe, Sultanbeyli, Ümraniye

SANCaktepe SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, the migrant presence in the sub-province totals 19,219 and represented by Syrians (16,445), followed by Afghans (885), Turkmens (764) and Iraqis (390).

Sancaktepe is a young sub-province (established in 2008) and has quickly become one of the attractive areas on the Anatolian side of Istanbul; thus, its population showed an above average increase compared to other areas in Istanbul. Migrant presence also contributed to this increase. Sancaktepe sub-province is comprised of 19 mahalles whose migrant presences are different. During interviews with key informants, it was stated that migrant presence is dense in Osmangazi, Veyesel Karani and Akpinar mahalles. It was noted that the presence of Syrian nationals is also high in these mahalles. What the aforementioned mahalles have in common is their proximity to Sultanbeyli sub-province. It was learned that Syrian nationals easily shopped from markets owned by Syrians in Sultanbeyli sub-province and reside in this area because of the religious-cultural similarities with the local community.

There is Syrian presence in Sarıgazi, Meclis and Kemal Türkler mahalles because of the political agreement with the local community. According to the fieldwork, Syrian population constitutes 86 per cent of the total migrant presence. During interviews with pharmacists, it was learned that the migrant healthcare centre located in İnönü mahalle is not preferred anymore, migrants would rather go to public hospitals since they learned Turkish.

During interviews with key informants, it was stated that the population of Afghan nationals is dense in Meclis mahalle, their population is increasing, and they prefer this sub-province because of the social network previously created by their relatives and friends. It was also learned that there are houses which are comprised of three or four-storey old buildings, reserved for Afghan nationals; and owners of these houses are charging rent per person. It was noted that in Paşaköy mahalle, which is away from the sub-province centre and has agricultural lands; Afghan, Turkmen and Uzbek migrants working at horse farms were reported to authorities and were discharged because they did not have work permits; and because of this reason there is no migrant presence in this mahalle anymore.

During fieldwork conducted, it was found that since job opportunities are limited, available resources are utilized by Uzbek and Turkmen women, and the rent prices have risen due to the increasing presence of building complexes in Yenidoğan, Kemal Türkler, Abdurrahmangazi mahalles; Syrian population decreased. It was also observed that Turkmen, Afghan, Iraqi and Iranian nationals live in these mahalles, even though their numbers are few. It was observed that Afghans are largely comprised of males and live in crowded houses whereas Turkmen nationals are comprised of mainly women, some of whom live together with their families.

| Population : 414,143 |
| Area km² : 62.4 |
| Mahalle/Village : 19 |

Map 31. Sancaktepe Sub-province Map and Location in Istanbul
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was found that Yecva (Yunus Emre Mosque Foundation), Beşir, Boğaziçi and SASF, SSC, and muftiaye provide financial aids and aids in kind for the welfare of migrants, thus there are a great number of migrants who make their living from these aids.

Fieldwork revealed that limited job opportunities led migrants to go to Sultanbeyli and Ümraniye sub-provinces to work. There are small markets, phone shops, restaurants and stores in Atatürk mahalle where enterprises of Syrian nationals are densely present. During interviews with mukhtars and tradesmen, it was stated that Syrian men are much more active in the work field compared to women; only men interact with the local community and do not want their women to work.

During interviews with building complex managers in the sub-province, it was expressed that Turkmen nationals work at domestic services (care services for patients, elders, children, pets, and house cleaning) in Abdurrahmangazi and Emek mahalles. It was observed that Afghan nationals work as waiters at restaurants, and work at construction works, paper warehouses and recycling industry.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

During interviews, local informants stated that Boğaziçi Foundation Food Bank in Eyüp Sultan mahalle provide aid to needy families and also assistance for their daily tasks. It was noted that besides the host community, Syrian families also receive support from the foundation. It is observed that Sancaktepe Municipality Meal Centres and Stores of Love also provide aids and such aid activities enhance the harmony between the two sides.

During interviews, tradesmen stated that local community employs Syrian nationals as cheap labour at their enterprises, and this accelerates the harmonization process. They also expressed that Syrian nationals do not want social security in order to keep receiving aids.

Local community residing especially in Meclis, Atatürk and Hilal mahalles feel uncomfortable with the presence of Afghan men, even though they did not get involved with any trouble. It is observed that Turkmen nationals do not experience any problems in their mahalles because of their calm and hardworking nature.

Migrant Mobility

During interviews, key informants stated that Sancaktepe sub-province recently receive migrants from neighbour sub-provinces such as Kartal, Pendik, Sultanbeyli, Ümraniye, Ataşehir. The mobility of Afghan nationals in the sub-province is visible, as they move from Ümraniye Hekimbaşı, Beykoz Yenimahalle and Üsküdar Küçüksu mahalles to Sancaktepe sub-province, because of the pre-established and existing social network and cheap rent prices.

During interviews with mukhtars and tradesmen of İnönü, Sarıgazi, Emek mahalles, it was mentioned that Afghan, Turkmen but mostly Syrian nationals gather at Demokrasi Street, which is located in the intersection of these mahalles, and are taken from there to be employed by persons or corporations. It was mentioned that Demokrasi Street is also the meeting point for Afghan and Syrian nationals who have the intention of fleeing abroad. According to the statements, foreign nationals are taken to Tekirdağ and Edirne with vehicles and smuggled abroad via sea.

During interviews with the mukhtar and tradesmen of Meclis mahalle, it was expressed that as of early 2019 Afghan men started to come to the mahalle and their presence has increased gradually. It was learned that the reason for the increase in the migrant population in the sub-province is the illegal migrants coming directly from Afghanistan; and in addition to that Afghan nationals residing in Ümraniye Hekimbaşı mahalle were sent to Meclis mahalle by the local community because of their bad attitudes.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, the migrant presence in the sub-province totals 31,924 individuals. Syrians form the largest group (30,200), followed by Afghans (590), Iraqis (220) and Pakistanis (180), respectively. Syrian nationals came to the sub-province in or before 2015.

The fieldwork revealed that although its surface area is small, all mahalles 15 of Sultanbeyli sub-province have migrant presence and there are 37 different nationalities living in the sub-province. Sultanbeyli is the sub-province with the highest migrant presence among the sub-provinces in the Anatolian side; it is observed that the migrant mobility towards the sub-province still continues.

During interviews, mukhtars and tradesmen stated that there are Syrian presence in all mahalles of the sub-province notably in Mehmet Akif, Fatih, Hamidiye and Battalgazi. It is observed that migrants prefer these mahalles because in Fatih mahalle the Red Crescent Community Centre provides migrants Turkish language education and various trainings free of charge, and also in Battalgazi mahalle International Blue Crescent Relief Foundation (IBC) provides various trainings and support to migrants. Moreover, Mimar Sinan Culture and Education Foundation Meal Centre provides migrants three meals per day in the same mahalle.

Syrian nationals prefer this sub-province because of the social network established by their relatives or friends who came there before; the acceptance and embracement by the local community; affordable prices and the extensive aid activities in the sub-province. Moreover, it was noted that Syrian nationals live in crowded families comfortably socially and financially thanks to the religious similarities with the host community, and the aids provided by associations and foundations in the sub-province.

During interviews with key informants, it was expressed that Adil mahalle has the lowest Syrian presence in the sub-province because of the relatively high rents and dense luxury residency complexes as the host community has a high economic level.

Besides Syrian nationals, other national groups recorded in the sub-province are Afghans, Iraqis and Chinese Uyghur Turks. During interviews with local informants, they stated that owing to the community network established by Chinese Uyghur Turks in Adil mahalle, their population has increased gradually and therefore they founded Uyghur Health, Education and Assistance Association.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Syrian nationals operate bakeries, jewellery stores, phone shops, markets and restaurants especially in Mehmet Akif mahalle, and butchers and second-hand stores in Battalgazi mahalle in Sultanbeyli sub-province. In fact, it is observed that Syrian nationals call the Ziya Ül hak Street in Mehmet Akif mahalle as ‘Aleppo Street’ because of the large number of these enterprises.
During interviews with mukhtars and local informants, they stated that Syrian men work at jobs based on physical strength (construction worker, waiter etc.) and women worked at textile workshops. It was noted that there is an increase in the number of enterprises (small markets, barbers and hairdressers, jewellery stores etc.) owned by Syrian nationals in the sub-province.

It is discovered that the second largest migrant group following Syrian nationals is Afghan nationals in the sub-province, and they work in paper collection; and Pakistani nationals worked at casting and metal forging companies, construction and building material manufacturers without social rights and below the minimum wage.

Lastly it is observed that the Turkmen and Uzbek presence in the sub-province is mostly comprised of women and they work at the textile workshops in Yavuz Selim mahalle.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

During interviews, local informants expressed that in Sultanbeyli sub-province, the project of ÇOGEM (Child and Youth Centre) is conducted by the Refugees Association in order for the children under Temporary Protection (TP) status to adjust to the Turkish education system and resume their education; and also in order to enhance the social harmony among the two communities. It was noted that Syrian nationals are offered Turkish courses by Turkish Red Crescent, IBC Foundation, Public Training Centre and the sub-province municipality within the scope of this project in order to strengthen cohesion in the sub-province. It is observed that local community is gathered together with Syrian migrants in the sub-province during various social events (sightseeing tours, events for introducing culture-specific cuisine) organized with the support of the aid organizations. It is revealed that such events contribute to bonding friendships between school-age adolescents and young migrants who are learning Turkish; and to enhancing cohesion among these two cultures.

During interviews with mukhtars and tradesmen, it was stated that local community reacted against Syrian migrants for shopping from the stores that are not owned by Syrians and this reaction had a negative effect on the social harmonization process. Moreover, it was noted that the local community is having difficulty in finding houses to rent due to the increase in the migrant population.

Migrant Mobility

Sultanbeyli is preferred by Syrian nationals due to its socioeconomic and cultural structure. The fieldwork conducted revealed that there is migrant mobility in the sub-province among its mahalles and also it receives migrants from sub-provinces such as Tuzla, Pendik and Sancaktepe.

It was observed that Afghan nationals residing in the sub-province came from Ümraniye Hekimbaşı, Üsküdar Küçüksu and Beykoz Yenimahalle mahalles.

Based on the previous fieldwork in Battalgazi mahalle, a decrease was revealed in Tajikistani migrant presence. During interviews with tradesmen, the reason for this decrease was expressed as that the employers at AYTOP food industry site, now prefer Turkish-speaking Syrians for food processing and packaging jobs previously given to Tajikistani nationals. Unemployed Tajikistani nationals moved to Pendik sub-province.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 data, there are a total of 26,652 migrants present in Ümraniye sub-province. Syrians represent the majority (19,211), followed by Afghans (2,784), Turkmens (2,590) and Uzbeks (1,286). Also, under the light of the very same data, it is identified that 34 different nationalities live in the sub-province.

During interviews, the key informants revealed that in İnkılap, Kazım Karabekir and Topağacı mahalles the presence of migrants with Syrian nationality is dense. They state that since these are bordering mahalles, people living here are from the low-income group and there are already people from Syria are living here, they prefer these mahalles. At the same time, they provide the information that the people with Syrian nationality live in nuclear families.

Due to the gentrification in the sub-province, Atakent, Armağanevler, Çamlık and Çakmak mahalles transformed into housing estates and the rents have gone higher and that the locals are from high income groups, the presence of migrants is identified to be low. Also, it is observed that especially women of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan nationalities work in these housing estates forming a population in these mahalles.

Key informants interviewed stated that the migrants prefer the sub-province due to the high job opportunity in the mahalles with housing estates in the sub-province for Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Afghan nationalities, especially since the women of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan nationalities can work in domestic work and homecare for the sick/elderly, whereas the men of these nationalities can work as waiters in restaurants, and due to the low rent of Altınşehir, Adem Yavuz, Aşağı Dudullu mahalles, they desire to reside in this sub-province. The key informants stated that the people of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan nationalities receive their salaries either in United States Dollar (USD) or they convert it to USD to send to their countries. That is why they move from job to job depending on the exchange rate or quit their jobs.

Hekimbaşı mahalle bordering Beykoz Yenimahalle and with the highest migrant presence of Afghan nationality prefer the mahalle since it is close to worker market and the established social cohesion of migrants with locals.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It is observed that foreign nationals have the tendency to continue their occupational habits in their origin countries in the sub-province. During interviews, key informants stated that people of Syrian origin manage restaurants in İnkılap and Namık Kemal mahalles and only employ people of their nationalities and in addition, they shop from the businesses owned by Syrian migrants, and that in the mahalles with high presence of migrants from their country, the number of such businesses is quite high. Especially in Finanskent, Şerfali and Yenişehir mahalles with gentrification, they work as construction Works. These key informants...
provide the information that the occupation branches of the migrants residing in Ümraniye sub-province exhibit similarities with that of neighbouring sub-provinces (Sultanbeyli and Sancaktepe).

During interviews with mukhtars and tradespeople, they stated that people of Afghan nationality work at Cemil Meriç, İstiklal and Şerifali mahalles in paper collection and recycling warehouses; that the presence of Turkmenistan nationals is comprised mainly of women who work at house services (care of pets and elderly) in Parseller, Yukarı Dudullu and Saray mahalles; and that since women of Uzbekistan origin know foreign languages, they are commonly preferred for the care of children.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

According to the host community, there are problems in social cohesion in mahalles of İnkılap, Altınşehir and Topağacı where there is high presence of Syrian nationals, and social cohesion has been realized in Tantavi, Çamlık and Saray mahalles where their presence is low. Host community has a low socio-economic level, they are biased towards the aids provided to Syrian nationals, Syrian nationals insist on practicing/keeping alive their culture and so they form groups in mahalles and that this grouping has reached a dangerous level, and due to these there are problems in social cohesion. Again, a perception has formed that since the migrants of Syria nationality utilize employment opportunities and directly integrated to the labour market, the unemployment rates of local population have increased. There are incoherencies observed between the cultures of the hosting and guest communities (marriages at an early age, denominational differences etc.).

Migrant Mobility

In the interviews, mahalle mukhtars stated that the presence of Afghan nationals has been increasing in Hekimbaşi mahalle of Umranıye sub-province and that they illegally gamble and act as loan sharks and as such they constantly change places. Migrants of Afghan nationality who deal with illegal business have been removed from the mahalle, yet their places were filled with migrants coming from Beykoz and Usküdar. Also, they provide information that people are mobilizing not just to Hekimbaşi mahalle in the sub-province, but also to Altınşehir, Adem Yavuz and Kazım Karabekir mahalles as well. It is stated that after leaving Afghanistan, Afghan migrants first come to Van, and from Van, they move to Hekimbaşi mahalle in Umranıye, Yenimahalle mahalle in Beykoz and Küçüksu mahalle in Usküdar.

In the interviews, the key informants state that Syrian nationals move to the sub-province from Sultanbeyli and Sancaktepe sub-provinces, and also, albeit in small numbers, from Hatay, Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep provinces. Due to the construction work increasing with the gentrification of the Finanskent mahalle, the visibility of mobility of foreign nationals increase significantly during day time in the mahalle. However, it is identified that the Syrian and Afghan nationals coming to work here reside in other mahalles.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the Baseline 2 findings, there are 107,055 migrants living in Bağcılar sub-province and 79,305 of them are Syrians. Respectively, Georgians (4,408), Afghans (4,362) and Azerbaijani (3,629) comprise the presence in the sub-province. Again, under the light of the same findings, the sub-province hosts 29 different nationalities and following Esenyurt, Fatih and Başakşehir, it is the third sub-province that shelters the most foreign nationals.

This sub-province with dense both general population and migrant population neighbours Başakşehir and Esenler sub-provinces with more than provincial average migrant presence. Despite the intense migrant presence in all mahalles of sub-province, due to the limited residential area of Bağlar mahalle, presence is relatively low. In the interviews with mahalle mukhtars and tradespeople, they have stated that the presence of Syrians are intense in all mahalles of the sub-province, primarily 15 Temmuz, Demirkapı and Hürriyet mahalles, and the general population have increased great many with the coming of these people to these mahalles. It is stated that since the number of residences is high and the rents are cheap, they prefer these mahalles. At the same time, it is identified that the majority of Syrians have come to the sub-province in 2015 and previous years.

The fieldwork identified people of Georgia, Afghan and Azerbaijan nationality live intensely at Hürriyet mahalle. The key informant of Georgian nationality states that most of the people of Georgian nationality are of Azerbaijan origin, but in fact, the nationals of Georgia. Again, the same informant state that the people of Georgian nationality come from the Gori, Tsalka and Marneuli cities of Georgie and reside at 15 Temmuz, Güneşli and Hürriyet mahalles to exit from the Sarp Border Gate two days prior to the end of their visa term and shortly after, enter back to Turkey and return to the mahalles they live.

It was observed that the mahalles of 15 Temmuz, Demirkapı and Hürriyet preferred by the migrants of low income and religious conservatism; however, there is great solidarity among the residents in the mahalle. According to the statement of the mahalle mukhtars, in the sheltered housing estates at the border of Göztepe and Güneşli mahalles (Batışehir, Atakent and Bakırkent), people of Iran, Iraq and Libya nationals with high economic level live.

In the interviews with mukhtars and real estate agents, they stated that there are illegal hostels for workers at 15 Temmuz, İnönü, Kemalpaşa, Kirazlı, Yavuz Selim and Yıldıztepe mahalles. According to their statement, some of these businesses are comprised of rented flats turned to wards in order to form a living space for at least 250 migrants, and some are basement floors turned to wards to form a living space for approximately 70 migrants. It was stated that Afghans and Pakistanis prefered these places.
Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

Foreign nationals work in the leading sector of the sub-province, textile (weaving, clothing, leather) and shoemaking sector. Especially, during interviews in 100. Yıl, 15 Temmuz, Çınar, Demirkapı and Fatih mahalles, it is stated that many foreign nationals from different nationalities are employed in these mahalles. Especially the mukhtar of Çınar Mahalle stated that Syrians are not just workers, but also employers in textile sector, and again in this mahalle, the number of businesses run by foreigners is quite high. In Çınar, 15 Temmuz and Kirazlı mahalles, the people of Syria nationality were observed to run many businesses such as butcher shops, barber shops, dried fruits and nuts shops, second-hand shops, bijouterie and jewelleries, phone sellers and businesses like groceries and restaurants. In the interviews, tradespeople and mukhtars state that in Göztepe mahalle, the presence of Turkmens of Syrian nationality is very high, and they generally work as shoemakers.

During interviews, mukhtars and tradespeople stated that throughout the sub-province, people from Georgia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan work in textile sector and in-house services (house cleaning and patient care etc.), and work as salesclerks, waiters and construction workers. Again, the same sources claim that in the workplace called “Özbekistan Tatları” in Merkez mahalle opened by people from Uzbekistan, many Uzbeks work in shifts and they own foreign travel ticket sales and consultancy offices at Bağcılar road in the same mahalle. In the service sector, commonly people of Georgia and Azerbaijan nationalities are employed since they know Turkey dialect of Turkish.

İSTOÇ Trade Centre in the Mahmutbey mahalle of the sub-province creates large employment opportunities for foreign nationals. The tradespeople of İSTOÇ Trade Centre stated that foreign nationals worked there in food, rubber, paper, printing and transportation sectors, other than textile and shoemaking. Especially people from Afghanistan and Uzbekistan work in transportation and as salesclerks.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

During interviews with mahalle mukhtars of the sub-province, they noted that the increase in the presence of migrants swelled. They expressed their concern that even if there are no new migration waves, the population of Syrian nationals shall continue naturally and transform all authentic values of each mahalle of the sub-province. During interviews, the local informants noted that relations with the host community are not a positive. They noted that similarity in religion is not reflected in the manner of living. Also, it is observed that since the migrants from Syria desire to keep their cultural values alive, locals are disturbed by it. During interviews with the mahalle residents, the majority of residents complained about the smell of spice and oil, used especially in the migrants’ restaurants.

In the interviews with the real estate agents and textile workshop owner, it was stated that the foreigners who live with their families throughout the district have less difficulties with integration and are better accepted by the sub-province residents. There is unease regarding single men and women living collectively in houses due to suspicions of prostitution.

In the interviews, mukhtars and tradespeople stated there is tension and fights between the locals and people of foreign nationalities in Çınar, Göztepe and İnönü mahalles. Our interviews with real estate agents reveal that the property owners in Çınar, Merkez and Sancaktepe mahalles do not rent their emptied-out flats previously rented by migrants to other migrants, and the places currently for rent are warehouses and shops.

In the interviews with tradespeople of Kazımkarakbekir and Barbaros mahalles, they claimed that the people of Georgian nationality meddle with harassment and thievery, and other acts that disturb
the locals. There were no complaints throughout the sub-province regarding Azerbaijani nationals.

Migrant Mobility

In the interviews with real estate agents and Syrian tradespeople, it was stated that the Syrians came to Turkey from Damascus and Aleppo cities of Syria. They stated that Bağcılar sub-province is the first arrival point due to the citizenship and relative relations, and once the city is conceived and a job is found, they later move to the mahalle or sub-province closest to their workplaces. In interviews with the Turkish Red Crescent staff, they provided the information that Syrians registered at Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep cities come to Bağcılar sub-province through the migrant networks.

The mukhtar of 100. Yıl mahalle state that Syrians tend to move to Oruçreis, Turgut Reis and Airport mahalles of Esenler sub-province since it is close to their workplaces and the residence rents are more affordable. Again, in the interview, the Deputy Mayor of Bağcılar Municipality stated that Syrians move to Başakşehir sub-province once they have the means to do so. At the same time, changes in their line of work or if a cheaper residence can be found people of foreign nationals frequently move to different mahalles, and that municipality and local authorities are challenged by tracking this mobility.
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ESENLER SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the findings of Baseline 2, there are 76,228 migrants living in the Esenler sub-province, and among those 58,342 are Syrians. The rest of the presence in sub-province is comprised respectively of Pakistanis (6,017), Afghans (5,500) and Uzbeks (1,554). Again, under the light of same findings, the sub-province hosts 35 different nationalities.

With respect to the socio-economic status, lower and middle-low income level group live in the Esenler sub-province and the sub-province is neighbour to sub-provinces with high migrant presence such as Başakşehir and Sultangazi. There is migrant presence in all 16 mahalles of the sub-province. Due to the limited residence areas, Çiftehavuzlar and Yavuz Selim mahalles have the lowest presence of migrants in the sub-province. In the interviews with the local key informants, it is stated that Syrians live in Fatih, Oruç Reis and Tuna mahalles, whereas people of Pakistani and Afghan nationalities live in Oruç Reis and Turget Reis mahalles. Since these mahalles are close to where Bağcılar, Gümüşre, Zeytinburnu; Sultangazi and Bayrampaşa sub-provinces intersect, Esenler is preferred by the foreign nationals since the sub-province provides great ease in that they can reside in Esenler to work at neighbouring sub-provinces.

In the interviews with the sub-province mukhtars and tradespeople, the vast employment areas offered by the sub-province allows not only Syrian nationals, but also people from different nationals work in the sub-province, and this is a key factor in their settlement to the Esenler. The mukhtar of Yavuz Selim mahalle in the interview stated that since 15 Temmuz Demokrasi Terminal is at proximity to the mahalle, this mahalle offers temporary shelters to many Afghanistan and Pakistan nationals. The presence of Bangladeshi nationals in Esenler sub-province at Fatih, Menderes and Tuna mahalles is explained by their strong migrant networks.

Map 35. Esenler Sub-province Map and Location in Istanbul

| Population | 444,561 |
| Area km² | 52.3 |
| Mahalle/Village | 16 |

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

When the sectors that foreign nationals work in Esenler sub-province is examined, textile production comes to the forefront. During interviews with the locals, they state that the number of unregistered textile workshops have increased. These unregistered businesses are the source of livelihood for migrants, especially for those of Syrian nationality. Primarily in the Fatih, Tuna and Oruç Reis mahalles, they work as workers in textile workshops majority of which are formed by people of Syrian nationality and some by people of other nationalities. It is observed that many textile workshops established throughout the sub-province hang job posts in Arab to find workers of foreign nationality.

In the interviews with the tradespeople of Syrian nationality, it is stated that the on Fatih Road at the junction of Çinar mahalle of Bağcılar sub-province and Fatih mahalle of Esenler sub-province and at Istanbul Road at the junction of Yavuz Selim and Mimar Sinan mahalle, people of Syrian nationality own groceries and restaurants, have dried fruit and nuts shops, phone shops and jewelery shops, and these roads are referred amongst people of Syrian nationality as “Syrian Road”. Other than textile,
they work in construction, manufacturing, plumbing, automobile repair and as barbers.

In the interviews with locals, they state that following the stabbing incident that happened at the Istanbul fruit and vegetable market perpetrated by persons of Syrian nationality, they were replaced of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan nationality. The people of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are casually employed in construction and cleaning, and some work as porters at İSTOÇ Trade Centre.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

In the mahalles of the sub-province with similar socioeconomic characters, there is social cohesion observed between the guest community and host community. It is identified that especially the production relations in textile sector play a role that enhances social cohesion between foreigners and locals. In the interviews, tradespeople stated that foreign nationals provided cheap labour force for business owners and they were thus among the more preferred employees.

Syrian tradespeople stated that the greatest cause of the response by the locals is the youth of Syrian nationality. These young people suffer a culture shock when they came to Turkey at a small age, could not integrate and as youth they became thieves and used drugs and harass women.

In the interviews with the locals, they stated that despite Syrians receive aids from the state, the Turkish citizens are neglected, and that is why Syrians must now leave the country. It is stated that there are frequent fights amongst Syrians and locals. In the interviews, mukhtars were concerned that the lack of hygiene among Afghans and Pakistanis, fear the spread of contagious diseases.

**Migrant Mobility**

In the interviews throughout the sub-province mukhtars and tradespeople, they stated that the mobility of the foreign nationals in the sub-province is related with the socioeconomic dynamics and the demographic structure of their mahalles. In mahalles of Yavuz Selim and Davutpaşa where underground route crosses the people with higher income levels live, and both foreign nationals (from Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan) and locals move to mahalles such as Oruç Reis, Fatih, Kazımkarakbeir, Tuna and Turgutreis that are close to their work places.

According to the Baseline 2 data, within the last six months, there is an increase in the number of Syrians, Pakistanis, Afghans, Bangladeshis, Uzbekistanis, Palestinians, Algerians, Turkmens and Azerbaijanis. According to the information received from the mahalle mukhtars during the fieldwork, the Sub-province Police Department began an address detection work against these increases in the sub-province. The warehouses and shops in which people of Afghanistan and Pakistan nationality reside collectively were emptied out by the police force and the property owners were fined and their property were sealed.

In the interviews, SASF staff and tradespeople stated that Esenler received migration from Bağcılar and Esenyurt sub-provinces. Syrians deem Esenyurt as uncomfortable, and thereby Esenler received migrations from Esenyurt sub-province. At the airport mahalle, Syrian tradespeople stated that a great majority of them wanted to go to Europe and Syrian Kurds had already moved to European countries, using their relations.
MIGRANTS’ PRESENCE MONITORING IN ISTANBUL
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GÜNGÖREN SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

According to the findings of Baseline 2, Güngören sub-province hosts 31,633 migrants and refugees and among those, 20,788 Syrians. Following Syrians, the presence in the sub-province is comprised respectively of Afghans (1,770), Turkmens (1,673) and Georgians (1,628). Again, under the light of the same findings, it is identified that the sub-province hosts 33 different nationalities.

The presence of migrants is identified in all (11)mahalles of the Güngören sub-province. In the interviews, local informants and the tradespeople state that since the rent is high, Mehmet Nesih Özmen and Güven mahalles have the lowest presence of migrants in the sub-province.

In the interviews, mahalle mukhtars and tradespeople provided the information that the number of Syrians is very high in Güneştepe, Maraşal Çakmak and Merkez mahalles and the 50 per cent of the presence of migrants in Maraşal Çakmak mahalle is formed of Turkmens of Syrian nationality. It is stated that Turkmens and Georgians live intensely at Maraşal Çakmak, Merkez and Güneştepe; whereas the people of Uzbekistan nationality live at Akıncılar and Tozkoparan mahalle. It is also stated that due to the transportation opportunities and its proximity to work places, the sub-province is preferred by foreign nationals.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

In Güngören sub-province, textile sector holds a great place in the sub-province economy. The key informants interviewed in the sub-province state that the foreign nationals, too, are active in different stages of this sector. Foreign nationals work at the production stage in the clothing workshops in Genç Osman, Güneştepe, Maraşal Çakmak and Merkez mahalles, and were found to speak Arabic and Russian; they thus work at sales outlets in Merkez, Mehmet Nesih Özmen and Nafiz Gürman mahalles. Also, during fieldwork, job posts for such employments were observed.

In the interviews with the mahalle mukhtars and tradespeople, they state that the Merkez, Güneştepe and Maraşal Çakmak mahalles that intersect at “Soğanlı Road” where the migrant population in the sub-province is the most intense, the migrant mobility is significantly visible during clocking hours and exits from work. At the same time, each morning on Soğanlı Street, people of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Georgia nationalities can be seen gathering. In the interviews with tradespeople from Güneştepe and Maraşal Çakmak mahalles, they state that foreign nationals are chosen by the middleman on this road to work Daily at clothing workshops and they are transported to the workplaces with service vehicles.

It is observed on the Necip Fazıl Kısakürek Road within the borders of Güneştepe mahalle that there are restaurants, dried fruit and nuts shops, bijouterie shops and phone shops owned by Syrians. In the interviews with key informants, they claim that the women of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Georgia nationality work at Daily house cleaning jobs and as caretakers, whereas the men work as construction workers and porters. They also provide the information
that the women of Turkmenistan nationality work at kindergartens and preschools as Russian and English teachers. In the interviews with the tradespeople of Güneştepe and Maraşal Çakmak mahalle, they claim that during evening hours, people of Uzbekistan nationality meddle in women trafficking on Soğanlı Road.

It is observed that people of Egypt, Iran and Iraq nationality are rich economically and have established their own companies in textile and logistic sectors.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

In the interviews with the mukhtars and tradespeople of Güneştepe and Maraşal Çakmak mahalles, they state that with the increasing intensity of migrant population, the complaints in cohesion is also increasing. According to the statement of Maraşal Çakmak mahalle mukhtar, the cases in which two or three families reside in the same house causes reactions from the locals. In the interviews with Sanayi mahalle mukhtar and tradespeople, they stated that migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan is increasing and this increase causes concern in the host community, the host community cannot find a recreation area for themselves in parks and gardens and that they are disturbed by the situation. In the interviews, the mukhtar of Akıncılar mahalle claimed that people of Uzbekistan nationality share the same house out-of-marriage bonds and collectively, men and women together causes reactions from the locals.

Migrant Mobility

According to the information received from the tradesSyrians living in Güngören sub-province, the Syrians are the locals of Latakia and Aleppo cities. It is also stated that there are few families of Syrian nationality coming from Bağcılar sub-province to Güngören sub-province and their cause for moving is to live close to their business places. Also, they stated in the interviews that there are people moving to Zeytinburnu sub-province and the basic reason for that is the job opportunities.

In the interviews with the mukhtars, it is observed that the presence of warehouses and buildings in Maraşal Çakmak mahalle used as worker barracks causes the increase in migrant intensity in the sub-province.

The family doctors and health workers in the sub-province state in the interviews that since due to newborn and the contraception methods are not in use, there is an increase in the number of Syrians. The interviewees with great reaction claim that the parents of Syrian nationality do not want the free of cost childhood vaccinations implemented by the Republic of Turkey.
REGION 11  
Bayrampaşa, Zeytinburnu

BAYRAMPAŞA SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

In Baseline 2 Assessment conducted in Bayrampaşa, a migrant population of 34,840 people was identified in the sub-province, with the largest foreign population groups being Syrians (19,020), Afghans (3,655), Pakistanis (3,240), and Uzbeks (2,364) respectively. There is a migrant presence of 271,073 people in the sub-province and this accounts for approximately 12.8 per cent of the total population of the sub-province.

Since the Büyük İstanbul Bus Terminal is located within the borders of Bayrampaşa sub-province, it is one of the first spots that is seen by migrants who come to İstanbul by bus. In addition, since the sub-province is centrally located and close to the historical peninsula, and its surrounding sub-province including Esenler, Sultangazi, Gaziosmanpaşa, Eyüp, Fatih and Zeytinburnu have also a large migrant presence, various foreign groups who recently came to İstanbul preferred Bayrampaşa to settle in. On the other hand, the presence of Muhajirs who emigrated from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Albania and North Macedonia a long time ago and then obtained Turkish citizenship distinguishes Bayrampaşa from other sub-provinces. During interviews held in Bayrampaşa, key informants stated that those people mostly are not willing to rent out homes to those who recently migrated to the sub-province. This led the migrant presence to concentrate in certain mahalles as already found in Baseline 2 Assessment. It was identified that the half of the total migrant population, particularly the largest migrant groups in the sub-province including Syrians, Afghans, Pakistanis and Uzbeks resides in the mahalles of Muratpaşa, Orta and Vatan. During interviews held in the said mahalles, mukhtars stated that this high migrant population presence is due to that home rental prices are more affordable compared to those in the other mahalles of the sub-province and therefore especially Afghans and Pakistanis could live in those homes in large groups, that the industrial sites in the sub-province are concentrated in those mahalles, as well as the presence of the Migrant Health Centre located in the mahalle of Vatan.

Migrant Participation in Economic Activities

It was observed that there are many industrial sites operating in various areas in many different areas of Bayrampaşa sub-province. The mukhtars interviewed specified that those industrial sites constitute the main work area for the migrant population present in the sub-province. When examined by nationality, it is understood that Syrians mostly work in the clothing workshops, factories, and small-scale industrial sites in the sub-province, in addition to many businesses run by Syrians in Bağlar Street of Orta mahalle. It was stated that large number of Afghan nationals are employed in Sari Dökümçüler Site and İşkent Site located in Muratpaşa mahalle.
also observed that Afghans are engaged in paper collection along with Pakistanis in the sub-province. Pakistani nationals also work in textile workshops. The textile workshops located in Trikocular Street in Orta mahalle mostly employ Uzbekistan nationals while the restaurants and cafes located in the same area employ Turkmens.

Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities

During interviews conducted with mukhtars, community leaders and shopkeepers in Bayrampaşa, the most common opinion heard regarding the social cohesion and social acceptance of foreign nationals is that the sub-province population is not happy about the large foreign population presence. Mahalle mukhtars stated that the most common complaints about foreigners include that they live in homes in groups and wander around the streets all day doing nothing but waiting for aid.

Migrant Mobility

According to the information collected from the governmental bodies interviewed in the sub-province, the population increases approximately four times during the day, mainly due to the extensive work opportunities in the sub-province. It was stated that among people who daily commute to the sub-province are foreigners who reside in the surrounding sub-province, especially including Zeytinburnu and Esenler. It was also noted that Syrians and Uzbeks who have integration problems and financial difficulties in Bayrampaşa move to and settle in Başçlar, Esenler, Fatih, and Esenyurt. Some key informants in the sub-province suggested that newly arrived migrants congregate in Merkez Mosque park in the mahalle of Vatan, before attempting their journey to Europe or other provinces in Turkey. The first stop for Syrians who are registered in other provinces of Turkey but come to the sub-province to settle in Istanbul is Bağlar street in Vatan mahalle since they have relatives and connections living there.
Migrant Profile and Settlement

In Baseline 2 Assessment conducted in Zeytinburnu, the migrant population in the sub-province totals 65,699 individuals, with the largest foreign population groups being Syrians (24,503), Afghans (21,363), Chinese (6,736), and Uzbeks (3,952). The migrants account for approximately 23 per cent of the total population of the sub-province, which totals 284,935 people according to data from TÜİK.

Although Zeytinburnu stands out as a sub-province which hosts the largest Afghan population in Istanbul, Baseline 2 Assessment found that Syrians constitute the largest migrant presence in the sub-province. The main reasons for the large Syrian population in Zeytinburnu include that the sub-province is centrally located, neighbours Fatih sub-province which hosts a large Syrian population and is one of the textile manufacturing centres in Istanbul. According to SASF and SSC interviewed in Zeytinburnu, support activities are organized in the sub-province and free meals are provided in places such as food banks to Syrians in need. Additionally, living in populated groups, e.g., three families living in a single apartment, makes the sub-province economically affordable for them.

The Migrant Health Centre present in the sub-province also makes health services accessible and constitutes a reason for preferring the sub-province to settle in. Syrian nationals are spread across the sub-province but mainly concentrated in the mahalles of Veliefendi, Sümer and Çırpıcı. Especially since the area between the mahalles of Veliefendi, Çırpıcı and Beşteşiz is more populated by Syrians than other nationalities, this area is called as Little Aleppo among Syrians.

When compared with Baseline 2 Assessment conducted in October-December 2018, it was identified that there was a significant increase in the Afghan population presence in Istanbul in the period of May-July 2019. Afghan nationals are spread across Istanbul while Zeytinburnu still stands out as a sub-province with the largest Afghan population. The Afghan associations interviewed in the sub-province informed that there is an Afghan population which has been living in the sub-province for long years now and one of the first arrival points in Istanbul is Zeytinburnu for those who have been densely migrating to the sub-province since 2018. According to the information collected from key informants, people who settled in the sub-province in the previous years migrated with their family while those who have been settling during the last two years are mostly young males. The presence of a well-established migrant network in Zeytinburnu and unregistered employment opportunities in the textile and leather industry makes the sub-province attractive for Afghans. Nevertheless, since the capacity of sub-province has reached to its limits, it led to large Afghan groups emerging in certain sub-province and the Afghan population spreading across Istanbul. When the distribution of Afghan nationals in the sub-province is examined, it is understood that three quarters of the overall population in the sub-province is concentrated in the mahalles of Yeşiltepe, Nurıpaşa and Sümer. According to mukhtars and community leaders...
in those mahalles, Afghans live in abandoned buildings, basements or their workplace in groups varying from 10 to 30.

Another migrant group that densely populates Zeytinburnu are individuals originating in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and are settled in the sub-province. Zeytinburnu is among the most preferred sub-provinces by Uyghurs along with Küçükçekmece, Fatih and Silivri sub-provinces. During interviews held with the associations and community leaders carrying out activities related to those people in the sub-province, they stated that Zeytinburnu has been one of the main settlements in Istanbul both for Afghans and Uyghurs for long years now. In Baseline 2 conducted in Zeytinburnu, Nurıpaşa and Sümer mahalles were identified as the main settlement areas for Uyghur.

**Migrant Participation in Economic Activities**

During interviews conducted with mukhtars and shopkeepers and the observations carried out across the sub-province, it was understood that Syrians mostly own their own business and provide their own nationals with employment. In addition, it was suggested that Syrians trade products such as tea and tobacco which they bring from their own country when they visit during the Eid Al-Adha and Eid Al-Fitr. Syrians are also engaged in unregistered jobs in textile and leather industries.

Among Chinese nationals, there are people who run their own business as observed in the case of Syrians, work in textile workshops, or work in the service industry in cafes and restaurants as they can speak Turkish. The male Uzbekistani and Turkmen are engaged in similar areas of work as Uyghurs, while women work as nurse or elder caregiver in the neighbouring sub-provinces in Bakırköy.

**Cohesion between Migrant and Host Communities**

Zeytinburnu stands out as one of the sub-provinces with the highest migrant population in Istanbul. Therefore, the high visibility of the migrants in the sub-province affects the local community’s view on migrant groups. Mukhtars and key informants interviewed stated that the disturbance and complaints about the high migrant presence in the sub-province have increased within the last six-month period. The observations of the MPM team in the sub-province also confirms that the increased competition especially in the labour market and business activities due to the increased migrant population has caused disturbance among the host community.

For instance, the mukhtar interviewed in the mahalle of Yeşiltepe, where the Afghan population is the largest, informed that especially the Afghans who recently settled in the mahalle are not open to interaction and integration, causing unsettlement among the local community. In addition, key informants also expressed allegations about the illegal activities including smuggling carried out in some markets run by Afghans. It was informed that some people who are in fact Afghanistan Uzbeks introduce themselves as Uzbekistani Uzbeks for this reason. Some residents of the sub-province stated that Afghans organize wrestling events in large groups in the beach of Zeytinburnu during weekends.
and make books, and that they do not like it. It was also stated that Afghan families who settled in the sub-province in the previous years are now adapted and more accepted by the local community than those who moved in recently. Furthermore, it was observed that the local community adopts a more protective attitude towards Chinese, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan nationals due to the cultural and language similarities.

**Migrant Mobility**

Mobility within as well as outflow out of and influx into Zeytinburnu sub-province are high. The most significant factors which have an impact on this increased mobility include that Afghans who enter Turkey from the eastern provinces have relatives and connections here and there are also associations in the sub-province where they can ask for support about accommodation and job opportunities. Afghans who come to the sub-province spread across various sub-province of Istanbul including Fatih, Büyükçekmece, Beykoz, Sancaktepe to find a job. According to interviews conducted in the sub-province, Zeytinburnu remains one of the main gathering and departure point for migrants who want to migrate to the European countries. Key informants interviewed asserted that Afghan migrants gathering in Yeşiltepe mahalle or Zeytinburnu coastline in the early morning are transported to other provinces including Edirne and Çanakkale by buses or minibuses. Another route claimed to be used by Afghans to reach the European countries is the route which passes through Mersin and Antalya to Cyprus and then from Cyprus to Greece. It was also noted that, due to the increased rents and financial difficulties in the sub-province, Uyghurs continue to move to sub-province including Küçükçekmece and Silivri where they think they can live under better conditions.
MIGRANTS’ PRESENCE MONITORING IN ISTANBUL
BASELINE ASSESSMENT ROUND II I OBSERVATION REPORT
MAY-JULY 2019

REGION 12
Fatih

FATİH SUB-PROVINCE

Migrant Profile and Settlement

Fatih, known as the Historical Peninsula or formerly as Surıçi, hosts migrants from some 80 different countries and has, for years, been among the sub-provinces with the largest migrant presence in Istanbul due to tourism and its central location. According to Baseline 2 findings, the migrant population of the sub-province totals 182,440. Nationalities with the densest presence include Syrians (80,920), followed by Uzbeks (17,655), Afghans (13,185) and Iraqis (7,124). Migrant population in Fatih accounts for 41.8 per cent of the total population in the sub-province (436,439), which also means that Fatih not only hosts one of the largest migrant populations in Istanbul but also the densest.

According to the observations carried out and key informants interviewed during Baseline 2, apartment rent prices, which constitute the main residence type in the sub-province, have been constantly increasing due to high demand from migrants. The latter attempt to compensate by renting housing in groups of a few families. As such, the foreign population is continuing to grow. Many community leaders, including mukhtars, made statements supporting this observation. Among the foreign nationals in the sub-province, those who come for a short-term stay prefer the area due to its central location, while long-term residents state that they feel safe due to the conservative structure of the sub-province. Particularly those originating in Arab countries and prioritize a religious life settle in Fatih. Meanwhile, Quran courses available in the area are preferred for long-term education needs by Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan nationals, who claim that they cannot freely receive religious education in their own country.

The sub-province can be divided into four physical sections to better study and understand the socioeconomic structure of the migrant population in Fatih. The first section includes the mahalles of Ayvansaray, Balat, Yavuz Sultan Selim, Cibali, Yavuz Sinan, Hacı Kadın, Demirtaş, Hoca Gıyaseddin and Molla Hüsrev along the so-called Golden Horn. Migrants who prefer those mahalles, which are often referred to as ‘slums of the sub-province’ by the mukhtars, represent the lowest income group. Especially when it comes to Syrians, the lowest income group reside in those mahalles, and, according to mukhtars, children of those families are often soliciting money across the sub-province. According to information received from the mukhtar and the field study conducted Syrian Kurds reside in the area and share a similar profile to Syrians living in above neighbourhoods, being of low-income group. Specifically, they live in Yedikule mahalle, located on the sub-province’s border with Zeytinburnu. The mahalle of Yedikule, far from the aforementioned line and seated at the coast of the Marmara Sea has also structural similarities with the first section. The main factor which distinguishes Yedikule from the first section mahalles is that in the recent years it has been discovered and highly preferred by migrants from the African countries as well. Another important feature about the first section of the sub-province is that the Çarşamba quarter which borders with the Balat mahalle and has many religious institutions is located there. Key informants interviewed in the said quarter stated that Çarşamba is populated by migrants of Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan nationality who claim that they could not freely practice their religion in their own country. It was informed that those people settle in this mahalle to receive religious education and they have a limited visibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>436,539</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area km$^2$</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalle/Village</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hoca Gıyaseddin, another mahalle included in the first section is one with the worst living conditions within the sub-province and inhabited by Syrian Kurds, and Afghan Turkmen who work in paper collection. The mahalles of Demirtaş, Hacı Kadın and Molla Hüsev are those which are known for bachelor homes and where the MPM team came across people living in the workshops during their fieldwork.

The mahalles which can be included in the second section in the sub-province are Dervişali, Atikali, Hirka-i Şerif, Ali Kuşçu, Akşemsettin and İskenderpaşa seated along the Golden Horn. Syrian Arabs form the majority. It was identified that they often settle in the sub-province with their family and have better economic and living conditions compared to Syrians who live in the mahalles included in the first section of the sub-province.

The Akşemsettin mahalle included in the second section has the largest Syrian population within the sub-province. In the mahalle, which is also territorially large, there are hundreds of Syrian businesses and workers, and the Syrian population in the mahalle is in a higher position socioeconomically than the average of the mahalle. According to the information obtained from key informants, the percentage of children attending school is high and the number of Syrians who can receive education at university level is also the highest within the sub-province. It was stated that there are approximately 3-5 students in each classroom at the preliminary education level while there are some examples where this number increases as high as 20. In the mahalle which is also in demand by migrants from the other Arab countries including Iraq and Egypt, migrants are mostly people who are engaged in business or the service industry. According to the information obtained from a key informant who provides consultancy service to foreigners and lives in the mahalle for a long time, it has been subject to a rapid migration inflow after being discovered by Syrians due to the said factors and this caused Moldovans, Ukrainians and Georgians who had been living in the mahalle in the past years to leave the mahalle over time. The mukhtar of the mahalle interviewed stated that Turkish citizens in the mahalle rented out their homes to foreigners upon the influx of Syrians and the increased population, and that even he was surprised by the decrease in the number of voters in the mahalle during the last elections.

In the light of the interviews held with key informants in the İskenderpaşa mahalle, it can be said that it has the greatest nationality diversity within the sub-province. The mukhtar, the sub-province Police Department and the sub-province Motorized Teams Department confirmed that the mahalle has the highest crime rate in the sub-province. According to the information obtained from the mukhtar and the police units, there is a multitude of homes where unregistered migrants live collectively in the mahalle. The mukhtar reported certain homes where Syrians and Egyptians live to police and the police carried out an operation to check those homes. According to the general opinion in the mahalle, judicial cases usually take place among the migrant groups so local residents of the mahalle do not feel threatened and therefore there is no decrease observed in the number of homes rented out to migrants.

Other mahalles which have similarities in terms of the migrant profile in the sub-province and can be categorized as the third section include Molla Gürani, Haseki Sultan, Topkapı, Mevlanakapı Silvrikapı, Cerrahpaşa, Kocamustafapaşa, Seyyid Ömer, Sümül Efendi, Şehremini and Yedikule, which are seated at the upper part of the Vatan Street which is one of the busiest streets in the sub-province and extend along the tram line. Although these mahalles have similarities in terms of their migrant profile, Molla Gürani stands out in this part of the sub-province with illegal activities carried out and high crime rates. According to the observations and key informant interviews conducted in the mahalle, human trafficking, counterfeit money, theft and prostitution are the most prominent offenses. The mahalle is preferred due to its central location and also by those who have just moved to the sub-province as it has a large unregistered migrant population. It stands out as the area with the densest Iraqi population within the sub-province. In the mahalle especially preferred by Iraqi Turkmen and those from the Kirkuk region, key informants interviewed mostly mentioned Iraqis when
it came to the smuggling. Algerians and Moroccans also draw attention with their presence in illegal activities.

The most emphasized issue During interviews carried out in the Aksaray mahalle was that there is a decrease in the crime rates and a more qualified migrant profile in the mahalle due to the increased controls. It was stated that Muslim migrants from Somalia, Senegal and Pakistan, who have recently settled in the mahalle, have had positive impact on the shift in the migrant profile. African nationals who prefer the mahalle are also recognized as reliable, educated and lawful. Majority of African national migrants who are mostly from Somali, Senegal, Uganda, Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana and Gambia are male, half-time football players and do not cause unease in the area although what their occupation is not clearly known. The situation with the migrants in the Haseki Sultan mahalle is similar. They are known as quiet and inoffensive people who mind their own business while Syrians represent a higher income group compared to the overall population in the sub-province. The popularity of the mahalle has been recently increasing due to Somalis who settle there.

Considering the mahalles included in the third section of the sub-province, it is observed that the African nationals represent the most diverse migrant group. The mahalles where migrants from the African countries have the densest presence include Yedikule, followed by Silivrikapi, Kocamustafapaşa, Aksaray, Cerrahpaşa and Haseki Sultan. It was also observed that the arrivals to the area are still continuing due to the visibility and the security being felt particularly in Yedikule. During interviews held directly with the African nationals who have been living in the mahalle for a relatively long time, it was informed that the registration rate among them are quite low but according to the statements of local shopkeepers, since they are not considered a threat in the sub-province, it does not pose a problem for the local community. It was stated that both male and female migrants come individually or as a family from countries including Cameroon, Senegal, Kenya, Congo and Nigeria while migrants from other nationalities are mostly comprised of males. Nevertheless, it can be said that in each and all nationalities, there are some African migrants even if a few who have migrated as a family and send their children to Turkish schools. It was observed and also confirmed by key informants that majority of them are engaged in business and different from the profile of African migrants in Kumkapi, and do not get involved in crime.

In Yedikule, the number of Afghanistan nationals who live in paper collection warehouses and recycling plants is quite high. Key informants who are informed about the warehouses in the area stated that 80 per cent of those working in paper collection within the sub-province are of Afghan nationality, and according to the information obtained from face-to-face interviews, they are male migrants who immigrated irregularly at quite young ages. Community leaders within the Afghan community informed that these migrants who consider returning to their country or migrating to a third country shortly make a living somehow even though they are not satisfied with their living conditions and are accepted in the area due to their calmness. There are also few Afghans who have immigrated and settled in as a family in those mahalles of the third section.

Şehremini, Aksaray and Silivrikapi which are densely populated by individuals from the Xinjian Uyghur Autonomous Region in China are included in this section of the sub-province. It was stated that they represent a self-closed profile and enter Turkey irregularly due to the travel restrictions being applied by the Government of China in the last years. Key informants informed that they immigrate as families with a single parent and multiple children due to the losses in China and have limited economic opportunities.

Lastly, the fourth section include the touristic places in the Fatih sub-province and an extensive area covering the mahalles in the quarters of Laleli, Beyazıt, Gedikpaşa and Kumkapi. The most structurally different migrant profile in Fatih is observed in this area. Migrants living in the other mahalles of the sub-province mainly prefer the sub-province due to its conservative fabric while in the mahalles of this section prefer the sub-province for the freedom it provides. It was observed that the percentage of living as a family among the migrant groups which have a dense presence in those mahalles is quite low. There are migrants who work at hotels in
the mahalles hosting touristic venues including Mimar Kemalettin, Kemal Paşa, Balabanaga, Mesih Paşa, Küçük Ayasofya, Emin Sinan, Hobyar, Hocapaşa, Cankurtaran, Alemdar, as well as migrants who are employed in small workshops and shops. Therefore, the working migrant population in the area is quite large while the resident population is relatively low and there are some parts where no residence was observed at all. It was identified that in the mahalles in Laleli, mostly Uzbek and Turkmen women work and majority of them live in the mahalles including Nişanca and Katip Kasım in the quarter of Kumkapı.

The largest Uzbek population in the sub-province was identified in the quarter of Kumkapı and predominantly in the mahalle of Nişanca. The mahalle was visited several times by the MPM team during Baseline 2 Assessment due to its multi-national and complex structure, and efforts were made to diversify the interviews. During interviews, it was informed that a multitude of female and male Uzbeks keep moving to the mahalle. Kâtip Kasım is another mahalle in the quarter of Kumkapı where the Uzbek presence is concentrated. Majority of Uzbeks residing there are women who are allegedly engaged in sex work. An Uzbek population was identified in the other mahalles of the quarter although relatively lower than the said two mahalles.

Another significant population presence in this section of the sub-province consists of Afghan nationals. As observed during the fieldwork, there is a multitude of “homeless” Afghans who sleep on the benches in parks and gardens. This information was also confirmed by the police forces. Shopkeepers stated that those people who were deceived with the false promise of being transported to Europe by their own citizens and then left in the city are inoffensive and especially prefer visible parks and gardens due to security concerns. According the information obtained from the community leaders within the Afghan community, it can be said that the number of Afghans who were defrauded while trying to go to Europe is on the increase since they refrain from contacting human smugglers again because of the people who swindled them. When it comes to the quarter of Kumkapı, key informants mentioned of an utterly different Afghan community than the Afghan profile described thus far. It was claimed that majority of them if not all are inclined to or are involved in crime.

Another nationality identified as being on the rise in the quarter of Kumkapı, with an outflow also into other sub-provinces, is Pakistanis. Majority of them which are concentrated in Muhsine Hatun mahalle consists of males and are considered the most accepted nationality in the quarter since they are known as hard-working and honest people both by the host community and various migrant groups. Pakistani who are also accepted due to their Muslim identity prefer staying in the area in the beginning since they can also meet their cultural needs by the barber shops and markets opened in the vicinity. Bangladeshis who have a similar cultural structure as Pakistanis are also welcome with tolerance and trust in the area. They are also concentrated in the Muhsine Hatun mahalle and have started pushing the capacity of the quarter. This group entirely consisting of young males who comes to Turkey for work purposes starts living in Kumkapı in the beginning and then goes to workshops in the mahalle of Demirtaş and labour markets in Küçükpazar.

Those who come from the African countries constitute another group which is quite visible, and both resides and works in the quarters of Gedikpaşa and Kumkapı. Their main areas of work are porterage, especially in the shops in Gedikpaşa. During the field study, it was observed that the heaviest works are assigned to the African nationals in the sub-province. Nigerians represent the largest group among the African males who are preferred for being strong and undertaking any work given to them. It was informed that Africans who reside in the area for a while move in with their friends in sub-provinces such as Şişli and Beyoğlu but continue to work in the area.

**Migrant Participation in Economic Activities**

It is understood that Syrians in the sub-province of Fatih can be in the position of both employer and worker. There are small- and large-scale businesses of any industry owned by Syrians across the entire sub-province. Syrian businesses such as grocery, market, tailor shop etc. which exist in each mahalle can range from real estate agencies, tourism agencies, bakeries to electrical, phone, goldsmith, tailor, spice, börek, butcher and grocery shops in different mahalles. There is a multitude of restaurants and cafés run by Syrians in the sub-province, predominantly in Akşemsettin and İskenderpaşa. There are many Syrians who work in the service industry both in businesses run by their own citizens and people from other Arab countries. It was identified that Syrians who live in Kocamustafapaşa and its surroundings work in textile workshops in Zeytinburnu. It was observed that Syrians who are
employers mostly prefer working with their own nationals, followed by Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Pakistani migrants mostly work in bag manufacturing while Bangladeshi migrants mainly work in belt and buckle manufacturing. These two nationalities have recently become more popular than Afghans in the labour markets in Küçükpazar as well. According to key informants this is because Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants are seldom involved in crime.

It is understood that Uzbeks work in the service industry, textile workshops, retail shops as well as homecare for children, elderly and sick. On the other hand, various key informants expressed that Uzbeks, which have a significant presence in the quarter of Kumkapı, constitute the most migrant group engaged in sex work. However, there are also more than 300 Uzbek businesses in Kumkapı, which was confirmed by observations made during the field study. The majority of those businesses are cargo companies, while the majority of Uzbeks working there are unregistered male migrants who do not have a work permit. The number of Uzbek migrants who work in as salesclerk retail shops and as worker in workshops is quite high in the quarters of Laleli and Beyazıt. All salesclerks are women and it is claimed that part of them is also engaged in sex work as an additional income source. Similarly, in the mahalle of Aksaray, informants asserted that there are Uzbeks who engage in sex work, either due to unemployment or coercion.

Afghans seem to have an important role in the paper collection/recycling industry in the sub-province. They are frequently preferred over Turkish citizens for working for the half of regular wage and prefer working at paper warehouses because they are allowed to stay there free of charge. In addition, Afghans are employed in construction, load carrying, painting and such, being collected from the labour market in Küçükpazar mahalle and coffee houses in certain mahalles. A mukhtar from Kumkapı quarter indicated that all workers of a subcontractor who work with the Department of Parks and Gardens are Afghans, and it is the same with many other subcontractors. A small number of Afghans, who have work permit and settled in the sub-province a few years ago, work in the service industry as wait staff, dishwashers, and bussers.

It is understood that Iraqi nationals engage in trade and their community is one of those with the highest income. Real estate agents in the sub-province stated that Iraqis can afford to buy housing with the highest prices compared to other migrant groups. There are many businesses owned by Iraqis around Aksaray subway station such as restaurant, phone shop, tourism agency, courier company, and construction company. There are many tourism agencies and courier companies run by Iraqis. Their courier companies are large-scale businesses that usually send cargo to Middle Eastern countries.

Having the fifth largest population in the sub-province, Turkmen women are in all fields. While men work in factories, workshops, couriers, service industry, shipping, and painting, women work in child and elder care or cleaning and clerkship in hotels. According to the shopkeepers in the sub-province, Turkmen women are usually preferred over Uzbek women by conservative business owners. Some Uzbek women, and a smaller number of Turkmen women, are allegedly engaged in sex work.

Being one of the largest African migrant groups, Somalis are also the ones who most frequently start their own businesses. With courier companies being the most popular one, consulting and tourism agencies as well as cafes and restaurants are among the most often encountered businesses owned by Somalis. Senegalese, open stalls in local bazaars across the sub-province, usually selling goods such as watches, belts, wallets, perfumes, and cosmetics. Besides, some of the Senegalese who arrived a relatively long time ago have their own businesses in the sub-province. Migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Cameroon are engaged in trade as well as courier companies. As understood from the interviews with individuals from various migrant groups, Angolan, Ghanaian, Guinean, Malian, Kenyan, Cameroonian, Congolese and Nigerian migrants engage in import and export with their large- or small-scale enterprises. There are also Africans who work in labour intensive jobs in hard conditions and are paid low wages in Laleli and Gedıkpaşa quarters.

Cohesion between Migrants and Host Communities

Apart from some individual events and conflicts, it is possible to say that there is social cohesion in Fatih in general, considering its large migrant community comprising various nationalities. When different nationalities are compared, Syrians have the biggest cohesion problem due to their large number. Syrians residing in the sub-province live as a closed community and care more about being in contact with their own people. Syrians who live in mahalles with a relatively
low socioeconomic status and are considered a disadvantaged group are partly supported by locals of these mahalles in addition to social assistance they receive. Besides, locals of the mahalles do not approve of Syrians using their children for begging and often encourage them to send their children to school. Syrian children in the sub-province usually have good communication with locals, so much so that they play a role in improving the cohesion in the area, translating for their parents who could not learn Turkish language. Nevertheless, it was observed during the fieldwork that Syrian children have cohesion problems with their Turkish peers. Although they have a very good command of Turkish language and able to express their personal needs and were encountered in many occasions including interviews with mukhtars and shopkeepers because it was summer vacation, it was observed that most of them have problems adapting school and quit their primary education. These children then have less opportunity to contact Turkish children after leaving school.

Zeyrek, Cibali, Akşemsettin, Cerrahpaşa, and Karagümrük are the mahalles where locals most frequently expressed complaints about Syrians. In Zeyrek mahalle, every key informant expressed negative opinions about Syrians, while also the Syrian shopkeepers in the area expressed negative opinions about fellow Syrians residing in the mahalle. They mostly complained about Syrians’ living in crowded housing and making a lot of noise as well as making no efforts to improve their living conditions whatsoever. Because they do not have any priority other than making money, they neglect basic needs of their children’s and themselves and allegedly sell the goods given them as aid to earn cash. As for the nearby mahalle, Cibali, people react against Syrians due to their alleged involvement in illegal activities. The mukhtar indicated that while there were illegal activities in the mahalle before, the crime rate increased dramatically after Syrians’ arrival. Besides, according to the information gained from other mahalles as well as Cibali, the biggest fights occurring among Syrians are due to abduction of girls. It was claimed that these conflicts can escalate into violence with the use of knives and bats and end with a certain payment made to the father of the abducted girl. These fights taking place on the streets disturb locals of the sub-province and result in prejudice against Syrians.

The main reasons for the cohesion problem are overcrowded living conditions and incompatibility between daily life practices according to the locals of Akşemsettin mahalle. The mukhtar and shopkeepers in the mahalle stated that Syrians live as very crowded groups that exceed the capacity of their housings, and the high number of household members creates a lot of noise. The locals stated that they feel as a minority group because the number of foreigners, most of them being Syrians, is larger than that of local residents in the mahalle. The distance between these two communities increase as Syrians do not shop from anyone other than their own people, which puts locals in a financially difficult situation who already became minority. As for Karagümrük, local shopkeepers complain about the same situation where the large number of Syrian shopkeepers cause them to have financial problems. Karagümrük mukhtar expressed his worries about the situation and pointed out that it might change the demographic structure of the mahalle even further in the future. Lastly, locals’ opinion about Syrians turned into a hostile attitude with the contribution of individual events in Cerrahpaşa mahalle as well. According to the interviews, several fights occurred between the two groups because of a few occasions Turkish women were subjected to harassment of Syrian men.

Conflicts stemming from economic reasons also draw attention. For example, Syrian shops being preferred over Turkish shops and allegations such as Syrian shopkeepers are exempt from taxes negatively affect the local shopkeepers’ opinion of Syrians. This situation can most easily be observed in the Malta Market in Ali Kuşçu mahalle through the diversity and quality of Syrian shops. It is possible to find Syrians who come from all sub-provinces of İstanbul to shop in the Malta Market. While these are the observed examples for the reasons causing harm to social cohesion in the sub-province, it is not possible to say that the Syrian community is subjected to any risk or social pressure. In fact, Syrian families still feel safe in the sub-province in general when the Syrian presence and cultural diversity
in the sub-province are considered.

As for the second largest migrant community in Fatih, there is an extremely different situation. Although allegedly engaging in illegal activities, Uzbeks still make a relatively “positive” impression in terms of interaction with locals. According to the mukhtars and shopkeepers in Nişanca, Kâtip Kasim and Mimar Hayrettin mahalles, a considerable part of Uzbeks residing in these mahalles are sex workers. They stated that mostly Syrian business owners and sometimes local business owners in these mahalles discriminate against and do not employ Uzbek women for ethical reasons. Another consequence of sex work becoming widespread in this area of the sub-province is the risk of increased sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Nişanca mukhtar indicated that there are people who ask for his help because they contracted an STD; he is worried this situation will become a public health issue in the sub-province.

It is possible to say that there is a positive attitude towards Afghans, as most of the positive examples about good relationship between migrants’ and locals involve Afghans. Key informants from almost every mahalle stated that Afghans are very hard-working and decent people. Especially some of them being of Turkmen origin facilitates their communication with locals due to the language and contributes to the positive opinion about the group in general. Nonetheless, there is a different Afghan profile in Kumkapı quarter. They are allegedly engaged in people smuggling as well as organ trade and deceive their own nationals into giving their organs. In addition, key informants stated that the number of Afghan migrants who are sought and arrested for crimes such as injury, murder, and rape increased in the past few months.

Turkmen nationals are generally accepted by locals in Fatih sub-province. Their biggest advantage in integration is the common language. It was observed that Turkmen nationals care for both their Muslim identity and secular lifestyle, thereby having no problems in mahalles they reside. They prefer Turkey, considering it a place where different lifestyles are tolerated, and they are appreciated by employers, regardless of their field of work, for their strong work ethics and hard-working quality. Turkmen who describe themselves as relatively religious people settle in relatively conservative mahalles and are easily accepted in these.

African migrants, whose number increased in the past years in Fatih, have a positive interaction with locals. While generally having sympathy Africans, locals form distant relationships with them. Except for Silivrikapi where a few key informants stated that they find Africans incompatible in terms of their clothing and lifestyle, no negative comments were heard about African migrants who mostly reside in Yedikule, Silivrikapi, Aksaray, Cerrahpaşa, Haseki, Kocamustafapaşa, Nişanca, and Kâtip Kasim mahalles. Somalis come first in terms of population size and integration level. They are easily accepted because they make up the highest-income group and are known for their high religious sensitivities. Many religious officials in the sub-province indicated that Somalis make up the largest migrant group within the mosque community, and they adapt in a relatively short time because they frequently go to the mosque to pray. Senegalese nationals are also one of the most visible and tolerated African migrant groups. Not engaging in illegal activities and being Muslim facilitates the integration process of these groups.

Migrant Mobility

There is constant migrant mobility in Fatih on different scales such as departures to other provinces and arrivals from other provinces, notably those bordering Syria, movements between mahalles of the sub-province, and even movements within mahalles. Emphasizing that the mobility within the sub-province is dense, mukhtars stated that Syrians coming from other provinces stand out. Mahalles such as Ayyansaray, Balat, Yavuz Sultan Selim, Yedikule, Cibali, and Yavuz Sinan are preferred the most due to relatively affordable housing, while the mahalles located near the Golden Horn or Bosphorus coastline host regularly arrivals of new migrants from other provinces of Turkey. Syrian migrants started to come to the sub-province from 2011 and the number of new arrivals increased in the following few years, and these first migrants’ feeling safe caused a migration wave that still continues today.

As for the mobility between mahalles, the real estate agents in the sub-province indicated that around 75 per cent of people who consult them to find housing are foreign nationals. Because there are a lot of old and neglected buildings in the sub-province, some people move in the first housing they find and continue their search in mahalles closer to their workplaces. As such, during fieldwork, the team often encountered migrants who had moved from one mahalle to another when better housing became available.
The Syrian population in the sub-province increases on weekends because Syrians residing in different sub-provinces of Istanbul often visit Fatih for shopping or socializing. Some migrants keep working in the sub-province after moving to other sub-provinces, notably Başakşehir which has luxurious residential complexes, and thus stay in contact with the sub-province. Syrians who live as nuclear families with a relatively high income move to other European side sub-provinces that suit their conservative identity better. The mukhtars indicated in the interviews that Syrian families with relatively low socioeconomic status replace Syrian families who leave, and therefore the integration processes in the sub-province cannot be completed. They stated that there are Syrian families who are well accepted and have good neighbour relationships in every mahalle but these people usually move to Europe or another sub-province as their financial situation gets better, thus the integration, and the socialization processes starts over with newly arrived Syrians. Lastly, the key informants noted that those Syrians who move to Europe are not happy and they usually return or look for ways to return. The interviewees also claimed that some Syrians contact people smugglers in Fatih and return to Turkey illegally via the Aegean Sea. During the fieldwork, it was observed that locals expect new migrant arrivals, due to the central location of the sub-province as well as its favourable nature in terms of Syrian’s cultural expectations.

Meanwhile, Uzbek nationals can easily enter Turkey due to visa exemption for up to 90 days and have thus increased in number in Fatih sub-province. Most of them travel by air and enter through official border gates, whereas those who try to enter the country illegally for reasons such as having been previously deported, usually prefer the Iranian border and recently Georgian border. In addition to those who enter through land borders with the help of smugglers, some of those who travel by air also carry fake passports with different names. A married woman can use her previous surname or her mother’s surname in official documents in Uzbekistan, and in this way, they can enter Turkey with three different surnames. Nişanca mahalle mukhtar and other key informants confirmed that Uzbeks who were deported from Turkey allegedly use this way to re-enter.

In the past few months there was a significant increase in the mobility of Afghans, who often use smugglers to facilitate their movements, which is anticipated to continue, according to key informants. There are Afghans who work in the sub-province and save money to enter Europe illegally. Unlike this group of Afghans, Afghan Turkmen were found working and living in paper warehouses for several years without making any attempt to leave. Those who intend to leave, stay in the sub-province for around six months or a year depending on the conditions of the smuggling routes. Afghans, who prepare to leave, constitute an irregular migrant group of men, usually found in Kumkapı and Gedikpaşa quarters; they had allegedly entered the country through Iranian border illegally. The number of these migrants is expected to increase because Afghans know the border area very well, and reliable sources speak of hundreds of thousands of Afghans waiting at points nearby Iranian border to enter the country. In this respect, a community leader claimed that there are 900,000 people, mostly Afghans, waiting to cross the border illegally. Also, the incoming Afghans are expected to enter the city mostly from Fatih, as the number of arrivals increases. This is because the multi-ethnic structure and large migrant community of the sub-province will continue to facilitate the entrance from this point for those who come to Istanbul in illegally.

The two densest migrant flows into Fatih sub-province are Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. While the number of Pakistani migrant arrivals in Turkey gradually increased in the past few years, that of Bangladeshis increased even more in the last 2-3 months. Most of them settle and make efforts to help their friends settle in mahalles in Kumkapı quarter. It was observed that some of the Pakistanis who lived in the area for a while moved to other sub-provinces such as Sultangazi, Esenler, Bağcılar, and Bayrampaşa because their friends there found jobs for them.

According to Baseline 2 data and key informants, there is a new migration wave coming out of African countries. For example, Somalis, another dominant foreign
group in the area, account for an extremely dense influx of migrants. According to Somali community leaders interviewed in Fatih sub-province, around 3,000 individuals entered the province for commercial purposes in the past few months. Furthermore, migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Congo are also part of a new influx of migrants coming for commercial purposes. Particularly those from the Democratic Republic of the Congo appear to be in a better financial situation and stand out for having the second highest commercial potential after Somalis. On the other hand, a migrant group of graduates in fields such as teaching and engineering, and coming from Uganda, Gambia, Eritrea, and Mali, come to Turkey in ‘transit.’ They stay up to a year before moving to other countries where they consider having more job opportunities, such as the United Arab Emirates, South Korea, and Malaysia. Meanwhile, a small migration wave started to come off Senegal a long time ago and continues today on a similarly small scale.

In conclusion, no decline was observed in any migrant population despite all the mobility across the sub-province; rather, there is a visible increase in many national groups due to the economic suitability and central location of the sub-province and this situation is expected to continue as the migrant network grows.