

Mass influx of people from Ukraine: social entitlements and access to the labour market: Turkey.

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1. Preliminary remarks.

The war in Ukraine, which started in February 2022, has forced an enormous number of people – mainly women, children and the elderly – to flee their homes as war migrants to seek safety and protection elsewhere. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), one year after the start of the war, more than 8 million war migrants from Ukraine had moved to various countries in Europe, while more than 5 million individuals were estimated to be internally displaced within Ukrainian borders.¹ While the main destinations of Ukrainians during this time have been the neighbouring countries, including Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Moldova, Turkey – which is also the country that hosts the highest number of refugees (3.7 million) in the world² overall – has been another important destination for Ukrainians fleeing the invasion. In fact, almost 100 000 Ukrainians have arrived in Turkey since the start of the war in early 2022. This is significant because it is higher than the number of Ukrainians in many individual EU countries (such as Belgium, Portugal, Denmark or the Netherlands).

According to a 2022 World Doctors situation report on the rapid needs assessment of Ukrainian war migrants,³ most of them arrived in Turkey via the land border and mainly by

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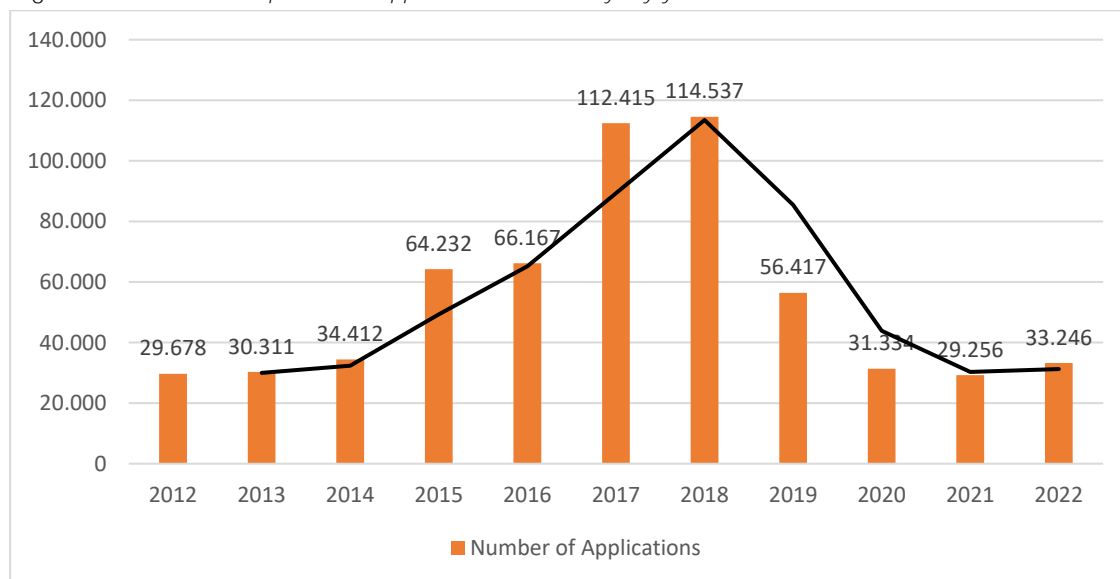
¹ UNHCR, *Ukraine emergency*, <https://www.unhcr.org/ukraine-emergency.html> (last accessed 13 April 2023).

² UNHCR, *Refugee Data Finder*, <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/> (last accessed 13 April 2023).

³ Medecins du Monde Turkey (Dunya Doktorlari Dernegi), *Ukrainian refugees in Turkey: a brief look at the humanitarian needs and responses* 12 April 2022, <https://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/ukrainian-refugees-turkey-brief-look-humanitarian-needs-and-responses> (last accessed 12 April 2023).

bus from other neighbouring countries, such as Bulgaria. Accordingly, most of the Ukrainians arriving in Turkey originated from Odesa and Kharkiv, but cities such as Kyiv and Dnipro are also among the main places of origin.

Figure 1. *International protection applications to Turkey, by year.*



Source: *Authors' elaboration based on data obtained from official statistics on migration.*⁴ The solid line indicates the moving annual average, reflecting the constantly evolving level of applications.

According to UNCHR, officially there were 95 874 Ukrainians in Turkey by 26 January 2023.⁵ The number of Ukrainians who had applied for international protection is reported as 7 131 out of a total of 33 246 applications (corresponding to the last column of Figure 1) by the end of 2022. In other words, at least one in every five international protection applications by foreigners in Turkey was made by a Ukrainian national in 2022.⁶

Because Turkey has received a significant number of Ukrainians since the start of the war and given the long-standing historical and strong bilateral relations between the two countries, it is important to take stock of the situation of Ukrainian people in Turkey. The objective of the current chapter is to describe the existing legal and social policy mechanisms that apply to internationally displaced Ukrainians residing in Turkey— or to foreign-born individuals in general – in order to obtain a better understanding of the experience of these displaced people.

⁴ Presidency of Migration Management, *International Protection*, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/international-protection17> (last accessed 7 March 2023).

⁵ UNHCR, *Ukraine Refugee Situation*, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine> (last accessed 7 March 2023).

⁶ See Presidency of Migration Management, nt. (4).

2. General legal framework.

There are two main laws that affect migrants in Turkey. The first is the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (*Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu*, No. 6458),⁷ which regulates the principles and procedures governing **foreigners' entry into, stay in and exit** from Turkey, as well as the protection provided for foreigners who seek protection. This Law stipulates the general principles, scope and types of protection for various groups of people who are seeking protection.

The second legal instrument concerning foreigners is the Law on International Labour Force (*Uluslararası Gücü Kanunu*, No. 6735). This Law is the main item of legislation governing foreigners' **work permits**. We shall look at these two laws in some detail.

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection (No. 6458) defines migration as follows: 'regular migration whereby foreigners legally enter into, stay in or exit from Turkey, as well as irregular migration whereby foreigners enter into, stay in or exit from Turkey through illegal channels and work in Turkey without a permit; as well as international protection' (3/1). The Law provides international protection for three sub-groups of foreigners, covering the status granted to (i) refugees,⁸ (ii) conditional refugees⁹ and (iii) subsidiary protection.¹⁰

Besides these categories, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection regulates another status in terms of temporary protection. This is defined as follows: 'temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection'.¹¹ This kind of international protection is currently being provided for Syrian migrants by Turkey.

⁷ Law no. 6458 of 4 April 2013, on foreigners and international protection, in OJ 28615 of 11 April 2013, unofficial translation available at <https://en.goc.gov.tr/kurumlar/en.goc/Ingilizce-kanun/Law-on-Foreigners-and-International-Protection.pdf> (last accessed 12 May 2023).

⁸ Persons who, as a result of events occurring in a European country and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, are outside the country of their citizenship and unable or, owing to such fears, unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of their former residence as a result of such events, are unable or, owing to such fears, unwilling to return to it, shall be granted refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process (Law no. 6458, nt. (7), art. 61).

⁹ Persons who, as a result of events occurring outside European countries and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, are outside the country of their nationality and are unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of former habitual residence as a result of such events, are unable or, owing to such fears, unwilling to return to it, shall be granted conditional refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process. Conditional refugees shall be allowed to reside in Turkey temporarily until they are resettled to a third country (Law no. 6458, nt. (7), art. 62).

¹⁰ A foreigner or a stateless person, who can be qualified neither as a refugee nor as a conditional refugee, shall nevertheless be granted subsidiary protection upon determination of their status because if returned to their country of origin or country of [former] habitual residence they would: a) be sentenced to death or face the death penalty; b) face torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; c) face serious threat by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or nationwide armed conflict; and therefore are unable or because of such a threat unwilling, to avail themselves of the protection of their country of origin or country of [former] habitual residence (Law no. 6458, nt. (7), art. 63).

¹¹ For more information about temporary protection, see UNHCR, *Temporary protection in Türkiye*.

Ukrainian migrants are not granted temporary protection by Turkey; most Ukrainians are residing in the country with a residence permit. The following figures give a comparative picture of the number of Ukrainians in Turkey with various residence permits, relative to foreigners of other origins residing in Turkey as of 6 April 2023. According to the official statistics regarding the numbers and nationalities of foreigners in Turkey with a permanent residence permit, Russians are first in line with 154 297 people. Ukrainians, with 46 458 people, are in ninth position (the upper left panel of Figure 2).¹² As regards short-term residence permits, Ukrainians rank eighth, with 33 963, following Iraq, Turkmenistan, Syria, Iran, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan (upper right panel of Figure 2). Regarding family reunification, another important legal migration channel, Ukrainians rank fifth in terms of residence permits, with 6 370, following Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Russia and Morocco. Last but not least, the official statistics also report the number of foreign students residing in Turkey for the top ten sending countries. However, there is no specific figure on the number of Ukrainian students living in Turkey as their number is relatively small.

Figures 2-4. Resident permits by type and country of origin.



Source: Authors' elaboration based on data retrieved from the official migration administration statistics.¹³

The Law on International Labour Force (No. 6735) is the other main piece of legislation concerning work permits. We shall address it below (Section 5).

3. Personal scope of applicable support measures.

<https://help.unhcr.org/turkey/information-for-syrians/temporary-protection-in-turkey/> (last accessed 7 May 2023).

¹² Presidency of Migration Management, *Residence Permits*, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/residence-permits>. The statistics are dated 19 January 2023 (last accessed 7 March 2023).

¹³ *Ibidem*.

As already mentioned, temporary protection status is given only to Syrian migrants in Turkey. In this context, people who fled to Turkey from the war in Ukraine cannot be granted temporary protection. However, they can apply for international protection on condition they meet the criteria laid down in Law No. 6458. According to statistics from the Presidency of Migration Management, 7 131 Ukrainians had asked for international protection by the end of 2022, which ranks Ukrainians second, following Afghans (19 400 applications) seeking international protection in Turkey.¹⁴

These groups are permitted to remain in Turkey if they are granted a residence permit. Residence permits are obligatory for foreigners who want to stay in Turkey beyond the expiry of their visa (normally 90 days). There is a visa exemption of 90 days during which it is possible to apply for the type of residence permit for which they believe that they meet the requirements through the e-residence system. This document is granted only by the competent authorities, and it gives foreigners the right to reside in a specified location in Turkey for a given period of time.¹⁵

4. Social policy measures for Ukrainians: financial support for housing, access to healthcare and education.

Individuals seeking international protection – that is, asylum seekers or refugees – might be eligible for a variety of forms of social and financial assistance from government institutions or other organisations. Ukrainians opting to stay in Turkey through the international protection channel could benefit from these support mechanisms, described briefly in the next paragraph.

These support measures for individuals with international protection in Turkey range from provision of food and household goods to cash assistance.¹⁶ One of these social support instruments is the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASF), coordinated by provincial administrations. It includes one-off cash assistance, as well as provision of non-food items, coal aid or assistance for accommodation or education. Applicants for such assistance must submit an application to the local provincial governorship, which will then decide based on a needs assessment. This may sometimes involve a home visit. Other support mechanisms include Social Service Centres, operating under the Provincial Directorates of Family and Social Policies, which deliver support to the most vulnerable refugees and asylum-seekers. The services provided include psycho-social support, training and counselling. Local municipalities are also able provide assistance (such as coal, food packages, clothing) to refugees and asylum-seekers, but the type of assistance package and

¹⁴ Presidency of Migration Management, nt. (4).

¹⁵ Presidency of Migration Management, *General information*, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/general-information41> (last accessed 07 March 2023).

¹⁶ The information in the following paragraph describing social support measures for asylum-seekers and refugees in Turkey is taken mainly from the UNHCR Turkey webpage: *see* UNHCR, *Social and financial assistance*, <https://help.unhcr.org/turkiye/social-economic-and-civil-matters/social-and-financial-assistance/> (last accessed 14 April 2023).

the eligibility criteria depend on the municipality and the resources allocated for such support. Last but not least, financial assistance may be available for primary and secondary education for refugees (and their relatives). This national social assistance programme is coordinated and implemented jointly by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of National Education, the Turkish Red Crescent and the **United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)**. Under this scheme, also known as the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE), eligible refugee families receive cash transfers conditional on regular school attendance by their children, starting from pre-school until the end of high school.¹⁷

As regards access to health services in Turkey, the visa waiver programme for foreigners does not grant free access, which means that Ukrainians opting to stay in Turkey as a foreigner during the visa-free period or afterwards with a regular residence permit are responsible for their own health costs. Although special permissions have been made, particularly in the initial months following the outbreak of war for newly arriving Ukrainians, offering relatively fast access to health services for basic screening and primary health services, Ukrainians are not reimbursed for these expenses.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Law on Social Insurance and General Health Insurance (*Sosyal Sigortalar ve Genel Sağlık Sigortası Kanunu*, No. 5510) includes possible access for foreigners to health-care services in Turkey after one year's residence in the country.

As already mentioned, most Ukrainians in Turkey are there under the visa waiver scheme, instead of the international protection channel. Subsequently, they may request a residence permit, depending on their circumstances and eligibility. The possibility of staying on in Turkey with a resident permit and the possible long-term prospect of ongoing war in Ukraine, make returning home difficult. This appears to have induced Ukrainians to invest in property in Turkey. While owning a house in Turkey offers longer term accommodation for Ukrainians, there is a growing sentiment among locals that it might have generated an upward trend in house prices.¹⁹ Rising prices appear to have affected particularly the rental market, as property owners ask for even higher rents, above the already high inflation rate in Turkey. Such higher rents can still be afforded by Ukrainians (as well as Russians for that matter), among whom housing demand is still rising, while renting offers a 'wait-and-see' option, while the war is still ongoing.

Against this background, Figure 3 shows the latest trends in house purchases by Ukrainians in Turkey. The graph starts from about a year earlier than the start of the war in Ukraine in February 2022 in order to capture the house purchasing behaviour of Ukrainians prior to the war. The figure suggests that there has indeed been a sharp increase (actually more than double) in the number of houses purchased by Ukrainians in Turkey since the

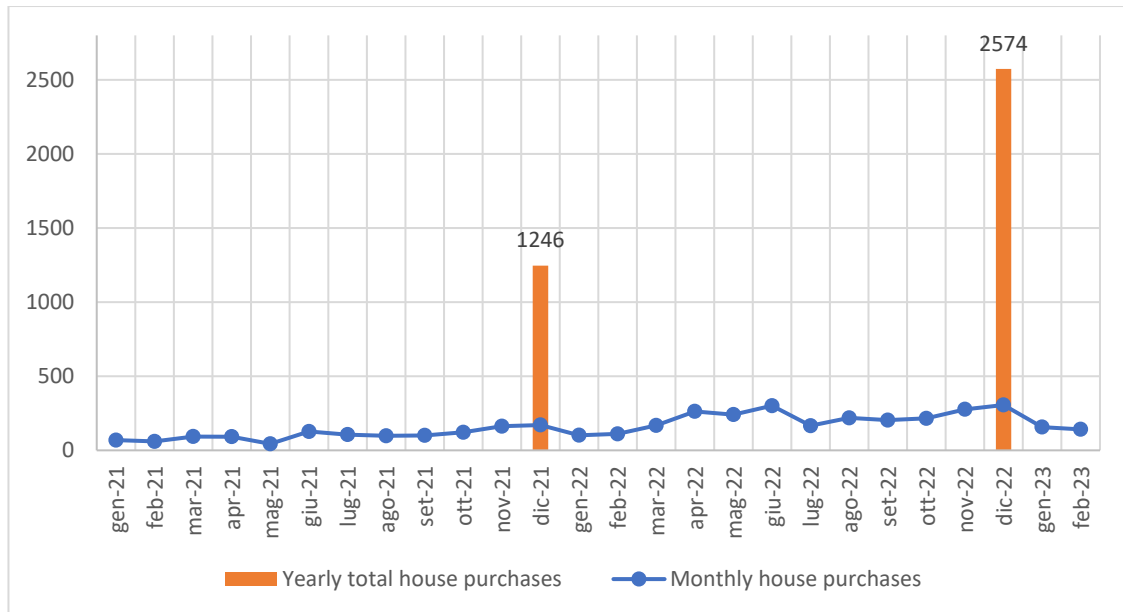
¹⁷ For more information, see UNICEF, *The "Conditional Cash Transfer for Education" (CCTE) Programme for Syrians and Other Refugee Children Launches into its second phase in Türkiye*, 24 September 2018, <https://www.unicef.org/turkiye/en/press-releases/conditional-cash-transfer-education-ccte-programme-syrians-and-other-refugee> (last accessed on 14 April 2023).

¹⁸ Medecins du Monde Turkey (Dunya Doktorlari Dernegi), nt. (3).

¹⁹ Çinar M., *A Antalya'da emlak sektörüne Rus ve Ukraynalı etkisi (Russian and Ukrainian influence on the real estate sector in Antalya)*, in *DHA*, 22 January 2023, <https://www.dha.com.tr/foto-galeri/antalyada-emlak-sektorune-rus-ve-ukraynali-etkisi-2194258> (last accessed on 14 April 2023); Tavsan S., Kidera M., *Turkey becomes magnet for Russians and Ukrainians alike*, in *Nikkei Asia*, 8 June 2022, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Ukraine-war/Turkey-becomes-magnet-for-Russians-and-Ukrainians-alike> (last accessed on 14 April 2023).

outbreak of war. Whereas in 2021 Ukrainian citizens bought 1 246 houses in Turkey, the figure was 2 574 in 2022, a 107% increase in net house sales to Ukrainians over a year. This sharp increase in house purchases is indicative of the permanent residence intentions of a significant number of Ukrainians, particularly following the war. Recent figures from Turkish Statistics, as well as anecdotal evidence from local sources suggest that house purchases by Ukrainians are concentrated in big cities, including Istanbul, Izmir and Antalya.

Figure 1. House purchases by Ukrainians in Turkey.



Source: Authors' elaboration based on recent statistics from the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TUIK).²⁰

Regarding education, there have also been several developments, with the introduction of targeted and formal, as well as ad hoc support measures for Ukrainians in Turkey. As regards formal interventions, one month after the start of the war in Ukraine, the Turkish Council of Higher Education announced a support programme for university students in Ukraine (both of Turkish and Ukrainian origins) to be transferred to Turkish universities to continue their education.²¹ Another targeted education support measure is the training and counselling jointly organised by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and UNICEF and provided to staff recruited as part of the intervention programme to support children arriving from Ukraine to Turkey.²² The training covered topics such as child protection, awareness-raising among Ukrainian families, as well as psychosocial support services for children separated

²⁰ Turkish Statistical Institute, <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Kategori/GetKategori?p=insaat-ve-konut-116&dil=1> (last accessed 13 April 2023).

²¹ The official announcement and the list of eligibility conditions for students in Ukraine to be transferred to universities in Turkey are provided here (in Turkish): Council of Higher Education, <https://www.yok.gov.tr/Sayfalar/Ogrenci/ukraynada-egitim-goren-TC-vatandasi-ogrencilerin-yatay-gecis-ve-ozel-ogrencilik-islemleri.aspx> (last accessed 14 April 2023).

²² T.C. Family and Social Ministry of Services, Department of Education and Publication, *Intervention Program Orientation Training for Children Coming to Turkey from Ukraine Started*, 4 October 2022, available at <https://www.aile.gov.tr/eydb/haberler/ukrayna-dan-turkiye-ye-gelen-cocuklara-yonelik-mudahale-programi-oryantasyon-egitimi-basladi/> (last accessed 14 April 2023).

from their parents (particularly from their fathers, as Ukraine declared martial law, prohibiting men aged between 18 and 60 from leaving the country) as a result of war.

Lastly, there are a number of ad hoc education support measures targeting Ukrainians in Turkey. One is the ‘Saturday Schools’ scheme run by the association Ukraine Families for children from Ukraine.²³ These schools provide lessons in Ukrainian, as well as drawing, sports and musical activities to children aged between 5 and 12, in at least two groups in Istanbul and Antalya. These are among the cities hosting the majority of Ukrainians in Turkey. Another example is the Turkish lessons provided by associations and volunteers to Ukrainian children in Turkey to help them continue their education in Turkey, as well as to improve their social integration.²⁴

5. Social policy measures for Ukrainians: supporting professional activity.

There are significant differences concerning the right to work depending on whether someone is resident in Turkey under international protection or because they have a residence permit.

According to the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, a refugee or a subsidiary protection beneficiary, upon being granted that status, may work independently or be employed, without prejudice to the provisions stipulated in other legislation excluding foreigners from certain jobs and professions.²⁵ The identity document issued to refugees or subsidiary protection beneficiaries shall also substitute for a work permit and this information shall be written on the document (Art. 89/4, b). On the other hand, an applicant or a conditional refugee may apply for a work permit after six months following the submission of an international protection claim. Thus, if a foreigner is granted refugee or subsidiary protection status, without any further conditions, they are thereby entitled to work.

The scope and rules of the right to work for people with temporary protection status are not regulated in detail by the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. Article 91/2 of the Law states that a bylaw will be issued to regulate the admission of foreigners into Turkey; their stay, rights and obligations in the country; their exit from Turkey; measures to be taken to prevent mass influxes; cooperation and coordination among national and international institutions and organisations; and the duties and mandate of the central and provincial institutions and organisations. A Bylaw on Temporary Protection (*Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği*) came into force on 22 October 2014. According to Article 29 of the bylaw, any person given a temporary protection identity card is entitled to apply to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security for a work permit.

²³ *Türkiye’deki Ukraynalı çocuklar için Cumartesi Okulları açıldı* (Saturday Schools opened for Ukrainian children in Turkey), in *Oha*, 27 September 2022, <https://www.qha.com.tr/haber-arsivi/turkiye-deki-ukraynali-cocuklar-icin-cumartesi-okullari-acildi-444030> (last accessed 14 April 2023).

²⁴ Ekizler T., *Ukraynalı çocuklara İzmir’de Türkçe eğitimi veriliyor* (Ukrainian children are given Turkish education in Izmir), in *AA*, 23 August 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/rusya-ukrayna-savasi/ukraynali-cocuklara-izmirde-turkce-egitimi-veriliyor/2667335#> (last accessed 14 April 2023).

²⁵ To give a few examples, judges, prosecutors, lawyers, army officers and police officers.

Briefly, under the abovementioned legal provisions of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection and the Directive on Temporary Protection, the citizens of non-European countries cannot be granted refugee status in Turkey. Unless a foreigner is granted refugee status or subsidiary protection, they must apply for a work permit to work legally in Turkey. The types of work permits and the application process will be examined below.

The Law on International Labour Force is the main piece of legislation concerning work permits. Four types of work permit are regulated in the Law. For example, some work permits are issued for a definite period, some are indefinite and there is also a work permit that allows a foreigner to perform an economic activity on a self-employed basis. We shall turn to the fourth type of work permit shortly.

A common characteristic of the first three kinds of work permit is that the Ministry has discretion in granting them. The Ministry is not bound to grant a permit, even when an applicant has met all the requirements. This discretion enables the Ministry to examine the current state of the employment system when a foreigner applies for a work permit. The Ministry may decide to accept or reject an application on the basis of the current employment outlook.²⁶

The four types of work permit are as follows:

- a. Work permit for a definite period of time (Art. 10/1–2). This work permit can be issued only for work at a certain workplace or enterprise, whether in the public or private sector, in a certain position. The validity of the work permit should not exceed one year from the date of issuance. At the end of that period, the work permit may be extended up to two years on the first occasion, and for another three years subsequently, as long as the foreigner continues to work in the same workplace or enterprise and in the same job. If the foreigner wants to work for another employer, they have to make a new application, starting once again at one year's validity.²⁷
- b. Work permit for an indefinite period of time (Art. 10/3–4). This type of work permit may be issued to foreigners with a long-term residence permit or who have already been working on the basis of a work permit for eight years. This type of work permit enables a foreigner to work without restriction in a certain enterprise and/or profession. Long-term residence permits are regulated in Article 42 Law No. 6458. An important restriction on long-term residence permits is that refugees, conditional refugees and subsidiary protection beneficiaries, as well as people under temporary protection or humanitarian residence permit holders are not entitled to apply for them. Indefinite work permits grant foreigners much more freedom as regards employment. But there are restrictions on the types of occupation that non-nationals can take up. For example, foreigners cannot work as lawyers, notaries public, judges, prosecutors, military personnel or civil servants, even if they have a work permit for an indefinite period. These professions may be performed exclusively by Turkish citizens. Article 10/4 Law on International Labour Force specifies that the jobs and professions to which foreigners are denied access are covered by provisions in other laws.²⁸

²⁶ Yildiz G.B., *Foreign Workers in Turkey, Their Rights and Obligations Regulated in Turkish Labour Law*, in *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 9, 2007, 214.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 215.

²⁸ For more detailed information, *ibidem*, 216.

- c. Permit for working independently (Art. 10/7–8). Any foreigner who intends to work as a self-employed person in Turkey needs to obtain this kind of work permit. Applications will be assessed by considering the applicant's educational status and occupational experience. The applicant's investments or economic activity, and any contribution to science and technology, or to national development and employment will also be considered.
- d. Turquoise card (Art 11). This is an exceptional type of work permit. First of all, the main purpose of this type of work permit is to procure foreign skilled labour. A Turquoise card will be granted, in line with international labour policy, to foreigners whose applications are in accordance with the principles and procedures set forth by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. Applicants' educational background and professional experience, as well as any possible contribution to science and technology, or the benefit of their activities or investments in Turkey to the national economy and employment are other criteria taken into account when evaluating applications. A Turquoise card is issued initially for a three-year trial period. During this period the Ministry of Labour will monitor the (temporary) Turquoise card holder, requesting information and documents related to their activities from them or their employer. After this initial three-year period, a permanent Turquoise card may be issued, upon application. Foreigners under temporary protection may not apply for a Turquoise card.

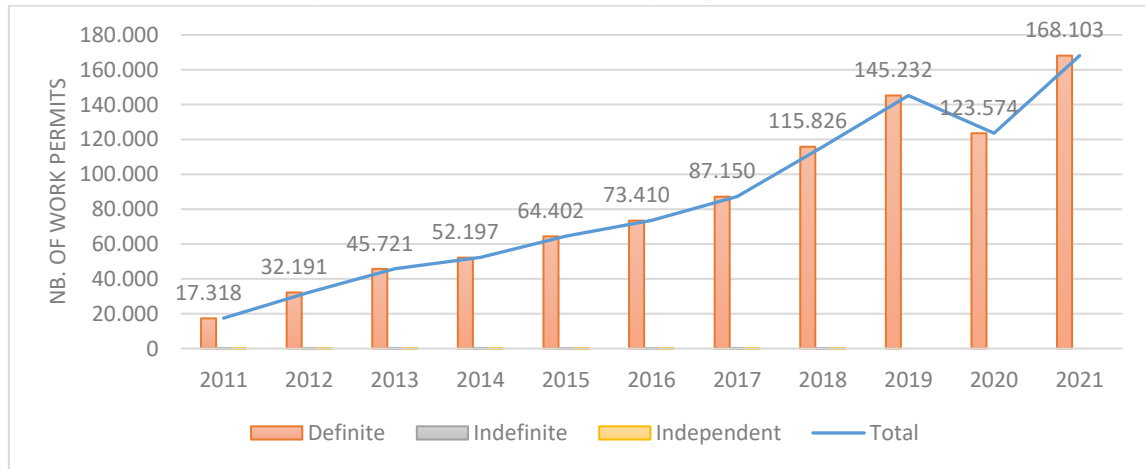
Figure 4 presents the evolution of the number of work permits granted to foreigners in Turkey by type of work permit (covering the first three types described above).²⁹ The figure suggests a growing number of work permits issued – apart from a fall during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic – over the past decade. According to Ministry of Labour and Social Security statistics, 4 564 people from Ukraine were granted fixed-term work permits in 2021,³⁰ up from 2 271 in 2020.³¹ Among these 4 564 work permits, 74% were issued to Ukrainian women. Statistics on work permits for 2022 by country of origin and gender will come out towards the end of 2023.

²⁹ We do not possess information either on the overall number of Turquoise card holders or on the number of Ukrainians with a Turquoise card.

³⁰ T.C. Study and Ministry of Social Security, *Work permits of foreigners*, 2021, available at <https://www.csgeb.gov.tr/media/90062/yabanciizin2021.pdf> (last accessed 17 April 2023).

³¹ T.C. Study and Ministry of Social Security, *Work permits of foreigners*, 2020, available at <https://www.csgeb.gov.tr/media/87487/yabanciizin2020.pdf> (last accessed 17 April 2023).

Figure 2. Number of work permits issued to foreigners by type of permission and year, Turkey.



Source: Authors' elaboration based on work permit data retrieved from.³² The columns corresponding to indefinite and independent categories are not visible as the figures are dwarfed by the majority category of fixed-term work permits. The raw data underlying the figure are provided in the appendix, where the actual numbers from each category can be inspected in detail.

As already mentioned, if a foreigner is granted refugee or subsidiary refugee status they may work self-employed or for an employer, in accordance with the provisions in other legislation excluding foreigners from certain jobs and professions. The identity document issued to refugees or subsidiary protection beneficiaries shall also substitute for a work permit and this information shall be written into the document.

Article 17 Law on International Labour Force regulates the work permits of foreigners who are under international protection. According to the Article, any foreigner who has applied for international protection and whose application has not been finally settled may apply for a work permit after six months. The same applies to conditional refugees.

6. Final considerations.

The war in Ukraine that started in February 2022 has caused the displacement of millions of people, both internally and internationally. The majority of Ukrainians have fled to neighbouring countries, such as Poland, Romania, Hungary and Slovakia, but many have moved on to other European countries. A significant number have sought refuge in Turkey, totalling almost 100 000 people. Against the background of the strong historical and bilateral links between Ukraine and Turkey, this chapter provides a brief analysis of the situation of Ukrainians in Turkey. It starts with a brief description of the general legal framework governing the situation of persons seeking international protection in Turkey. It then describes the case of Ukrainians who are eligible for a visa waiver programme enabling them

³² T.C. Study and Ministry of Social Security, *Work permits Statistics*, available at: <https://www.csgeb.gov.tr/istatistikler/calisma-hayati-istatistikleri/resmi-istatistik-programi/yabancilarin-calisma-izinleri/> (last accessed 12 April 2023).

to remain in Turkey for a limited number of days. The chapter also presents the evolution of the number of Ukrainians in Turkey, with the latest available data.

In other sections, information on the relevant legal provisions, as well as formal and institutionalised support mechanisms for Ukrainians in Turkey are described. The formal social support measures have been complemented with ad hoc mechanisms targeting Ukrainians specifically. In the last section the legal provisions on occupational activities for foreigners in Turkey are detailed and it was explained that Ukrainians are also covered by these regulations.

All in all, given that the majority of Ukrainians in Turkey reside neither as refugees nor under temporary protection, but rather as foreign citizens with short- or long-term residence permits, our assessment of the situation is that their experience in Turkey has been rather positive, and this also applies to locals. This is confirmed by the rising number of civil society organisations supporting Ukrainians since the early stages of the war, as well as the civil society associations set up by Ukrainians living in Turkey. These developments could indicate that the social integration of Ukrainians in Turkey is improving.

From a comparative perspective, it could also be said that, compared with other large populations of migrants (such as Syrians and Afghans) in Turkey, Ukrainians are better off, in particular financially. The overall positive experience comes as no surprise, as Turkey was already a top destination (mainly for tourism, but not only that) for Ukrainians for many years prior to the war. Finally, the increasing number of house purchases by Ukrainians also points to their intention to remain in Turkey for the long term.

7. Appendix

Raw data on work permits underlying Figure 4:

Year	Type of permission			Total
	Definite	Indefinite	Independent (self-employed)	
2011	17 318	132	16	17 466
2012	32 191	79	9	32 279
2013	45 721	93	9	45 823
2014	52 197	95	3	52 295
2015	64 402	115	4	64 521
2016	73 410	115	24	73 549
2017	87 150	19	13	87 182
2018	115 826	4	7	115 837
2019	145 232	0	0	145 232
2020	123 574	0	0	123 574
2021	168 103	0	0	168 103