

FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

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Could Neighbourhood Ties Still Be Important for the Migrants in a Metropolitan City?



Bürge Elvan Erginli

Istanbul Technical University

Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

İstanbul, Turkey, Mecidiye Mahallesi, Dereboyu Caddesi No:41 Kat:2-3-4 34347, Ortaköy

E-mail: elvan.erginli@tesev.org.tr



Tüzin Baycan

Istanbul Technical University

Istanbul, Turkey, Taskisla, 34437, Taksim, Sisli

E-mail: tbaycan@itu.edu.tr

Abstract. Although neighbourhood ties have diminishing roles in people's lives because the modern metropolis presents so much choice for its residents, they have not completely disappeared, especially for some groups. In metropolitan cities, migrants settle in the areas where other migrants from the same origin live. This situation represents more than socioeconomic factors, and the relationship forms that migrants maintain within and outside their neighbourhoods could be different from one migrant group to another. The aim of this study is to understand the importance of neighbourhood ties in the networks of the migrants in Istanbul, and to examine the type of ties by their geographical locations. According to the results of the analysis which demonstrates the concentration of different migrant groups in the districts of Istanbul, the focus is on the international migrants who came from Macedonia

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and old Yugoslavian countries (Sandzak region) and who live in Bayrampasa and Besiktas, and internal migrants who came from the biggest metropolitan city Ankara and its border city of Eskisehir and who live in Besiktas. By using personal network analysis, the study comparatively analyses the migrants' neighbourhood ties by the characteristics of the migrants and by type of their local and nonlocal ties. The results reveal a difference between the migrant groups regarding their dependence on neighbourhood ties and the type of ties that are distributed along different geographical locations.

Key words: personal networks of migrants, local ties, nonlocal ties, network analysis.

1. Introduction

social studies that consider contextual determination while examining social actions were more predominant before the second half of the 20th century than after (Coleman, 1986; Pattison and Robins, 2004). However, after the 1940s, contextual thinking was abandoned to another perspective which tries to explain the social world by looking at independent individuals without considering the contexts of their social actions (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). This is called the 'substantial approach' in social studies by Emirbayer (1997). Contrary to this substantial approach, which ignores relations between social entities, or does not think of relations as independent of the concept of real being,¹ the focus of research in the 'relational approach' is the relations themselves.

In parallel with the developments in social studies, and in view of the inadequacy of conventional approaches in explaining migration phenomena relational analysis in

migration studies began to develop. Rather than focusing on actors' attributes, these new approaches that bridge macro and micro levels in migration studies aim to reveal the structure and content of relationships between actors. A bulk of research examining the processes of decision-making, the choice of destination and the status of resettled migrants in host societies from a relational perspective exists (e.g. transnational social spaces). These studies focus on the concept of social capital and see social capital as both an accelerator of integration in the host society, and a provider of the continuation of ties in the sending region.

It is a fact that by technological improvements and transportation facilities, social networks in neighbourhoods are not as they used to be. The ties are dispersed over time and space. The literature on the ties of the metropolitan residents either highlights the continuing importance of local ties, or they emphasize the ties that are liberated from local settings. However, if migrants' residential segregation is still one of the main characteristics of metropolitan cities in spite of the alteration in the structure of the

¹ The substantial approach thinks of relations as if they are part of essences. Relations are only thought as if they only make complementary or external changes in essences without changing their nature.

networks of the residents, it is worth focusing on the forms of the relationships that the residents maintain with their neighbourhoods. This study is such an attempt that aims to understand the importance of neighbourhood ties in the networks of the migrants in Istanbul, and to examine the type of ties by their geographical locations. According to the results of the analysis demonstrating the concentration of different migrant groups in the districts of Istanbul, the focus is on the international migrants who came from Macedonia and old Yugoslavian countries (Sandzak region) and live in Bayrampasa and Besiktas and internal migrants who came from the biggest metropolitan city Ankara and its border city of Eskisehir and live in Besiktas. By using personal network analysis, the study comparatively analyses the migrants' neighbourhood ties by the characteristics of the migrants and type of their local and nonlocal ties.

Few studies on social networks of migrants handle the issue from a relational perspective. Quantitative studies that use survey data about the association between personal networks of migrants and their geographical locations actually do not focus on the relationships between individuals. The ties are reduced to variables without a consideration of in which contexts (what kind of a patterning of ties in what kind of networks) they operate. Qualitative studies on the other hand, give more detailed information about the ties between individuals. However, it is not possible to see the whole picture of the

ties of individuals; for instance the types and their geographical locations could not be related. In this study, we will examine the networks of the migrants and focus on the local and nonlocal ties in these networks.

The next section evaluates the literature on the social networks of the resettled migrants. It starts with a brief discussion on the local and nonlocal ties of the residents in metropolitan cities. The third section which is the empirical part of this study introduces the study areas, migrants groups, data and method, and explains the results of the analysis. The fourth part summarizes and discusses the findings.

2. Social networks of resettled migrants in the modern metropolis

2.1. Local and Nonlocal Ties in Metropolitan Cities

By the effect of technological improvements and transportation facilities, social networks in neighbourhoods are not as they used to be. For instance, neighbourhoods have diminishing roles in people's lives, because the modern metropolis presents so much choice for its residents. People that live in modern cities are free to choose their friends based on common interests from several channels (Logan and Spitze, 1994). Along with social similarity, access to people is an important matter in forming and maintaining ties with people (Hampton and Wellman, 2003). Since new transportation and communication technologies shorten the distances, maintaining ties with people

from several channels is not an issue for the metropolitan resident,² and face-to-face interaction is not a must for maintaining social ties (Putnam, 2000). However, neighbourhoods are still important³ -especially for some people- because of many common issues and similar statuses of the neighbourhood residents.⁴ Neighbourhoods are the places in which people who do not have access to broader networks can socialize (Logan and Spitze, 1994). There are several personal characteristics (such as age, financial status, life cycle, minority racial status, gender etc.) that limit people from accessing broader networks. Furthermore, as people stay longer in a neighbourhood, they start to invest in their local ties. Therefore, length of residence is an important factor for people to develop and maintain ties in their neighbourhoods.

² For an extensive study on how new communication technologies affected the amount of contact and support with members of the networks of the residents of Netville, see Hampton and Wellman (2002). The authors underline that new communication technologies should be considered as tools that bring new means of social contact with the members of personal networks of kinship, friendship, neighbours and workmates. They indicate that scenarios from both enthusiasts and dystopians about the consequences of using such technologies could all be real for different people or one person in different times.

³ Physically accessible ties (i.e. neighbourhood ties) provide instrumental aid and support "such as lending and giving household items, help with household repairs, and aid in dealing with organizations. ...In general, neighbourhoods with high social capital are safer, better informed, higher in social trust and better equipped to deal with local issues" (Hampton and Wellman, 2003).

⁴ On the other hand, Hampton and Wellman (2003) also draw attention to the decreasing access among neighbourhood residents -although they are physically close- because of other activities, lack of institutions at the neighbourhood level and lack of time that is stolen by long working and commuting hours. Therefore, empirical evidence helps us to see to what extent, in what cases and for whom neighbourhood ties are important.

In a nutshell, the studies about neighbourhood and social networks highlight the existence and importance of dense social ties within neighbourhoods for some groups, yet for the others community is liberated from the neighbourhood to some extent. This line of studies (Wellman, 1979; Fischer, 1982; Campbell and Lee, 1992; Logan and Spitze, 1994; Hampton and Wellman, 2003; Bastani, 2007; Grossetti, 2007) underline mainly three issues. The first one is the type⁵ of ties that still exist in the neighbourhoods. The second issue is the profiles of the residents for whom the neighbourhood ties are significant⁶ or insignificant. Thirdly, they focus on the content of the ties (that are dispersed over the city) of the urbanites and sources that are extracted from them. Studies approaching these issues by network analysis are different than the others⁷ in that they

⁵ According to Bridge (2002), these types reflect the interaction in the neighbourhood that is happening outside of the work places.

⁶ Quite a number of studies suggest that local social contacts are important only in low-income neighbourhoods or in ethnic enclaves. In poverty debates, it is generally assumed that individuals who live in segregated neighbourhoods tend to have limited networks, which reduces access to information, cultural repertoires and opportunities in general, and cause them to face negative socio-economic conditions (Marques, 2012). On the other hand, spatial segregation may prevent integration to mainstream society, but certainly helps to reinforce interaction in groups. For example, networks can help social improvement especially when it is hard to find opportunities in the formal labour market (van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998).

⁷ Wellman (1979: 1203) criticises the studies on community question that limit their study in a bounded area, assuming that "an urbanite's primary ties are organized by locality." This is why they prevalently conclude that community has decayed. He emphasizes the appropriateness of the network approach in community studies because of its way of analysing individuals as the linked nodes of complex network structures, not the members of discrete solidarities.

avoid a priori statements (Wellman, 1979). If the studies investigating social networks with a geographical reference are evaluated together, even in these modern times in modern cities, one can see that we still can and need to talk about local (i.e. neighbourhood) ties. Even though technological improvements and transportation facilities decreased the importance of neighbourhoods, they did not completely destruct local ties. What really happened to the local ties is their transformation rather than their destruction. Moreover, according to Wellman (1979), the metropolitan area bounds the field of interaction more than does the neighbourhood. Studies on social networks and physical space mainly address the association between the types of networks, characteristics of the residents and the content of ties from which people receive different kinds of support. Neighbourhood ties still exist in people's networks differentiating in volume, type and content with regard to people's characteristics. However, Wellman (1979) argues that in order to see to what extent neighbourhood ties are important, the whole networks of people should be examined. People's sparsely knit networks contain several components. If one solely focus on specific type of networks such as kinship systems or neighbourly relations, it is inevitable to discover densely knit networks.

2.2. Social Networks of Migrants

The structure of residential segregation patterns which are reproduced by the new migrants who settle in the areas where previous migrants from the same origin live,

represent more than the socioeconomic factors. Social relations within and between groups play an important role in the formation and transformation of segregation patterns. Strong ties between migrants are seen as the most important reason of segregation (see e.g. Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Vervoort, 2012). *“Geographical proximity to their counterparts is preferred by the new migrants, while this situation leads to the formation of new ties and/or densification of the present ones”* (Erginli and Baycan, 2016).

It is a fact that by technological improvements and transportation facilities, social networks in neighbourhoods are not as they used to be. The ties are dispersed over time and space. However, if migrants' residential segregation is still one of the main characteristics of metropolitan cities in spite of the alteration in the structure of the networks of the residents, it is worth focusing on the research which investigate the ties of migrants. The authors of this line of research study these ties either by considering the local units of the migrants' residential places, or they prefer to investigate the subject independent of space. These studies of resettled migrants' social networks widely differ from each other by what they aim to examine and the methods they use. In the next lines, these studies are categorised with respect to what they aim to examine, and are viewed by the aspects they refer to.

One line of research about social networks of resettled migrants aims to find out **‘the role of social networks on the adaptation and**

integration of migrants' in the host society (see e.g. Koser, 1997; Nannestad et.al, 2008; Fernandez, 2002; Cranford, 2005; Marschall and Stolle, 2004; Ryan, 2011; Zhou and Bankston, 1994; Barnes, 2001; Fong, 1997; Flores-Yeffal and Aysa-Lastra, 2011). In these studies, benefits and/or harms of social networks of individuals are generally examined in order to see if ethnic ties prevent integration in the host society.

Another line of research on the subject aims to examine '**the effects of neighbourhood characteristics on social networks**' (see e.g. van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Vervoort, 2012; Bakker and Dekker, 2012; Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2007; Boschman, 2012; Pinkster and V lker, 2009; Smets and den Uyl, 2008). These studies generally use quantitative methods with a few exceptions. Since the aim is to investigate neighbourhood effects, local units of the residents are considered while comparing these units according to their status (low-middle-high). Individual characteristics are also examined in order to see, for example, if concentration in a local unit on social networks is equally effectual for all types of individuals.

A very common research subject about migrants' social networks is '**their effects on migrants' job finding**' (see e.g. Aguilera, 2002; Sanders et al., 2002; Aguilera, 2003; Aguilera and Massey, 2003; Pinkster, 2007; Harvey, 2008; Beaman, 2012). As a matter of course, these studies examine the benefits and harms of social networks of migrants while investigating their effects on job finding. Studies in this area do not take into account

local units of individuals in their analysis with a few exceptions. Both qualitative and quantitative studies consider individuals' status while examining the effects of their social networks on their access to job channels.

More recently, investigating '**social network structure and composition of migrants**' in host societies emerged as a new line of research (see i.e. Liu et al., 2012; Molina et al., 2012; Lubbers et.al, 2010; Lubbers et.al, 2007; Ooka and Wellman, 2006; Schweizer et al. 1998; Litwin, H., 1995). Although, some of these studies focus on the adaptation and integration of migrants, they are classified separately since the methods they use are quite different than the above-mentioned studies. The information on personal networks of migrants is gathered from specific surveys that generate migrants' networks by a limited number of persons. Some studies in this category do consider local networks at the neighbourhood or city level. The studies examining social network structure and composition of migrants from a network perspective give a more comprehensive picture of the networks. They focus on the relationship between individuals without reducing the relations to a characteristic of individuals. Type, local characters, strength of ties, support provided from ties could be related, structure and composition of the networks could be revealed and all these can be compared according to the characteristics of individuals. In this study, we adopt such an approach in order to examine the importance of neighbourhood ties in the migrants'

networks. As Wellman (1979) suggests, following the examination of the migrants' whole networks, the ties in these networks are investigated.

3. The case of migrants in Bayrampasa and Besiktas

3.1. *Selecting the study areas and migrant groups*

an exploratory analysis demonstrating the concentration of migrant groups is required for selecting which districts and migrant groups are to be studied. We applied Correspondence Analysis (Erginli and Baycan, 2016),⁸ that revealed the districts in which internal and international migrant groups concentrate. By reason of the high over-representation of international migrants who came from Macedonia, Albania and old Yugoslavian⁹ countries in the district of Bayrampasa; high over-representation of internal migrants who came from big metropolitan cities of Turkey and slight over-representation of international migrants who came from Macedonia, Albania and Sandzak region in the district of Besiktas, the study areas are dedicated as Bayrampasa and Besiktas districts. In this study, the focus is on the international migrants who came from Macedonia Sandzak region and live in Bayrampasa and Besiktas, and

⁸ The analyses are made by using TURKSTAT 2000 Census data which has information on the migrants' residential location from 5 years before the census and their current location at the time of the census.

⁹ At the year of 2000, Yugoslavia (The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) included the countries Serbia and Montenegro. Sandzak region in which the migrants are originated is located around the border of these two countries. From this point on, the origin of these migrants will be referred to as "Sandzak region".

internal migrants who came from the biggest metropolitan city Ankara and its border city of Eskisehir and who live in Besiktas. These two districts are different from each other in terms of their geographical locations in the city, land use and social structures. Besiktas locates in the centre of the city, incorporating relatively high amount of CBD (Central Business District) functions and white-collar workers while Bayrampasa is a more peripheral district with industrial and wholesale activities. While it will be possible to compare the social networks of the same migrant groups –who came from Macedonia and Sandzak region– in two different districts, social networks of this migrant group could also be compared with another type of migrant group –those who came from Ankara and Eskisehir–.

Bayrampasa has an area of 961 hectares and a population of 269,677 inhabitants. It has an important role with its location considering the development history of Istanbul. It gained its district statute in 1990 by separating from Eyup. The district, with its East neighbour Eyup and South neighbour Zeytinburnu, is adjacent to the central area of Istanbul that is the Historical Peninsula. Furthermore, Bayrampasa has direct linking roads to E-5 and TEM highways which makes the district accessible from other parts of the city (*see Figure 1*). Public transportation is provided by several modes such as metrobus (bus rapid transit), light railway and buses.

In respect of its strategic location, the district of Bayrampasa became an area of destination for all intra-urban mobility,

Figure 1. Location of Bayrampasa and Besiktas districts



internal and international migration. By the result of development operations that occurred in order to construct Vatan and Millet roads, some of the dwellers moved to Bayrampasa in the 1950s (District Governorship of Bayrampasa, 2017). Mass migration from other provinces of Turkey to Istanbul because of the rapid urbanization of the country and industrial establishments that were constructed in Bayrampasa had an influence on the district, rendering it attractive for internal migrants after the 1950s. In the same period, a migration wave from Macedonia, Albania and former Yugoslavia¹⁰

¹⁰ Mass migration from the Macedonia-Yugoslavia region has occurred mainly in four different periods. The first wave occurred by the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russia War; the second wave occurred by the 1912-1913 Balkan War; the third wave occurred between 1923-1951; and the fourth wave occurred between 1951-1967 mainly from Macedonia in the 50's and Bosnia in the 60's.

started and continued rapidly until the end of the 1960s. The analysis showing migration flows from these regions (Erginli and Baycan, 2016) demonstrate that this movement was still continuing in the period of 1995–2000.

Besiktas has an area of 1801 hectares and a population of 186,570 inhabitants. It is located on the European shore of the Bosphorus and has a coastal line of 8375 meters. It is surrounded by the districts of Beyoglu in the South, Sisli and Kagithane in the West and Sariyer in the North (see Figure 1). The district could be considered as central with the presence of universities and various faculties and workplaces. It has road connections to several districts of Istanbul next to the Bosphorus Bridge and can also be reached by seaway transportation.

According to the TURKSTAT census data of 2000, Bayrampasa is represented by blue-collar internal and international male migrants, unemployed, housewives, retired people and students. The educational attainment of the migrants is relatively low. Besiktas, on the other hand, is represented by both male and female white-collar internal and international migrants with high educational attainment and university students. Therefore, these two districts are different from each other in terms of their geographical locations in the city, land use and social structures. Besiktas locates in the centre of the city, incorporating relatively high amount of CBD functions and white-collar workers while Bayrampasa is a more peripheral district with industrial and wholesale activities.

In the beginning of the field study, migrant associations were investigated and it was observed that Rumelian Turks Culture and Solidarity Association (*Rumeli Türkleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği*) in Bayrampasa and Besiktas and “Bosnia-Sandzak Culture and Fraternal Association (*Bosna-Sancak Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği*) in Bayrampasa were carrying on regular activities. On the other hand, no migrant association could be found in Besiktas for the migrants coming from Ankara and Eskisehir. This situation points at strong ties and importance of local ties between migrants coming from Macedonia and Sandzak region, and relatively weak ties between migrants coming from Ankara and Eskisehir. Therefore, it will be significant to examine these two groups comparatively in order to reach the aim of the study.

3.2. Data and Method

126 face-to-face surveys were conducted for this study in the districts of Bayrampasa and Besiktas. First of all, migrants from Rumelian Turks Culture and Solidarity Associations in Bayrampasa and Besiktas and “Bosnia-Sandzak Culture and Fraternal Association in Bayrampasa were contacted. Secondly, snowball sampling method was used in order to reach people that were not affiliated to the migrant associations (*see Table 1*).

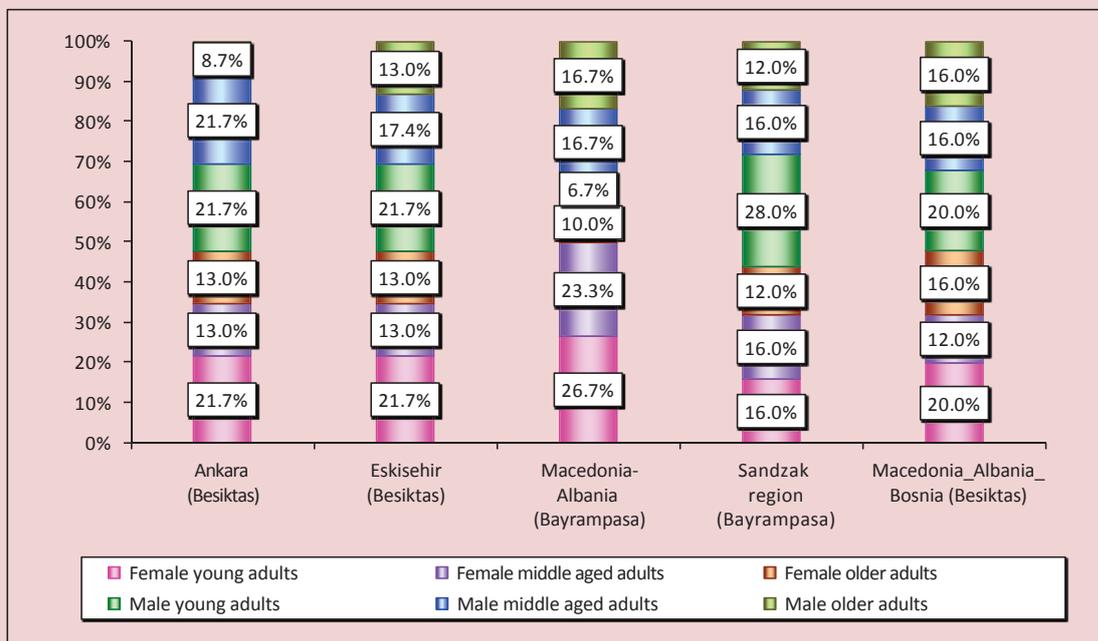
The sampling strategy was based on gender, age and affiliation to a migrant association. Equal number of male and female migrants and equal number of people from the age groups of young adults (18–35), middle-aged adults (36–55) and older adults (56+) of different migrant groups were targeted to be interviewed.

The age and sex distribution of the individuals is shown in *Figure 2*. 47.8% of migrants originating in Ankara living in Besiktas are female, while 52.2% are male. 43.5% of these migrants are young adults, 34.8% are middle-aged adults, and 21.7% are older adults. 47.8% of migrants originating in Eskisehir living in Besiktas are female, while 52.2% are male. 43.5% of these migrants are young adults, 30.4% are middle-aged adults, and 26.1% are older adults. 48% of migrants originating in Macedonia, Albania and Sandzak living in Besiktas are female, while 52% are male. 40% of these migrants are young adults, 28% are middle-aged adults, and 32% are older adults.

Table 1. Respondents in the sample

District of residence	Province/country of origin	No. of respondents that are affiliated to migrant associations	No. of respondents that are not affiliated to migrant associations	Total
Bayrampasa	Macedonia, Albania	14	16	30
	Sandzak region	12	13	25
Besiktas	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak region	7	18	25
	Ankara	0	23	23
	Eskisehir	0	23	23

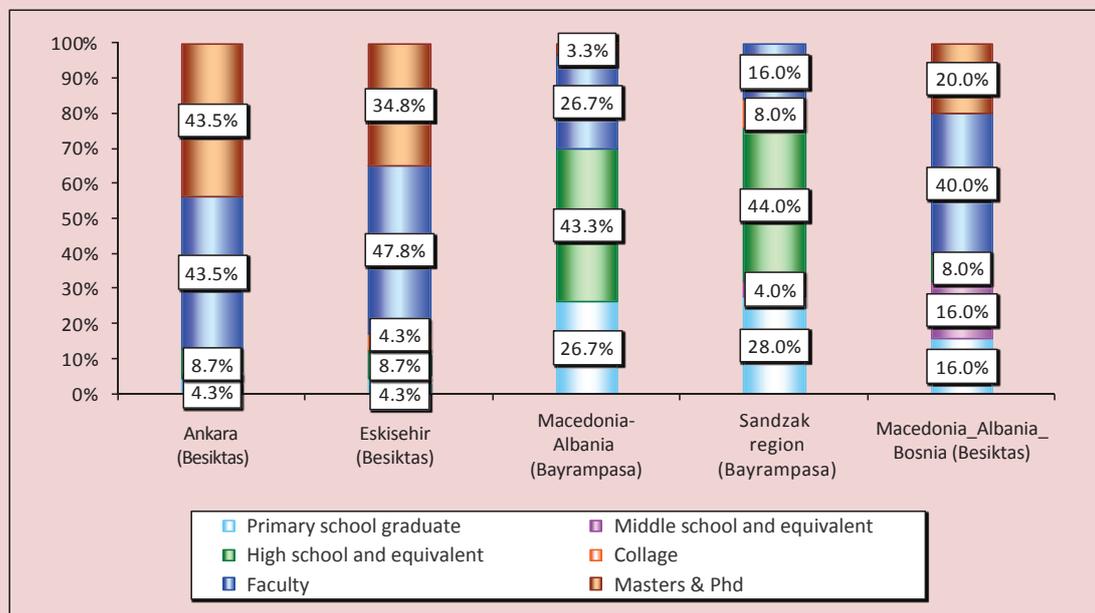
Figure 2. The age-sex distribution of the migrant groups in the sample (n=126)



60% of migrants originating in Macedonia and Albania living in Bayrampasa are female, while 40% are male. 33.3% of these migrants are young adults, 40% are middle-aged adults, and 26.7% are older adults. 44% of migrants originating in Sandzak region living in Bayrampasa are female, while 56% are male. 44% of these migrants are young adults, 32% are middle-aged adults, and 24% are older adults.

Figure 3 shows the educational attainments of the respondents. The migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir and live in Besiktas have very a high level of educational attainment in that 87% of the migrants who originated in Ankara hold a bachelor's, master's or PhD degree while this percentage is 82.6% for the migrants who originated in Eskisehir. On the other hand, migrants who originated in Macedonia, Albania and

Figure 3. The educational level distribution of the migrant groups in the sample (n=126)



Sandzak region and who reside in Bayrampasa have lower educational profiles. Only 30% of the migrants from Macedonia and Albania hold a bachelor's, master's or PhD degree, while this percentage is lower (16%) for the migrants originated in Sandzak. Primary school graduates are almost 30% for both of the migrant groups. The educational level of the migrants who originated in Macedonia, Albania and Sandzak and who live in the district of Besiktas is higher than that of the migrants in Bayrampasa. 60% of these migrants hold a bachelor's, master's or PhD degree, while only 16% of them are primary school graduates.

In order to reach the aim of the study, it is crucial to have information about the ties between migrants and people who live in their neighbourhoods, districts, cities or elsewhere

in the world. Therefore, in this study "egocentric (personal) network analysis" is used as a method that does not limit the network of individuals to a specified geographical or social space.

Personal network analysis requires a specific type of survey which provides information on a respondent's (ego) own attributes, generating their network with a determined number of persons whom the respondent has a relationship with and gaining information on attributes of these persons and the characteristics (type, duration and frequency) of ties they have with the respondent. The information gathered on the attributes of the respondents include their sex, age, educational level and neighbourhood of residence. After obtaining these pieces of information, a flexible name

generator question¹¹ (free-recall method, McCarty, 2002) was asked to the respondents to assign their social networks with a specific number. After that, information on the place of residence of these persons (alters) in the respondents' networks and type of ties between the ego (respondent) and the alters was obtained. Two levels of analyses are done. First, network-level descriptive analysis shows the neighbourhood ties within the networks of the different migrant groups and further evaluates the neighbourhood ties by the characteristics (sex, age, education) of the migrants. Second, ego-alter ties-level descriptive analysis demonstrates the geographical distribution of the ties of the migrant groups, and further evaluates the type of ties by their geographical locations.

3.3. Results

Local composition of networks

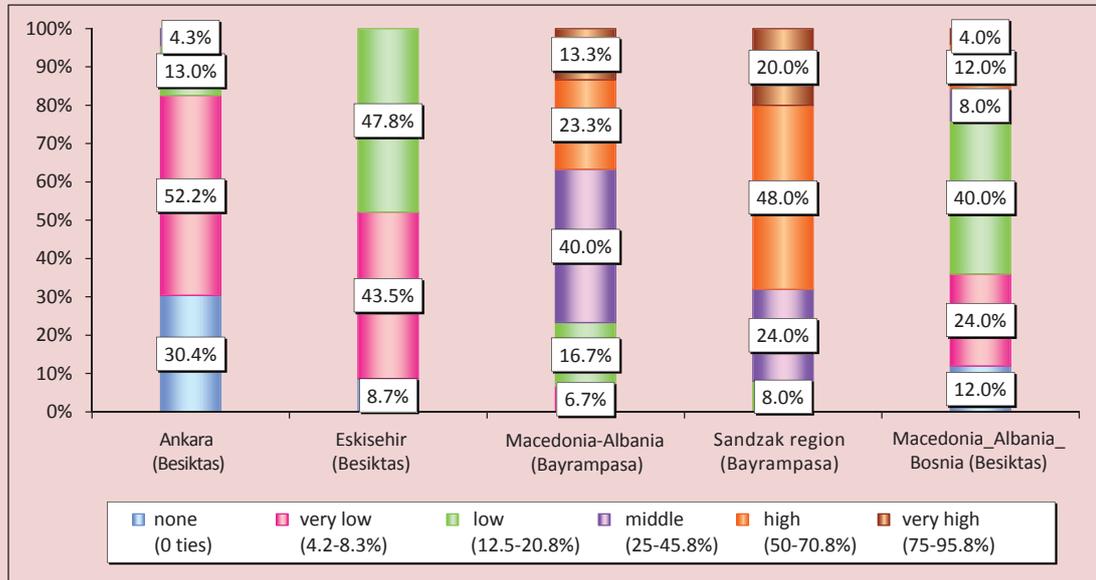
Figure 4 shows the concentration of alters that live in the same neighbourhood as the ego for each migrant group. While the networks of migrants originated in Ankara and Eskisehir that live in Besiktas are not dominantly generated by the alters that live in the same neighbourhood as the egos, local ties seems to be quite important for the migrants that live in Bayrampasa, especially for the ones that originate in the Sandzak region. If the percentages are evaluated for the migrants who originated in Ankara, it can be seen that 30.4% of them do not have any alters

in their social networks who live in the same neighbourhood as theirs, while within the networks of 52.2% of these migrants, only a very low percentage of links (between 4.2–8.3 % of the network) consist of connections to other individuals in their neighbourhood. The networks of 4.3% of these migrants comprise a middle percentage of (between 25–45.8 % of the network) neighbourhood ties. The same evaluation for the migrants who originated in Eskisehir shows that 8.7% of them do not have any alters in their social networks who live in the same neighbourhood as theirs, while within the networks of 42.5% of these migrants, only a very low percentage of links consist of connections to other individuals in their neighbourhood. The networks of 47.8% of these migrants comprise a low percentage of (between 12.5–20.8% of the network) neighbourhood ties.

On the other hand, the networks of 40% of the migrants who originated in Macedonia and Albania that live in Bayrampasa comprise a middle percentage of neighbourhood ties. The networks of 23.3% and 13.3% of the same migrant group comprise a high percentage of (between 50–70.8% of the network) and a very high percentage of (between 75–95.8 % of the network) neighbourhood ties respectively. Among all the migrant groups in the sample, migrants who originated in Sandzak region that live in Bayrampasa have the most local-based social networks in that within the networks of 48% of these migrants, a high percentage of links, and within the networks of 20% of these migrants a very high percentage of links consist of connections to

¹¹ "Please write down a list of 24 people who you know by name and who know you by name, with whom you have had contact in the last two years by any means of communication, and who could be contacted again if necessary. Do not include people under 18".

Figure 4. The distribution of neighbourhood ties within the networks of the migrants in the sample (n=126)



other individuals in their neighbourhood. The networks of the migrants who originated from Macedonia and Albania and Sandzak living in Besiktas consist of less local-based ties than the ones in Bayrampasa, but more than the ones originating from Ankara and Eskisehir.

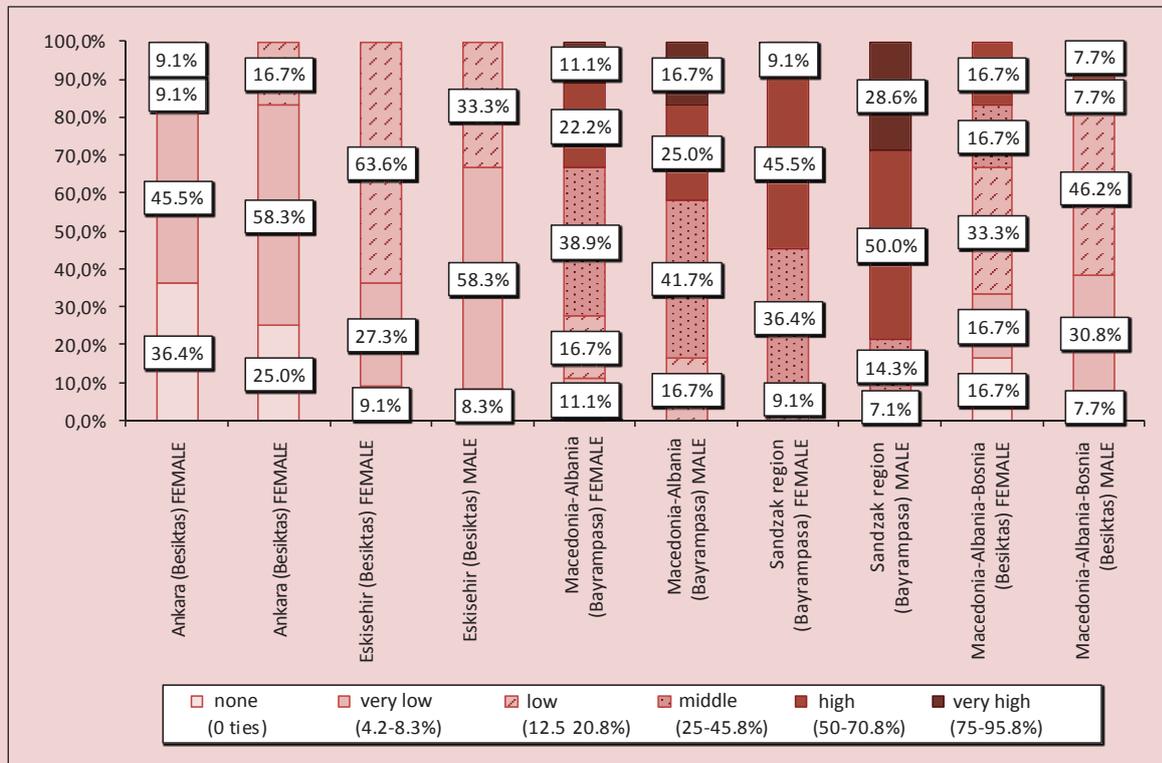
Associating the share of neighbourhood ties in the migrants' whole networks with the migrants' profiles (sex, age and educational attainment) also gives interesting results. Female migrants who live in Besiktas are slightly more dependent on their neighbourhood ties than the male migrants from the same groups. On the other hand, the situation is quite the opposite for the migrants in Bayrampasa (*see Figure 5*).

The networks of the young adult migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir and live in Besiktas consist of a lower percentage

of neighbourhood ties than that of the networks of the older migrants from the same groups (*see Figure 6*). The same evaluation is more apparent for the migrants who came from Macedonia and Albania and who live in Bayrampasa, and those who came from Macedonia, Albania and Sandzak and who live in Besiktas. The elder adults are considerably more dependent on their neighbourhood ties than the middle-aged and young adults. However, an interesting result is that the networks of the young adults who originated in the Sandzak region and who reside in Bayrampasa comprise a higher percentage of neighbourhood ties than that of the older migrants.

Comparing migrant groups by crosstabs of educational attainment and neighbourhood ties would not give consistent results since the

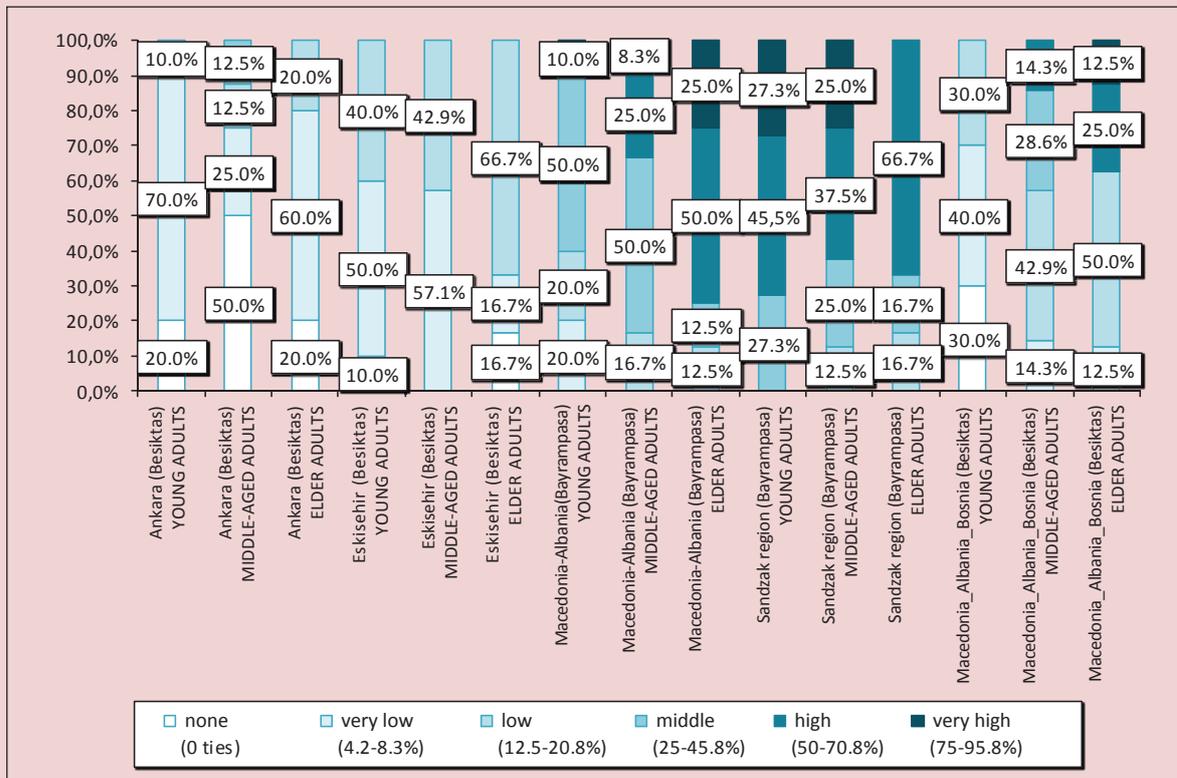
Figure 5. The distribution of neighbourhood ties within networks of the migrant groups by their sex (n=126)



distribution of educational levels are not equal. Hence, an overall evaluation is made without considering the difference between migrant groups (See Figure 7). The networks of migrants with high educational attainment obviously consist of a low percentage of neighbourhood ties. While 53.1% of the total sample hold a bachelor's, master's or PhD degree, 83.3% of the migrants whose networks do not consist of neighbourhood ties hold the same. On the other hand, while 16.7% of the total sample graduated from a primary school, 36.4% of the migrants whose networks consist of a high percentage of neighbourhood

ties, and 30% of the migrants whose networks consist of a very high percentage of neighbourhood ties graduated from a primary school. The overrepresented high percentage of high school graduates is remarkable. While 23.8% of the total sample are high school graduates, 40.9% of the migrants whose networks consist of a high percentage of neighbourhood ties, and 40% of the migrants whose networks consist of a very high percentage of neighbourhood ties are high school graduates. Also, the overrepresented very high percentage of neighbourhood ties

Figure 6. The distribution of neighbourhood ties within networks of the migrant groups by their age-group (n=126)

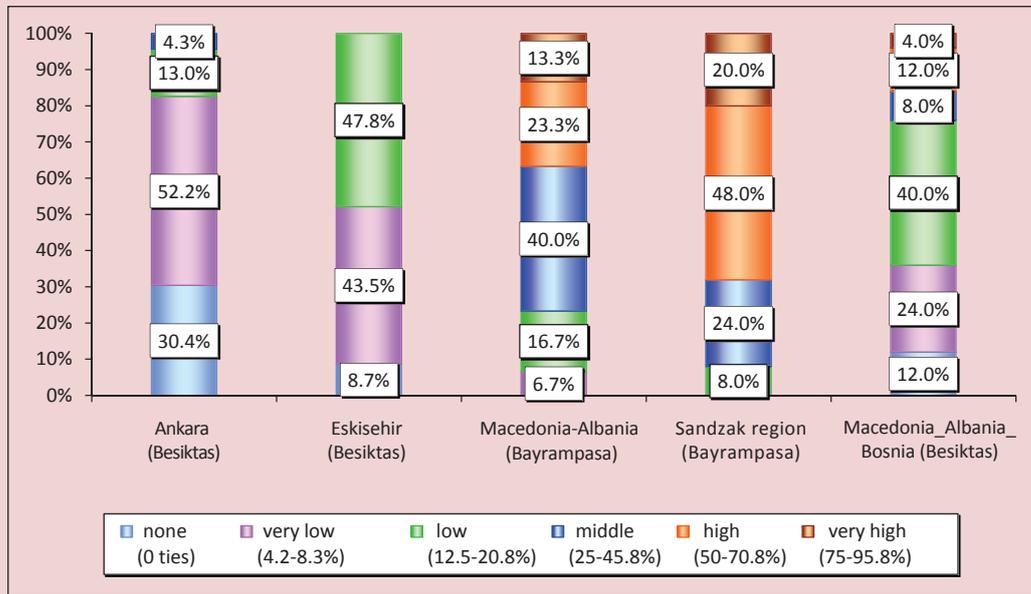


in the networks of masters and PhD graduates is remarkable. Returning back to the original data, it is seen that all these migrants are the ones that live in Bayrampasa.

The results are consistent with the arguments that neighbourhood ties are still important for some groups. While the networks of the migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir and reside in Besiktas district do not depend on their neighbourhood ties, the networks of the migrants who originated in Albania, Macedonia and the Sandzak region and who reside in the Bayrampasa district consist of a considerable amount of neighbourhood

ties. While there is not so much difference between the females and males of the same migrant groups regarding their neighbourhood ties in their networks, age seems to be an important factor affecting the amount of neighbourhood ties within the networks of the migrants. Except the migrants who originated in the Sandzak region and who are residing in Bayrampasa, the elder adult migrants are considerably more dependent on their neighbourhood ties than the middle-aged and young adults. The high dependence of the younger adult migrants who originated in the Sandzak region and who are residing in Bayrampasa

Figure 7. The distribution of neighbourhood ties within networks of the migrants by their educational attainment (n=126)



on their local ties may be explained by the characteristic of the neighbourhood they live in. This neighbourhood (Yildirim Mahallesi) hosts mostly the migrants from this region who have strong relations with the neighbourhood. The educational level of the migrants also play an important role on their networks' local composition. In general, the more the migrants are educated, the less they depend on their neighbourhood ties. All the high school, faculty and masters/PhD graduate migrants whose networks contain an overrepresented high and very high percentage of neighbourhood ties live in Bayrampasa. This finding supports the inference the neighbourhood ties are more important for the migrants in Bayrampasa than for the ones in Besiktas.

Type of ties by their geographical location

The geographical distribution of the ties in the networks of the migrant groups can be seen in *Figure 8*. A remarkable point is that the migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir and who live in Besiktas have a low amount of neighbourhood ties. The networks of these migrants are predominantly generated by the ties in the other districts of Istanbul. The ties in the other provinces of Turkey also have a considerable share in their networks. This is probably because of their maintaining of connections in their origins. On the other hand, the shares of neighbourhood ties are quite high in the networks of the migrants who live in Bayrampasa, especially of the ones who originated in the Sandzak region. Their ties in the other districts of Istanbul

also have a considerable share. The migrants who originated in Macedonia, Albania and the Sandzak region and who live in Besiktas depend more on their neighbourhood ties than the migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir, while less than the same migrant groups who live in Bayrampasa. Similar to the other groups in Besiktas, their networks are also predominantly generated by the ties in the other districts of Istanbul. However, they have less contacts in the other provinces of Turkey.

The results for all migrant groups supports Wellman’s (1973) argument that the metropolitan area bounds the field of interaction more than the neighbourhood does. Furthermore, the results also demonstrate that neighbourhood ties are quite important for the migrant groups in Bayrampasa,

supporting the arguments of Wellman (1973), Fischer (1982) and Hampton and Wellman (2003): local community is neither lost, nor completely saved.

Table 2 shows the distribution of type of ties that locate in the respondents’ neighbourhood, district, other districts of Istanbul, other provinces of Turkey and other countries. The geographical location of type of ties according to the respondents’ residential location differs by the migrant groups. Neighbourhood ties are predominantly generated by family/kin ties for all groups. Among all other groups, the migrants who originated in the Sandzak region and who reside in Bayrampasa have the highest percentage (68.1%) of the family/kin ties in their neighbourhood networks. Note that their neighbourhood ties generate 54.8% of

Figure 8. The geographical location of ties of the migrant groups (n=3024)

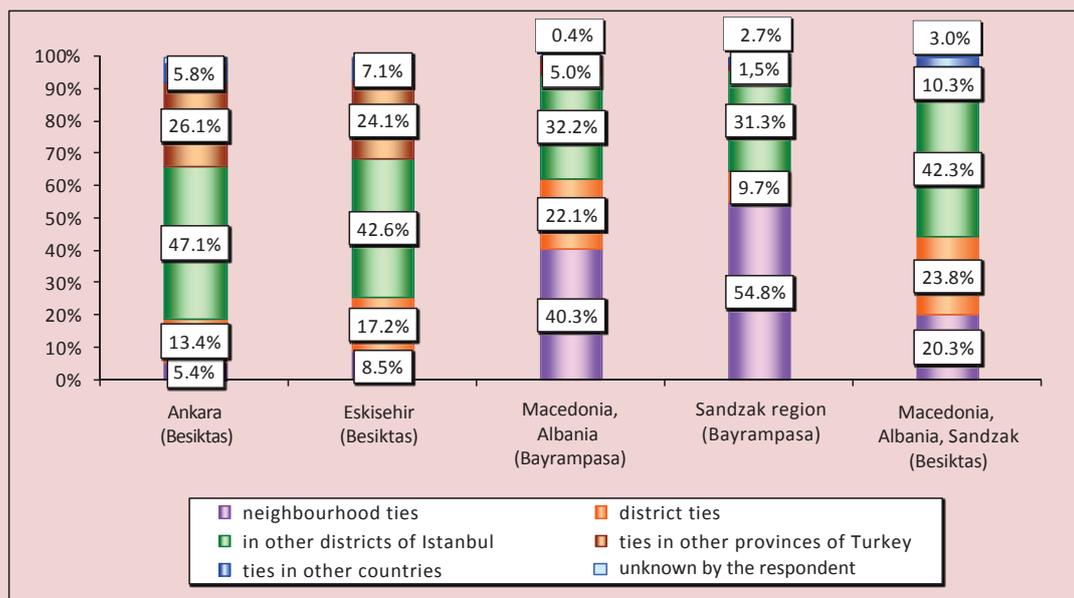


Table 2. Type of ties by their geographical location for the migrant groups (n=3024*)

	MIGRANT GROUP	Family/kin	Neighbour	From neighbourhood	Job/School	Association*	Online	From other connections	% of ties in total network
Neighbourhood Ties	Ankara (Besiktas)	53.3%	3.3%	6.7%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	5.4%
	Eskisehir (Besiktas)	34.0%	21.3%	2.1%	12.8%	0.0%	0.0%	29.8%	8.5%
	Macedonia, Albania (Bayrampasa)	45.2%	20.0%	10.0%	9.0%	11.7%	0.0%	4.1%	40.3%
	Sandzak region (Bayrampasa)	68.1%	10.9%	7.3%	9.4%	3.0%	0.0%	1.2%	54.8%
	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak (Besiktas)	37.7%	16.4%	23.0%	8.2%	4.1%	0.0%	10.7%	20.3%
District Ties (excluding neighbourhood)	Ankara (Besiktas)	14.9%	1.4%	5.4%	48.6%	8.1%	0.0%	21.6%	13.4%
	Eskisehir (Besiktas)	27.4%	1.1%	1.1%	36.8%	0.0%	1.1%	32.6%	17.2%
	Macedonia, Albania (Bayrampasa)	48.4%	4.4%	8.2%	13.8%	20.8%	0.0%	4.4%	22.1%
	Sandzak region (Bayrampasa)	74.1%	10.3%	5.2%	10.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.7%
	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak (Besiktas)	24.5%	2.8%	13.3%	28.0%	16.8%	0.0%	14.7%	23.8%
Ties in the other districts of Istanbul	Ankara (Besiktas)	18.5%	0.4%	0.8%	49.2%	1.2%	0.4%	29.6%	47.1%
	Eskisehir (Besiktas)	20.9%	0.4%	0.9%	47.7%	2.6%	0.4%	27.2%	42.6%
	Macedonia, Albania (Bayrampasa)	55.2%	2.6%	1.7%	34.1%	2.6%	0.0%	3.9%	32.2%
	Sandzak region (Bayrampasa)	52.7%	1.6%	1.1%	25.0%	2.1%	0.5%	17.0%	31.3%
	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak (Besiktas)	36.6%	3.1%	1.6%	31.5%	9.8%	0.8%	16.5%	42.3%
Ties in other provinces of Turkey	Ankara (Besiktas)	63.9%	0.0%	0.7%	21.5%	0.0%	0.0%	13.9%	26.1%
	Eskisehir (Besiktas)	73.7%	1.5%	0.0%	18.0%	0.0%	1.5%	5.3%	24.1%
	Macedonia, Albania (Bayrampasa)	86.1%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	5.0%
	Sandzak region (Bayrampasa)	22.2%	0.0%	22.2%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	22.2%	1.5%
	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak (Besiktas)	72.6%	3.2%	0.0%	8.1%	0.0%	1.6%	14.5%	10.3%
Ties in other countries	Ankara (Besiktas)	53.1%	0.0%	3.1%	18.8%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	5.8%
	Eskisehir (Besiktas)	41.0%	2.6%	0.0%	23.1%	0.0%	7.7%	25.6%	7.1%
	Macedonia, Albania (Bayrampasa)	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
	Sandzak region (Bayrampasa)	56.3%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18.8%	2.7%
	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak (Besiktas)	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	38.9%	3.0%
Total	Ankara (Besiktas)	33.3%	0.5%	1.8%	39.3%	1.6%	0.2%	23.2%	97.8%**
	Eskisehir (Besiktas)	37.1%	2.7%	0.7%	34.2%	1.1%	1.3%	22.8%	99.5%**
	Macedonia, Albania (Bayrampasa)	51.3%	9.9%	6.4%	18.2%	10.1%	0.0%	4.2%	100.0%
	Sandzak region (Bayrampasa)	62.8%	7.5%	5.2%	15.2%	2.3%	0.2%	6.8%	100.0%
	Macedonia, Albania, Sandzak (Besiktas)	37.8%	5.7%	8.5%	23.2%	9.0%	0.5%	15.3%	99.8%**

* Number of the ties that the respondents have which is 126x24= 3024.
 Migrant associations and others such as professional, political, sports/hobby associations.
 ** The total percentages of the ties do not make 100% because some egos do not know the residential locations of the alters in their networks. Note that all these egos are the migrants that live in Besiktas, and the unknown alters are their friends from school/work or friends from other connections.

their whole networks. As it is also mentioned above, these migrants who predominantly live in a neighbourhood called Yildirim have very dense neighbourhood relations.¹² The migrants who originated in Macedonia and Albania have a similar profile in that their family/kin ties generate 45.2% of their neighbourhood ties, while their neighbourhood ties' share in their whole network is also high (40.3%). On the other hand, migrants who originated in Ankara and who live in Besiktas have a high rate of family/kin ties in their neighbourhood ties. However, their neighbourhood ties generate only 5.4% of their whole networks. These family/kin members may be the ones who they live in the same house with. Even though the migrants who originated in Macedonia, Albania, and Sandzak and who live in Besiktas have a lower rate of family/kin ties in their neighbourhood ties, their neighbourhood ties generate a higher share in their whole networks (20.3%) than the neighbourhood ties of the migrants from Ankara and Eskisehir generate in their whole networks.

Neighbour ties have relatively high rate in the neighbourhood ties of the migrants that originate in Eskisehir and reside in Besiktas, and originated in Macedonia and Albania and reside in Bayrampasa. However, these ties do not show the overlapping relations that for instance, if one alter is a family/

kin member of the ego and a neighbour at the same time, she is counted as the family/kin member. Thus, neighbour ties have higher rates than they are shown in the table, probably more for the migrants who reside in Bayrampasa. Ties that are known from the neighbourhood correspond to the ones that are met occasionally in the neighbourhood (in markets, shops, meeting places etc.). These ties generate a relatively high amount of the neighbourhood ties of the migrants who originated in Macedonia, Albania and the Sandzak region and who live in Besiktas. This is probably because of the migrant association members who have strong relations with their neighbourhoods.

A remarkable finding is that the migrants who have a high percentage of job/school ties and ties from other connections in their neighbourhood ties are the ones who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir. Even though they do not have strong relations with their neighbourhoods, these migrants share common neighbourhoods with their co-workers, friends from schools and other connections. If the districts ties (the ties in the other neighbourhoods of the district) of the migrants are evaluated, it can be seen that the migrants who live in Besiktas have a high percentage of job/school ties and ties from other connections in their district networks, while the migrants who live in Bayrampasa have a high rate of family/kin ties in their district networks. The same evaluation is more obvious for the ties in the other districts of Istanbul. However, although family/kin ties of the migrants who live in Bayrampasa generate

¹² During the field work, it is observed that some of these migrants in Yildirim Neighbourhood live in the same buildings with their family/kin members. They just lock the building door, and do not lock their apartment doors that every member of the building can access the houses in the building without knocking the door.

the majority of the ties in the other districts of Istanbul, the share of the job/school ties in these ties is also high. Note that the share of the ties in the other districts of Istanbul is more significant in the networks of the migrants who live in Besiktas (47.1% for the migrants who originated in Ankara, 42.6% for the migrants who originated in Eskisehir, and 42.3% for the migrants who originated in Macedonia, Albania and the Sandzak region) than they are in the networks of the migrants who live in Bayrampasa.

The ties in the other provinces of Turkey are predominantly generated by family/kin ties for all migrant groups except the migrants who are originated in the Sandzak region and who live in Bayrampasa. This may be because the migrants from this region directly migrated to Istanbul-Bayrampasa after 1965 so that they do not generally have connections (especially relatives) in the other provinces of Turkey. The amount of ties in the other provinces of Turkey in the networks of the migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir and who live in Besiktas are quite high because these migrants still have connections with their origins. Also the ties in the other countries are predominantly generated by family/kin ties for all migrant groups. Family/kin ties are sustained regardless of the distance between individuals. The share of the ties in the other countries are higher in the networks of the migrants in Besiktas than in the networks of the migrants in Bayrampasa. This is interesting because migrants from Macedonia, Albania and the Sandzak region were expected to have

more connections with their origins. However, it seems that the relations between these migrants and their origins have disappeared.

4. Conclusion

The literature on local ties in metropolitan cities present two contradictory arguments. While some argue that local ties do not have important roles in modern metropolitan residents, some highlight the continuing role of local ties. One line of research (Wellman, 1979; Fischer, 1982; Campbell and Lee, 1992; Logan and Spitze, 1994; Hampton and Wellman, 2003; Bastani, 2007; Grossetti, 2007) that explains the issue by looking at the whole networks of individuals shows that the significance of the local (i.e. neighbourhood) ties differs from one (group of) resident to another. For instance, migrants who settle in the segregated areas where other migrants from the same origin live may be more dependent on their local ties. This study attempted to examine the migrants' dependence on their local ties by comparing different migrant groups in the two districts of Istanbul, which are Bayrampasa and Besiktas. The research examines the ties of migrants by studying their whole networks, because focusing only on specific types of networks such as kinship systems or neighbourly relations, it is inevitable to discover densely knit networks, because people's sparsely knit networks contain several components. Therefore, the local ties phenomenon is examined as another component in migrants' whole networks which are distributed over space.

The results of the two levels of analyses (network level and ego-alter dyad level) are consistent with the arguments that neighbourhood ties are still important for some groups, supporting the arguments of Wellman (1973), Fischer (1982) and Hampton and Wellman (2003) which stipulate that local community is neither lost, nor completely saved. While the networks of the migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir and who reside in the Besiktas district do not depend on their neighbourhood ties, the networks of the migrants who originated in Albania, Macedonia and the Sandzak region and who reside in the Bayrampasa district consist of a considerable amount of neighbourhood ties. For all migrant groups, Wellman's (1973) argument that the metropolitan area bounds the field of interaction more than the neighbourhood does is supported.

The results reveal differences between the migrant groups regarding the type of ties that are distributed over different geographical locations. The ties that are maintained in neighbourhoods are predominantly the family/kin ties for all migrant groups. Note that the neighbourhood ties of the migrants who originated in Ankara and Besiktas have a small share in their whole networks. These family/kin members may be the ones who they live in the same house with. However, the migrants who live in Bayrampasa have a very high share of both neighbourhood and family ties in their networks which points out the dense local social networks of these

migrants. Within the networks of the migrants who originated in Ankara and Eskisehir, the district ties and the ties in the other districts of Istanbul are predominantly generated by the ties with friends from their school/job or friends from other connections, while the ties of the migrants in Bayrampasa are significantly generated by family/kin ties. This finding can of course be linked to the fact that the networks of the migrants in Bayrampasa are generated predominantly by family/kin ties so that they maintain ties with their kin who live in Istanbul. The ties that are maintained over long distances (in other provinces of Turkey and in other countries) are also predominantly the family/kin ties for all migrant groups. Family/kin ties are sustained regardless of the distance between individuals.

The results of the study reveal a difference between the migrant groups regarding their dependence on neighbourhood ties and the type of ties that are distributed over different geographical locations. When it is considered that the study is on the migrants who live in the segregated districts where other migrants from the same origin live, the following question can be proposed: why are local ties important in one district and not in the other? If local ties are not that important for the migrants in Besiktas why do they prefer to live with the other migrants from their origin? These questions and several others need further research on the mechanisms behind residential segregation and social network dynamics of the migrants.

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Information about the Authors

Bürge Elvan Erginli – Master, Ph.D. Candidate, Istanbul Technical University, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Mecidiye Mahallesi, Dereboyu Caddesi No:41 Kat:2-3-4 34347 Ortaköy, İstanbul, Turkey; e-mail: elvan.erginli@tese.org.tr)

Tüzin Baycan – Ph.D. in Urban and Regional Planning, Professor, Istanbul Technical University (Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Taskisla 34437 Taksim, Sisli, İstanbul, Turkey; e-mail: tbaycan@itu.edu.tr)

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