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Research Article

Examination of Metropolitan Municipalities in Turkey with Urban Refugees

Türkiye'deki Büyükşehir Belediyelerinin Kent Mültecileri ile Sınavı

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Abstract

Millions of immigrants from Syria fled the conflicts and took refuge in various countries. Especially in border countries, the number of Syrian refugees is very high. Among the border countries, Turkey is the country that hosts the highest number of Syrian refugees. The number of registered Syrian refugees in Turkey is close to four million. As urban refugees, Syrian refugees are scattered in various cities of Turkey. The existing problems in the cities, which are faced with a dense refugee population, have aggravated and many new problems have emerged. City governments have faced such an intense urban refugee problem together with Syrian refugees.

Infrastructure, economic and social problems have increased in cities where urban refugees are concentrated. Local governments responsible for cities also have to deal with these problems. However, the absence of legal regulations regarding refugees in Turkey and the fact that local governments have not been given clear legal responsibilities regarding refugees further aggravate the problems.

This study was conducted to reveal the policies and practices of metropolitan municipalities towards refugees in Turkey, which has a large refugee population. With the online questionnaire sent to the relevant units of the metropolitan municipalities, it was tried to understand the studies they carried out for the urban refugees and the problems they faced. Four metropolitan municipalities answering the survey questions state that city administrations are responsible for ensuring the social cohesion of refugees. In this context, metropolitan municipalities provide various social services and assistance to urban refugees; however, they emphasize that they have problems due to financial difficulties. When the answers they give are evaluated, it is necessary to make the necessary legal arrangements and provide financial opportunities in order to improve the social services and assistance of metropolitan municipalities for urban refugees. At this point, it is important that the central government and metropolitan municipalities work in cooperation to ensure the social cohesion of urban refugees.

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Öz

Suriye'den milyonlarca göçmen çatışmalar nedeniyle çeşitli ülkelere sığınmışlardır. Özellikle sınır ülkelerde Suriyeli mülteci sayısı çok fazladır. Sınır ülkeler içinde ise en fazla Suriyeli mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülke Türkiye'dir. Türkiye'de bulunan kayıtlı Suriyeli mülteci sayısı dört milyona yakındır. Kent mültecileri olarak Suriyeli mülteciler Türkiye'nin çeşitli kentlerine dağılmışlardır. Yoğun bir mülteci nüfusu ile karşı karşıya kalan kentlerde var olan sorunlar ağırlaşmış ve yeni pek çok sorun ortaya çıkmıştır. Kent yönetimleri Suriyeli mülteciler ile birlikte bu kadar yoğun bir kent mülteci sorunu ile karşı karşıya kalmışlardır.

Kent mültecilerinin yoğunluğu kentlerde altyapı, toplumsal, ekonomik sorunların da artmasını getirmiştir. Kentlerden sorumlu olan yerel yönetimler de bu sorunlarla baş etmek zorunda kalmaktadır. Ancak Türkiye'de mültecilere yönelik yasal düzenlemenin olmaması, yerel yönetimlere mültecilerle ilgili net, yasal sorumluluklar verilmemiş olması sorunları ağırlaştırmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de yüksek oranda mülteci nüfus barındıran büyükşehir belediyelerinin mültecilere yönelik politika ve uygulamalarını ortaya koymak için

yapılmıştır. Büyükşehir belediyelerinin ilgili birimlerine çevrimiçi olarak gönderilen anket ile kent mültecilerine yönelik yaptıkları çalışmalar ve karşılaştıkları sorunlar anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Anket sorularına cevap veren dört büyükşehir belediyesi, mültecilerin toplumsal uyumunun sağlanmasından kent yönetimlerinin sorumlu olduğunu düşünmektedir. Bu kapsamda büyükşehir belediyeleri, kent mültecilerine yönelik çeşitli sosyal hizmet ve yardımlarda bulunduklarını; ancak maddi olanaksızlık nedeniyle sorun yaşadıklarını vurgulamaktadırlar. Verdikleri cevaplar değerlendirildiğinde büyükşehir belediyelerinin kent mültecilerine yönelik sosyal hizmet ve yardımlarının iyileştirilmesi için gerekli yasal düzenlemelerin yapılması ve maddi olanakların sağlanması gerekmektedir. Bu noktada, kent mültecilerinin toplumsal uyumunun sağlanması için merkezi yönetim ile büyükşehir belediyelerinin işbirliği içinde çalışma yürütmeleri önem taşımaktadır.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cities have experienced a great change with migration from rural to urban. There have been great social and spatial changes. Social tensions and spatial inequalities have become visible in cities. Generally, differences in economic development, employment opportunities, and differences in living standards within this same country are the main reasons for migration between rural and urban areas. However, the city on the condition that they come to the cities with rural-urban migration that took place due to the conflict in Syria, a similar live in Turkey.

Due to the civil war/conflicts that started in Syria in 2011 and are still continuing, Syrians moved to neighboring countries in waves. There has also been an intense influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey, Syria's northern neighbor. Turkey has implemented an open-door policy and accepted Syrians fleeing the conflicts. As of 2022, there are 3.6 million Syrian Refugees and 320 thousand refugees from other nationalities registered in Turkey (UNHCR, 2022). There are approximately 4 million registered refugees hosted by Turkey. Considering the distribution of Syrian refugees, which constitute the largest refugee group, to cities, it is seen that the highest number of Syrian refugees are in Istanbul (550 thousand 707 people), Gaziantep (463 thousand 38 people) and Şanlıurfa (373 thousand 790 people). According to the population of the city, the province with the highest concentration of Syrian refugees is Kilis with 37.9%. The city with the lowest number of Syrian refugees is Tunceli with 38 people. Artvin (66 people) and Iğdır (77 people) follow it (Mülteciler Derneği, 2022).[1]

With the camps established in 2011, basic services started to be provided to Syrian refugees, initially they did not accept aid from abroad due to a number of reasons such as the conflict would be short, and joined the UN's Intervention Plan a year later (AI, 2014:5-7). When the migrations from Syria started, Turkey did not accept those coming from outside of Europe as refugees and did not have a detailed regulation regarding immigrants. Based on the fact that the war in Syria would be short-lived, statements were made by the authorities that those coming from Syria were guests and that they would return when the conflict was over. However, the prolongation of the stay forced Turkey to make various legal arrangements. In a sense, with the transformation of hospitality into permanence, it has made it necessary to make legal and institutional arrangements.

While ratifying the Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees in 1961, Turkey accepts it with geographical limitation. With the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, enacted in April 2014, numbered 6458, an arrangement has been made in the situation of immigrants coming from Syria, especially those who came as guests for a short time. But Turkey continued its reservation in the Geneva Convention. The legal status of Syrian immigrants in Turkey is temporary protection according to the law. According to the law, “Temporary protection may be provided to foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country they have left, and who come to or cross our borders masse in order to seek immediate and temporary protection (Article 9/1)”.

With the issuance of the Temporary Protection Regulation, the terms and conditions of temporary protection were determined. It provides a legal status to those who came from Syria and took refuge in Turkey, enables them to get an identity card, and to access a range of rights and services (Amnesty International organization, 2014:20). “Amnesty International is of the view that all Syrians as

[1] According to the statements of the Minister of Interior, there are 5.7 million foreigners. He cites the number of Syrian refugees as 62673 inside the camps and 3617930 outside the camps (https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/haber_portal.aciklama?p1=147662)

prima facie (refugees on arrival) are entitled to refugee protection under international law and therefore refer to Syrians in Turkey as refugees, regardless of their status under Turkish law (AI, 2014:3)." Throughout this study, the statement of Amnesty International was accepted and the concept of refugee was preferred to be used.

This is the first time that Turkey has faced such a massive influx of refugees. Incoming refugees are concentrated especially in big cities. For this reason, city administrations are faced with problems related to refugees. Municipalities face financial, legal and social problems while carrying out various activities for refugees (Akman, 2018:454-459). City governments exist to meet the local and common needs of the people of the city. The services they will provide and their responsibilities are specified in the Municipality Law No. 5393 and the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216. When these laws are examined, it is seen that provincial administrations are responsible for refugees, asylum seekers, etc. There are no regulations regarding the work of individuals. Studies are carried out by taking into account only the regulation of the Municipal Law No. 5393 regarding the Citizenship Law.[2] However, there are criticisms that this cannot be applied to refugees, including citizens. Within the framework of the law, the provincial administrations are not given duties and responsibilities for refugees and asylum seekers. The central administration and institutions affiliated to the center carry out studies on refugees.

However, the places where refugees live intensively are cities. The economy, culture and social structure of the cities, which are faced with a dense refugee population, are affected. There is a conflict because city governments are engaged in activities that affect the economy, culture and social structure of the city (Çamur, 2017). Situations such as increased unemployment, economic problems, and unregistered employment of refugees for lower wages increase social tension in cities. It is important to establish communication channels between refugees and urban residents in order to eliminate such tensions (Karasu, 2016:1012). Through established communication channels, it may be possible for refugees and local people to get to know each other. The responsibility for the establishment and operation of these channels rests with the provincial administrations. Because municipalities are primarily responsible for ensuring urban peace.

Local governments, especially municipalities, should be at the forefront of the services to be offered to Syrian refugees in cities. However, although there are local governments that can ensure the integration of refugees with the local people, this can be carried out in cooperation and coordination with the central government (Çakırer Örservet, 2016:51). Refugees are concentrated in urban areas and certain parts of the city. This concentration can bring about the introversion of refugees. One of the roles of city administrations is to prevent such a fragmentation and segregation within the city. Such segregations can lead to social tensions in the city and have negative consequences (ORSAM, 2016:16). The increasing number of refugees in the cities has added new problems to the already existing urban problems of Turkey. It also exacerbated existing problems. For example; the existing income of the Hatay city administration has been calculated by calculating that it will serve 1 million 600 thousand people. With the arrival of refugees in the city, the population of the city has reached 2 million 100 thousand people (Kahraman et al., 2019:54-56). However, there was no increase in the income of the city administration.

The aim of this study is to determine the working and approaches of the metropolitan municipalities towards the increasing number of refugees in the metropolitan areas. In order to demonstrate this aim, an online questionnaire form was prepared within the framework of the basic problems listed below. The main problems were determined as follows;

Do metropolitan municipalities work for urban refugees? What types of activities do they mainly engage in?

[2] "Article 13- Everyone is a citizen of the town in which he resides. Citizens have the right to participate in municipal decisions and services, to be informed about municipal activities and to benefit from the assistance of the municipal administration. Aid must be provided in conditions that do not harm human dignity. The municipality carries out the necessary studies for the development of social and cultural relations among its citizens and the protection of cultural values. In these studies, measures are taken to ensure the participation of universities, public professional organizations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations and experts. Every person residing, present or related to the municipality is obliged to comply with the laws, orders and announcements of the municipality and to pay municipal taxes, duties, fees, contributions and participation fees (Law No:5393)"

What kind of difficulties does the fact that the activities for refugees are not expressed in the Municipal Law and the Metropolitan Municipality Law cause for the city administrations?

Does the lack of legal basis affect the work to be done negatively (low income, lack of authority in the area to be served, etc.)?

What do metropolitan municipalities do to ensure the harmony between urban refugees and urban residents? How does it evaluate the situation of municipalities regarding this issue?

1.2. Background Literature

The number of studies on the activities of city administrations towards refugees and their deficiencies is limited. The studies that are mainly carried out are the studies that aim to get the situation and opinions of the refugees or to reveal the approach of the local people towards the refugees. There are very few studies that directly address the activities of metropolitan municipalities towards refugees. The main deficiency in this area is the lack of studies covering all metropolitan municipalities. However, there are still valuable studies on this subject, and a brief look at them is given below.

In his study titled "City Refugees from Breaking to Sleep", Erdoğan (2017) states that the local governments of countries heavily affected by migration have many responsibilities and duties towards refugees. Local governments of these countries provide many services from registering refugees to naturalization. Central government and local government work in cooperation to ensure local integration. But local governments carry out the main work that will ensure social and cultural rapprochement. However, local administrations and city administrations in Turkey are not given any authority, opportunity, etc. to work in this field. The central administration exists as the sole authority and service provider. Erdogan's work covers the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and 27 district municipalities of Istanbul. The research was carried out with a semi-structured questionnaire. Suggestions such as establishing units related to refugees in municipalities, realizing legal arrangements, increasing multi-purpose community centers, and taking necessary measures to prevent ghettoization of refugees are included in the study. He also states that the work of the municipalities towards refugees is mainly due to the humanitarian tragedy faced, and that this should be made into an official approach and policy.

The fact that the activities of the municipalities towards refugees are not determined by law, causes that most of the municipalities do not take any action or that their work is of different quality and quantity. Woods and Kayalı (2017) conducted a study covering central government units (governorship and district governorship) and local government units, municipalities and metropolitan municipalities in Istanbul. This study, based on telephone interviews, states that there is no coordination between central government units and municipalities. They also express the need of municipalities for financial resources. Istanbul Chamber of City Planners Istanbul Branch examined the services provided by the Istanbul city administration to refugees in its report. It is a study to understand the attitudes of district municipalities of Istanbul towards urban refugees. The fact that all authority for refugees is in the central administration and the lack of coordination between districts are listed as some of the main problems in the report (Koca, et al., 2017).

In the study of Konya Metropolitan Municipality, Dugan and Gürbüz (2018) tried to understand the contribution of the municipality in the adaptation process of Syrian refugees. Çamur (2017) evaluated the services provided by the municipalities in İzmir to Syrian refugees. The services provided by the Izmir metropolitan municipality and 30 district municipalities were discussed within the framework of the legal responsibility of the municipalities. Gündüz and Çifci (2021) compared the G20 countries and Turkey with the studies they carried out by municipalities on refugees. In their study, they compared the information obtained from the qualitative interviews with ten metropolitan municipalities in Turkey with the information obtained from the local governments of the ten countries with the highest refugee population from the G20 countries. They emphasized that city administrations in Turkey should give importance to education, especially in ensuring harmony.

3. METHODOLOGY

In this study, quantitative research technique was used as a method to analyze the work of metropolitan municipalities on refugees. It was tried to reach the units of the user municipalities related to refugees by phone, and the limited online questionnaire that the information obtained was sent to the

necessary units (persons). The questionnaire consists of 43 questions and 3 parts. In the first part of the survey, it was tried to measure how much information the municipalities have about refugees. Secondly, aids to immigrants, and lastly, the groups of municipalities against the problems of refugees were measured. 30 of the population of the research consists of metropolitan municipalities. However, 21 of them did not respond even though they received the questionnaire. The relevant units of Diyarbakır, Gaziantep and Hatay Metropolitan municipalities could not be reached in any way. The relevant regions of Aydın and Antalya metropolitan municipalities have stated to benefit from any use for refugees. Only Adana, Bursa, Istanbul and Mersin metropolitan municipalities answered the survey questions.

3.1 Data Analysis and Findings

The population of the analyzed metropolitan municipalities, the number of refugees and the ratio of the number of refugees to the population are given in Table 1. Accordingly, the province where refugees live the most was determined as Mersin. Then Adana, Bursa and Istanbul provinces come.

Table 1. Syrian Refugee Population Numbers and Densities in the Cities Participating in the Research

	İSTANBUL	MERSİN	ADANA	BURSA
Population	15.840.900	1.891.145	2.263.373	3.147.818
Syrian Refugee Population	550.707	240.157	253.636	184.706
Ratio to the Domestic Population	3,47	12,69	11,2	5,86

Source: Prepared by taking into account the data of TURKSTAT (TUIK) and Mülteciler Derneği (Refugees Association) (2022)

The number of refugees in the provinces was obtained from the Turkish Statistical Institute and Refugees Association. However, there are differences in the number of registered refugees in the provinces (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of Refugees According to Municipalities' Own Data

	İSTANBUL	MERSİN	ADANA	BURSA
Population	15.840.900	1.891.145	2.263.373	3.147.818
Syrian Refugee Population	1.000.000	220.000	269.728	178.000
Ratio to the Domestic Population	6,31	11,63	11,9	5,65

Source: Arranged according to the information received from municipalities.

Refugee data of municipalities do not match with TUIK data. From this point of view, the ranking changes. Adana ranks first as the city with the largest refugee population. Then Mersin, Istanbul and Bursa come. It is thought that the difference in the data is due to the fact that the records on Syrian refugees are not regular and sufficient.

When asked whether metropolitan funding providing various services collect data on refugees (as of 2020), only Bursa metropolitan municipality, which has the lowest number of refugees with 178,000 among the 4 metropolitan cities, reported that it collected. While Adana and Istanbul Metropolitan have a unit related to immigration, there is a Social Services unit in Bursa Metropolitan Municipality and an Integration Desk unit in Mersin Metropolitan Municipality.

The metropolitan ministry that have services for refugees and responding to the survey questions have sub-units related to migration and immigration, two of which operate in institutional terms with regard to refugees, generally under the Social Services unit [3].

4 metropolitan statements stated that they have never provided cash aid and free transportation assistance in their aid efforts for refugees. They also agree to sometimes provide assistance to refugee children.

[3] There is also Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, which has a Migration Management unit but cannot be reached in any way , so we are not aware of its activities .

Table 3. Frequency of Services and Aids Provided by the Metropolitan Municipality to Refugees

SERVICES AND AID GIVEN	ISTANBUL	MERSİN	ADANA	BURSA
Food aid	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Continuous
Clothing aid	Never	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Heating aid	Sometimes	Never	Never	Sometimes
Health services	Sometimes	Sometimes	Continuous	Sometimes
Vocational training course service	Continuous	Sometimes	Continuous	Continuous
Courses for language learning	Continuous	Sometimes	Continuous	Continuous
Cash aid	Never	Never	Never	Never
Household help	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Informing (legal rights, guidance on various issues , etc.)	Sometimes	Continuous	Continuous	Sometimes
Service for shelter	Sometimes	Never	Sometimes	Sometimes
Providing employment	Sometimes	Never	Sometimes	Never
Paying the electricity bill	Sometimes	Never	Never	Never
Paying the water bill	Sometimes	Never	Never	Never
Providing free transportation	Never	Never	Never	Never
Courses for refugee women	Continuous	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Courses for refugee children	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes

Refugees' problems were listed as housing, health, employment, social cohesion, lack of financial means, education, legal status problem, security, lack of information, and not knowing the language, and it was asked how the metropolitan filings evaluated them. Among these problems, social cohesion is seen as "very important" by all 4 participants. Health and lack of knowledge were rated as "important" by all 4 participants. Only Adana metropolitan municipality considered the security and legal status issue as "insignificant".

When we look at which problems the participating metropolitan consider very important, the Istanbul metropolitan municipality states that 6 out of 10 problems (housing, employment, social cohesion, lack of financial means, legal status, not knowing the language) are "very important". After Istanbul, Mersin metropolitan municipality 4 problems (education, lack of financial means, social cohesion, employment), Bursa metropolitan municipality 3 problems (non-language, education, social cohesion), Adana metropolitan municipality 2 problems (education, social cohesion) consider as “very important”.

In order to learn about the work of the participating metropolitan municipalities towards refugees and their views on the central government, they were asked whether they agreed with the sentences expressing judgment in the survey. The four participating metropolitan contributions agreed with the following comments;

"Providing the solution of problems related to refugees is one of the main problems of metropolitan distribution."

"The biggest shortcoming of the metropolitan release is the financial inadequacy for the good management of the process related to refugees."

"The greatest responsibility for the prevention of hate speech against refugees in the city falls to the central government."

Regarding the central, 4 metropolitan government also state that they agree with the sentence "The harmonious work of the metropolitan municipality and the central government increases the quality of the service provided to refugees". In fact, the Istanbul metropolitan municipality stated that it absolutely agrees.

Four participating metropolitan municipalities (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality definitely) agree that resources should be allocated to metropolitan municipalities in order to better manage the process of refugees in cities. Because the metropolitan municipalities "The biggest shortcoming of the metropolitan municipalities for the good management of the process related to refugees is financial insufficiency." have stated that. However, Bursa Metropolitan Municipality remained undecided on this issue. In addition, it was asked whether the aid provided by the metropolitan shipping to the refugees was sufficient. Istanbul metropolitan municipality is definitely insufficient, Mersin Metropolitan municipality is sufficient, Bursa Metropolitan municipality is absolutely sufficient and Adana metropolitan municipality is undecided.

It was asked whether the legislation is sufficient for metropolitan distribution to provide services to refugees. Istanbul metropolitan municipality evaluated the legislation as absolutely sufficient. Adana and Mersin Metropolitan found it absolutely inadequate. Bursa metropolitan municipality stated that it is undecided on this issue. In addition, the three metropolitan officials who responded to the survey stated that they "strongly agree" that clear legislative powers should be given to metropolitan municipalities to better manage the refugee process in cities. Adana metropolitan municipality agrees with this view.

Participating metropolitan government stated that they should take action towards the social cohesion of refugees. (Mersin and Adana Metropolitan approval stated that they participated in Bursa and Istanbul Metropolitan definitely agreed.). In addition, participating metropolitan municipalities stated that metropolitan municipalities have a primary importance in solving the language problem of refugees and ensuring the integration of refugees. The Istanbul metropolitan municipality stated that it is definitely of primary importance.

The metropolitan municipalities of Adana, Mersin and Bursa were undecided as to whether the services and aids provided by the metropolitan municipalities to refugees were received positively by their fellow citizens. Istanbul metropolitan municipality stated that the services and aids they provide to refugees are not welcomed by the citizens of the city.

3.2 Discussion

First of all, the low number of metropolitan cities reached makes it difficult to determine the work of the metropolitan administration for refugees, what their shortcomings are, and to evaluate their view of the central government. However, the fact that 21 metropolitan cities do not answer the survey questions and do not return in any way can be considered as an indicator of the lack of any systematic work towards refugees. In Turkey, especially after the refugees fleeing the civil war in Syria, there has been a great increase in the number of refugees in some cities. Previously, the work towards refugees was ignored, not taken into account. This sudden and great increase in the number of urban refugees has made the importance of the issue visible. The negativity of the living conditions of the urban refugees and the weight of the problems they experience are known. It is known that if social services and social aids are not provided in various fields, there will be great humanitarian dramas and bigger problems may arise.

When the organizational charts of the metropolitan municipalities are examined as of 2020, it is seen that there is no unit related to migration in any metropolitan municipality except Adana and

Gaziantep metropolitan municipalities. Istanbul, Bursa and Mersin metropolitan municipalities participating in the survey carry out their activities for urban refugees under social services departments.

The absence of a separate unit indicates that the problems related to refugees are not considered and handled separately from the social services and assistance provided for the cities, and on the other hand, it can be interpreted that the differences of refugees are not taken into consideration.

When we interpret the fact that Aydın and Antalya Metropolitan municipalities say that they do not have any work, and we interpret the returns as the absence of work, it can be thought that the metropolitan administrations are not aware of the problem, and even if they are aware of it, they do not care (for various reasons).

It is possible to evaluate Gaziantep metropolitan municipality differently. The news in the press shows that the city administration has a unit related to migration. However, it was not possible to transport the questionnaire and contact the relevant unit. The contact numbers given as the only accessible phone number of the municipality could not be reached, and there was no response from the units reached.

Data on Refugees are collected and processed by the central government. The fact that metropolitan administrations that provide various urban services to refugees do not have this data may affect the quality and quantity of the services and assistance they provide. It should not be expected that a city administration that does not know the number of refugees arriving in the city, their demographic characteristics, where they live, where, how and under what conditions they came to Turkey from the city they live in, and if they do not know what their profession is, can carry out an efficient work.

Contrary to the general social perception, especially metropolitan municipalities stated that they do not provide cash aid and do not provide free transportation services. In a way, these data can be considered as the explanation by the metropolitan administrations of the invalidity of the discourse that the refugees settled in the public receive cash aid and benefit from various services free of charge.

The services provided by the participating metropolitan municipalities for refugees generally do not differ much from the services and assistance provided to the disadvantaged from the residents of the city. It can be said that the studies that take refugees into special consideration are language courses. In fact, among the problems that metropolitan municipalities see as important, there are ignorance of the language, social cohesion, legal situation and education. Local government units already consider themselves responsible and of primary importance in ensuring social integration.

Faist (2003) states that learning the language of the destination country is of primary importance in ensuring inclusion in the workforce, permanence, and integration with the local people. Because with language learning, it can establish a relationship with the people of the city and be included in the labor market. Thus, refugees will be able to adapt to the society of the city they live in, express themselves and adapt to their new lives more easily. Similarly, getting to know the refugees among the locals will enable them not to see them as foreigners. It can be said that metropolitan municipalities act within this framework. However, with regard to social cohesion/integration, metropolitan municipalities state the situations that they are responsible for in the central administration. In particular, the biggest obstacle to living in social coexistence is hate speech and the acts of violence against refugees fuelled by it. Hate speech and spread against refugees may directly harm social cohesion in the cities where refugees live and may even lead to acts of violence against refugees. Participating metropolitan municipalities see the greatest responsibility for the prevention of hate speech in the central government. Because the decisions, actions and discourses of the central government in domestic and foreign policy affect urban communities. For example, the open-door policy implemented in foreign policy, followed by the unregistered entry of refugees and the failure of the central government authorities to make the necessary explanations create a feeling of "occupation" in the society. Refugees are seen as responsible for all kinds of problems, and in a way, they are declared as scapegoats. Because of this, hate speech becomes more effective and spreads. The work of the metropolitan administrations against refugees is also not welcomed by the citizens, causing the metropolitan municipality to react. Responses to the questionnaire also support Erdogan's work. According to Erdoğan (2017:41), city administrations avoid working towards asylum seekers because they do not want to get a reaction from the local people and there is no regulation in the legislation. For this reason, some of the local governments provide direct services and assistance.

Despite all this, city administrations consider themselves responsible for solving problems related to refugees. Metropolitan administrations, which are responsible for urban services, naturally have to deal with all the emerging problems of the urban society.

However, metropolitan municipalities state that there is a financial inadequacy in order to carry out the refugee-related process better, and they need to allocate resources for this issue. Because the services provided require additional resources. Refugees increase the urban population. There is an inevitable increase in the provision of urban services. In addition, when it is accepted that refugees constitute the disadvantaged segment of society, the financial burden of metropolitan administrations increases even more.

In the current situation, metropolitan municipalities are not able to carry out the necessary studies in order to ensure social harmony in the city. Because the tension in the cities and the fact that the city administration officials think and express that the citizens of the city are dissatisfied with the work of the metropolitan municipality for refugees is a situation that will prevent the work to be done on this issue.

It is understood from the answers given by the participating metropolitan municipalities that they especially emphasized the lack of resources, but they did not see the existence of legislation as an absolute necessity.

When evaluated in general, it has been observed that there is a differentiation in the services and aids provided among the participating metropolitan municipalities, since metropolitan municipalities are not legally obliged to work for refugees. However, the reason for this differentiation may be the lack of legal responsibility. Apart from that, the number of refugees, how the unit responsible for providing aid and services determines their priorities, etc. may also be important.

They also provide various social services and social assistance to the urban refugees, which are carried out by the metropolitan municipalities for the disadvantaged groups in the cities. In addition, they give courses for teaching languages and gaining a profession, especially to urban refugees. They also provide information on various issues and legal rights.

It can be thought that the lack of legal basis and sufficient income affects the visibility of services. Because the lack of legal basis may lead to the perception among the citizens that they have to share the budget allocated to them with the urban refugees and that they are provided with inadequate services.

4. CONCLUSION

Centralism predominates in the organization of public administration in Turkey. The central government is generally reluctant to cooperate with local governments on issues such as solving the problems that also concern the city administrations, forming policies regarding the problems and providing services. The central government maintains this situation on migration management as well.

Municipalities are the administrative units that can meet the most basic service expectations of Syrian refugees who come to the cities intensively. Ensuring social cohesion and the absence of violent conflicts between refugees and local people are closely related to city administrations. Because it is the duty of the city administrations to ensure the peace and security of the citizens and to provide local and common needs. However, a massive refugee population significantly affects urban services.

Therefore, the legal framework of the duties and responsibilities of city administrations, especially metropolitan municipalities, regarding refugees should be determined. The citizens of the city may approach the city administration negatively because of a lack of legal basis. In addition, city administrations may avoid providing even the simplest humanitarian services in order not to confront the local people by considering the elections. Along with the legal regulation, the services for which the metropolitan municipalities are held responsible and their incomes should be increased in proportion to the refugees and their increasing population. Fulfilment of duties and responsibilities is possible with a sufficient income.

The regulation of the legislation and the provision of appropriate income for the assigned duties will enable all metropolitan municipalities to do the same work for refugees. If there is to be a

differentiation in the works carried out, there may be differences arising from the unique structure of the city or the culture, tradition and social structure of the refugees originating from the city.

However, urban refugees should first be provided with opportunities that will enable them to establish relationships with the locals of the city they live in. The opening of free, easily accessible language courses, and the integration of refugees and locals with social activities where they can socialize can lead to important steps in adaptation. The realization of all these is the cooperation of the central government's policies and practices regarding refugees directly with the units that are in close contact with urban refugees. Considering the experience, knowledge and suggestions of metropolitan municipalities in this regard will lead to creative results in solving many problems related to urban refugees.

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