

MASS MIGRATION EFFECTS ON WASTE MANAGEMENT: THE EXAMPLE
OF KİLİS

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ABSTRACT

MASS MIGRATION EFFECTS ON WASTE MANAGEMENT: THE EXAMPLE OF KİLİS

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With rapid population growth, waste management, which is one of the most important ways to combat the climate crisis, has become a source of increasing crisis. Given that cities house more than half of the world's population, the impact of mass migration on waste production and management is more profound. In this context, the mass migration from Syria to Türkiye that began in the twenty-first century have had a significant impact on the Southeastern Anatolia region, particularly the province of Kilis, whose population has almost doubled as a result of the Syrians granted temporary protection. This research aims to draw the linkage between the mass migration and waste management through its effects on mid-sized cities. Hence, within the scope of this study, how local governments struggle with waste management with the effect of mass migration and its effects on municipal services and social life in the city will be examined in the example of Kilis.

Keywords: Mass Migration, Waste Management, Municipal Waste Management, Migration Management, Syria Crisis

ÖZ

KİTLESEL GÖÇLERİN ATIK YÖNETİMİ ÜZERİNE ETKİSİ:KİLİS ÖRNEĞİ

GÜRBÜZER AKGÜN, Ayşe İlke

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İklim krizi ile önemli mücadele yollarından biri olan atık yönetimi, hızlı popülasyon artışı ile birlikte gittikçe artan bir krizin kaynağı haline gelmeye başlamıştır. Nüfusun yarısından fazlasının kentlerde yaşadığı düşünüldüğünde özellikle kitlesel göçlerin atık üretimi ve yönetimi sürecine etkisi daha derin olmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, 21. Yüzyılda başlayan Suriye'den Türkiye'ye doğru gerçekleşen kitlesel göçler, göçmenlerin yoğunlaştığı Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesini, özellikle de nüfusu bu süreçte geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeliler ile neredeyse iki katına çıkan Kilis ilini ciddi biçimde etkilemektedir. Bu araştırma, orta ölçekli şehirler üzerindeki etkileri aracılığıyla kitlesel göç ve atık yönetimi arasındaki bağlantıyı kurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda, yerel yönetimlerin kitlesel göçlerin etkisiyle atık yönetimi ile nasıl mücadele ettikleri, bunun kentteki belediye hizmetleri ve sosyal yaşama etkileri Kilis örneğinde incelenecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kitlesel Göç, Atık Yönetimi, Kentsel Atık Yönetimi, Göç Yönetimi, Suriye Krizi

To All Worldless People

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SWM	Solid Waste Management
MSW	Municipal Solid Waste
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees
PoMM	Presidency of Migration Management
AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
TURKSTAT	Turkish Statistical Institute
İŞKUR	Turkish Employment Agency
İLBANK	İller Bank
MSW	Municipal Solid Waste
MSWM	Municipal Solid Waste Management
EU	European Union
UN	United Nations
UNSTAT	The United Nations Statistics Division
UNOCHA	The United Nations office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNEP	The United Nations Environment Programme
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNECE	The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
WALD	World Academy for Local Government and Democracy

UCLG-MEWA United Cities and Local Governments Middle East and West Asia
Section

IPCC	International Panel on Climate Change
SWM	Solid Waste Management
ISWM	Integrated Solid Waste Management
LCA	Lifecycle Assessment
DWM	Disaster Waste Management
IDP	Internally Displaced People
SuTP	Syrians Under Temporary Protection
MLSS	Ministry of Labor and Social Security
ESSN	Emergency Social Safety Net
WFP	World Food Programme
MBT	Mechanical Biological Treatment
TSC	Temporary Shelter Centers
MoEUCC	Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change
RESLOG	Resilience in Local Governments
DoCS	Directorate of Cleaning Services

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In an area where climate crisis rises as an urgent issue with the visible economic effects of it throughout nations, waste management also became a miller stone in the solution processes as a cross cutting issue. Through its economic value and the consequences that come with poor waste management examples such as overloaded landfill caused a waste avalanche in Indonesia in 2005 ended by the death of 143 people (Lavigne, 2014), public health hazards occurred by uncontrolled disposal of waste in Love Canal, USA in the late 1970s (Beck, 1979) etc. and by the wide variety of negative impacts to the environment; waste raised as a global issue. Starting from the late 20th century, international institutions started to frame the basics of waste management through different reports and frameworks.

While almost 56% percent of the population lives in the urban area according to 2020 data (The World Bank, 2020), waste management is also considered as an urban governance issue which includes multiple actors. And through many other elements such as consumption and production habits, population growth is also one of the biggest challenges of waste management. Even though population predictions provide the main source of information regarding the policy determination, migration forms an exception to those analyses. Considering migration challenges the economic, social and cultural structures of a society, mass migration has even deeper consequences. With already limited capacity, a sudden and considerable rise in population might aggravate the existing issues with delivery of basic public services such as security,

sanitation, health, education, employment, housing, social cohesion, and waste management.

In addition to emergency response strategies in main public service areas after a mass migration, waste management also needs to be regulated under both preventive and responsive strategies. Although many governments consider disaster waste management as a secondary emergency issue, negative impacts of a waste can be both observed in the short term and in the long term. And the main burden of mass migration effects on waste management is on the local governments as the first responders of a crisis. This research aims to draw the linkage between the mass migration and waste management through its effects on mid-sized cities.

1.1. Background to The Research Problem

Despite the fact that waste has climbed into the global agenda, waste studies mainly focus on limited areas such as technology-oriented analyses, or contemporary politics towards waste is being the centre of the social studies. Research focusing the waste through mostly an engineering perspective provides only a limited grasp of waste management. Managing waste is a layered process with multi-level actors involved which needs to be approached through a waste governance context that involves different actors and different mechanisms that affect the process.

Considering previous studies in the field, putting the technology-oriented research aside, they mostly focus on the contemporary policy planning and implementation analyses which neglects the governance perspective. For example, as the rise of the Zero Waste Project policy in Türkiye, it can be observed that studies focusing on this policy and its implementation (Ayçin & Kayapınar Kaya, 2021). Or the practise-based studies neglect locally embedded solutions yet in order to conduct a deeper analysis it is critical to understand social relations of power and how different actors position themselves (Tuçaltan, 2017). And another neglected area is waste governance after a crisis caused by natural disasters, wars, or conflicts. Limited studies on disaster waste

management covers the household waste production and practices (Tucker, 2001) (Barr, 2002) (Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1992), or waste sorting behaviours among refugees and adaptation of the migrants to new waste management systems have been studied by various scholars in Italy, UK, Sweden, Europe etc. (Hellwig, Häggblom-Kronlöf, Bolton, & Rousta, 2019). While these research underline the initial behavioural aspects of waste sorting and to articulate to the host community perception of waste management, they mostly focus on how to integrate the people with migration background. Yet not only household members but local and national governments, institutions and private sector also play a significant role. As the crisis expands, various actors involved in both national and local solution spaces. And the inherently fragile governance system has become even more fragile as a result of the involvement of non-local government (market/NGO type entities and other governmental institutions) in waste management.

Another cross-cutting dimension of waste management and migration is occupation of waste sorting that is subjected to many publications such as how waste sorting is being considered as “dirty work” among Europe (Gregson, Crang, Botticello, Calestani, & Krzywoszynska, *Doing the ‘dirty work’ of the green economy: Resource recovery and migrant labour in the EU*, 2016), or how migrant women enter waste labor market were examined (Bonatti V. , 2018), or waste laboring as a new form of informal laboring sector have been examined by various scholars (Dinler, 2016) (Tuçaltan, 2017). The main contribution of this study to the field is to demonstrate comprehensively that, with mass migration, waste management may become a phenomenon to be considered as an imperative to a public service crisis. That should also be addressed and included in emergency response strategies, which are one of the major stressors on local governments and encompass all of the above-mentioned discussions. Additionally, the relationships between mass migration and waste management will be underlined as one of the initial studies on this issue.

1.2. Selection of the Case Study

As it is critical for modern states to determine which foreigner can cross the border, immigration policies of states differ in historical and socio-political terms. For example, while mobility of humanity increases, the European Union (EU) developed regional restrictive policies to prevent irregular migration, it has been pointed out by some scholars that Türkiye's open-door policy developed to promote tourism in the same period, has made Türkiye the guardian of the European fortress (Erder, 2020). Especially after the dissolution of the Soviet bloc and with the effect of the conflicts in the Middle East, Türkiye has become a kind of transit country (Kale, Sanchez-Montijano, & Süm, 2018) and even a "waiting room" for foreigners who want to migrate to Europe from those countries (Erder, 2020). It can be said that Türkiye has assumed the role of both a "waiting room" and "home" for mass immigration from Syria, which has been at the center of immigration debates in recent years. Although Syrian immigrants were accepted as "guests" in the early days of migration for a variety of reasons that will be discussed in detail in the following sections of the study, it has become clear over time that this influx will not be as short-term as initially assumed, and that its effects will be noticed both domestically and internationally. While those effects show themselves in a wider spectrum from security concerns in the host community members to economic issues, border provinces were the first to meet the effects of the crisis, especially in the southeast Anatolian region of Türkiye, where the migration wave has intensified.

Türkiye has the world's biggest refugee population, with more than 3.6 million registered Syrians living in Turkish host communities as of June 2022 (Presidency of Migration Management, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Interior, 2022) followed by the Poland with 3.3 million Ukrainian migrants (UNHCR, 2022). As one of the top 10 provinces hosting the largest refugee population, Kilis doubled its population and set the example where the effects of the sudden population increase due to immigration can be observed most clearly. By the intensity of the refugee population, Kilis also became the center of political discussions on the immigrated refugee numbers in Türkiye. Also, as the only non-metropolitan municipalities among the top 10 provinces

hosting the largest refugee population, Kilis also faces even higher administrative and financial challenges compared to other provinces. Considering its geographical position, Kilis is right next to the Syria border of Türkiye where it both serves as a buffer zone to other provinces and the transit province that is the first address of the fleeing refugees. Lastly, with the strong presence of international organizations, NGOs and private sector, Kilis is chosen as the case study combining all those characteristics of the Kilis, it provides a comprehensive example of the context.

1.3. Purpose and Structure of the Study

In this study, effects of mass migration on waste management regarding local governments will be analysed based on the Syrian influx after the Arab Uprisings to the Southeastern Anatolia Region of Türkiye. To be able to conduct a richer discussion, a comprehensive literature review has been conducted to define the contributions as well as the limitations of the studies in this field and grasping the overlooked areas. The review both assists to understand the constitutive areas of the waste management and also helps to reveal the key points to be studied in the case study. While creating a roadmap through the literature review, the main aim of this research is to draw attention to increasing importance and share of waste management by showing the dimensions of the impact of waste management in medium-sized cities in times of crisis. And also aims to challenge the existing limited approaches to waste management.

Based on this background, the impacts of mass migration of Syrian people on public service delivery, mainly waste management, in Türkiye will be examined. This examination will focus on the case of Kilis. Existing waste management activities and emergency response strategies in Kilis will be deeply analysed to see whether or not the approaches applied were sufficient. To be able to define the role of changing dynamics, the analysis of how different actors situated themselves and reflection of those changes in the society in terms of access to basic services and social cohesion among immigrants and host community members will be made.

To be able to draw a comprehensive outlook to the research question, this research consists of 6 major parts. In chapter II following the introduction, framework of waste management terminology will be reviewed as it is a critical piece of the overall puzzle. Secondly in Chapter III, mass migration literature review will be revealed to link the effects of the mass migration to the mid-sized cities and public services. In this chapter, the focus will be on the gaps of mass migration research and also on the contributions of the field where it can be reflected to this study case. Chapter IV presents Syrian influx's effects on Türkiye as an important of the mass migration example in the history will be examined to have a closer look on the crisis followed by the waste governance structure of Türkiye in Chapter V through main regulations, responsible actors and the budgets of the municipalities. Following all the pieces that have gathered, deeper analyses through the Kilis case will be focused.

1.4. Reflecting Initial Assumptions, Major Challenges and the Methodology

Initial assumptions were based on literature review and previous studies on the mass migration and migration crisis, especially in Türkiye case. As the Türkiye sets a unique example on mass migration with the largest refugee population on earth, main issues are considered as security, health, meeting basic needs such as food and sanitation, and sheltering. Through this research, it has been tried to reconsider the emergency needs in a mass migration crisis and reflecting the importance of waste management while other studies mostly concentrate on policy and planning process and neglect urbanization in the subject matter. Therefore, the main aim of this research is to challenge existing major solution spaces that are excluding waste governance, reviewing current challenges and resolutions regarding the mass migration by analysing the case study of Kilis. One of the most outstanding reasons for the rationale behind the choice of this province is population density in Kilis, kinship relations in the region build prior to the crisis, 2 Temporary Shelter Center experiences, and being the only non-metropolitan municipality among the top then Syrian hosting provinces in Türkiye with no waste disposal facility can be counted. Especially while international and national support concentrating in the other provinces such as Gaziantep, Hatay or İstanbul for various reasons, Kilis became neglected over time.

Hence, the main research question “How did the mass migration from Syria to Türkiye effected municipal service delivery especially in terms of waste management, in Kilis?” will tried to be answered through the study. And by doing so, sub-major effects on mass Syrian influx will be examined with their relation to emergency strategies of Türkiye. Parallel to this, instead of waste management approach which has been concentrated around the public institutions, waste governance approach with various actors from public to private sector that are shaping the context will be focused to have a comprehensive analysis by examining Kilis as the testing ground of the national system’s resilience.

For data collection, main responsible governmental institutions have been referred as the primary sources of information such as TURKSTAT, Presidency of Migration Management (PoMM), AFAD and etc. Additionally, Municipality of Kilis’s data resources have been used. Although, as one of the major challenges in this study there has been a lack of data issue in Türkiye regarding both migration and waste management in addition to consistency issues. For this purpose, qualitative research methods particularly in-depth interviews have been used to secondary sources of information. In total of 20 interviews embody from public institutions representatives, private sector representatives in the field, NGOs, iNGOs, residents of Kilis, academics, in addition to United Nations Development Programme, İLBANK, Municipality of Kilis, Union of Municipalities in Türkiye and etc. While conducting field interviews, snowballing technique has been used to reach out different interviewees and the data obtained from those supported by the data obtain from legal institutions. Unfortunately, one of the other major challenges encountered during this research was the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic which prevented travel, hence on-site field interviews. And the last but not least challenge was the political atmosphere in Türkiye that kept boiling the arguments towards refugees in Türkiye. Consequently, people were hesitant to talk about this issue, and the governmental institutions were unwilling to share information.

CHAPTER 2

WASTE GOVERNANCE TERMINOLOGY AS PIECES OF A PUZZLE

Even though waste used to be considered as a secondary public service addressed within the context of hygiene, health, and/or sanitation; it has now become a phenomenon and a policy instrument on the global agenda, both as a raw material in the production industry and as a tool for shaping socio-political and spatial relations at the local and national levels (Tuçaltan, 2017). As a recently focused and growing research area; waste governance has been the subject of effective management, climate change, urban planning, engineering, and economical studies. Waste governance has been also considered as “a practice that transcends the policy implementation duality” (Bulkeley, Watson, Hudson, & Weaver, 2005) that shapes multi-relations with variety of institutions from state and non-state actors (for example: municipalities, INGOs/NGOs, private sector, residents and etc.). And it also provides a deeper understanding regarding the relations of these actors. Therefore, waste management should be reviewed as governance rather than a management in the concept of Bulkeley, Watson and Hudson put forward that is an umbrella concept, a multilevel association, and a non-hierarchical relation that includes non-state actors with state actors in decision-making process (Bulkeley, Watson, Hudson, & Weaver, 2005). Hence, hereinafter waste management should transcend into a new approach of waste governance that includes different vital pieces of an overall puzzle.

Honor Fagan (Fagan, 2004) also argues that the waste management crisis in Ireland were an unintended outcome of the recent economic boom in the late 1990s, and waste management should be conceptualized as a “globally circulating fluid” that needs to be governed like other global fluids like money. She defines one of the major issues of waste management is the lack of multi-scalar governance and provides an actor-based approach by indicating the European Union is a main-driver of waste management strategies while the executory role is at national and local levels (Fagan, 2004). This portrait drawn by the author also gives a general idea of Türkiye’s waste management policy framework through their similarities.

Waste as an actor that shapes urban space, has been studied by various scholars in various concepts, and through this literature review it is aimed to provide a framework to understand waste as a part of a mass migration crisis which will fill a gap in the literature.

2.1. Municipal Solid Waste

In order to analyse the municipal waste management crisis, it is important to understand the concept of solid waste. Waste does not have a definition that is commonly accepted all over the world. Its value of use and the socio-economical background of countries affect the regulations towards it and therefore the definition itself varies among countries. Even though whether it has been considered as a resource or not and the characteristics of waste in a region shapes the description of waste, in general terms waste has been defined as follows by the United Nations;

Waste refers to materials that are not prime products (that is, products produced for the market) for which the generator has no further use in terms of his/her own purposes of production, transformation, or consumption, and of which he/she wants to dispose. Wastes may be generated during the extraction of raw materials, consumption of the final products, and other human activities. (United Nations, 1997).

According to this definition, waste is basically generated from human activities. Through rapid industrialization, capitalist urbanization, consequently increasing and changing consumption habits has caused the diversification of the types of waste as well as the amount of waste generation. Hence, waste management also unfolds critical place in understanding socio-economic assets of a society. It has been also deeply analyzed by Moore in her recent study, which claims that identifying differing conceptualizations of waste helps us to examine the political potential of waste especially for socio-spatial processes (Moore, 2012).

According to the Republic of Türkiye's Environmental Law (Environmental Law, Law No: 2872 , 1983) section 2; waste is defined as; "Any material generated as a result of any activity that is disposed or left to the environment" and the solid waste refers to "solid material which needs to be regularly disposed by its manufacturer due to public peace and especially for the protection of the environment.

From that definition it can be understood that this regulation covers both approaches, origin of waste and responsibility of that particular waste management. Even though it is a wide definition, and it is stated in the next sections that it is essential to use waste to increase recycling and sort them at their source, this definition based on the disposal needs to be cultivated through a more sustainable approach since waste can also become resources for the production processes.

Municipal solid waste (herein after referred as MSW) refers to; solid wastes produced within the territorial boundaries of a municipality, regardless of the source they are generated from and the responsible party for collection; municipalities or the private sector (Otoniel, Gerardo, & Cram, 2001). Though, the responsible party for collection, transportation or disposal of the MSW might vary. Since the wide variety of definition, and no consensus throughout the world, the definitions in Turkish regulations will be taken into consideration in this study.

The concept of waste has been examined to be able to address one of the most essential and urgent environmental issues in the current industrial era. The most fundamental method of solving this urgent issue is to develop a systematic approach to reduce the negative effects of the waste to environment and to economy. Therefore, “waste management” concept has been used for the first time in 1842 by Edwin Chadwick in his report, titled “The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain” (Chadwick, 1965), by indicating the importance of waste management facilities regarding public health. And today, it is still a critical issue in terms of public health all around the world in addition to its economic, political, and socio-spatial outcomes.

Although previous studies on waste management to date include technical evaluations regarding the current situation, planning and management of waste in detail, according to Tuçaltan (2017); “...it does not provide sufficient interrelated accounts of power mechanisms, along with the historical, political, economic and socio-spatial contexts and material and technological processes through which they are produced and reproduced.” (Tuçaltan, 2017).

2.2. Waste Management

Currently UNSTAT defines waste management as;

Activities include a) collection, transport, treatment, and disposal of waste b) control, monitoring and regulation of the production, collection, transport, treatment and disposal of waste and c) prevention of waste production through in process modifications, reuse and recycling. (UNSTAT, 1997).

Waste Management Regulation of Türkiye also have a similar approach to the waste management; which covers from prevention of waste generation to above activities including energy recovery, monitoring, and inspection after disposal processes.

The inclusion of prevention in both definitions is an indication of the need for prevention and development policies as well as protection in environmental policies.

Considering the environmental damage, proven by scientific data since the establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988, it is inevitable to implement long-term integrated policies internationally instead of saving the day. In her research on metabolic urbanization of waste in Ankara, Tuğaltan underlines that “Waste management also constitutes an interface to understand political, social and material relations and practices.” (Tuğaltan, 2017).

2.2.1. Integrated Solid Waste Management (ISWM)

Since the main aim of waste management is to reduce the negative impacts of it to the environment and economy, need for an integrated and comprehensive system is inevitable. In order for waste governance and/or management to be carried out in an integrated manner, it is necessary to select and implement the appropriate method, technology and management programs required for a certain waste governance target, therefore many criteria such as current situation, waste characterization, socioeconomic status and development level of the region should be examined.

A decent SWM system should include legislation, institutions and financial mechanisms that supports them, as well as adequate technology and infrastructure with stakeholder engagement in solid waste management cycle which refers to integrated

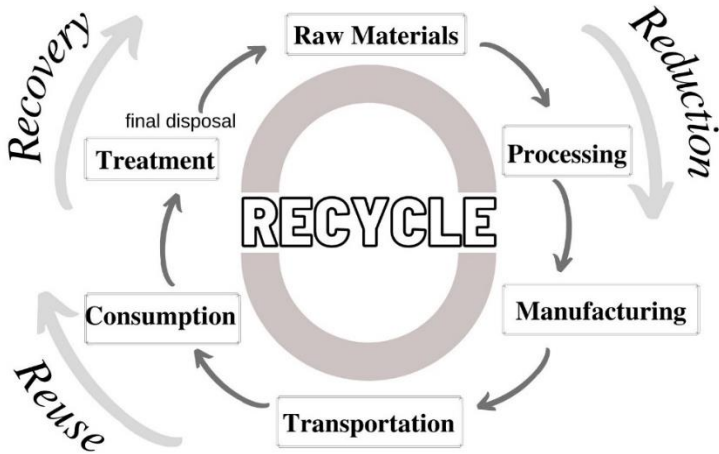


Figure 1 Lifecycle of a Product in ISWM

Source: Figure by Author

solid waste management (herein referred as ISWM) (United Nations Environment Programme, 2009).

The initial ISWM idea is based on the lifecycle assessment (LCA) method of a product (*Figure 1*) from its production and consumption aspects, which was first applied to energy conservation and resource optimization in the late 19th century for the Coca-Cola Company's performance enhancement (Klöpffer & Curran, 2014). It is essential to apply the LCA to goods for the utilization of resource management and waste generation, which might also lead to lower end-of-cycle waste production; hence, less efforts and resources would be required for the beginning of the manufacturing process and ultimate waste disposal (United Nations Environment Programme, 2009).

Through various sorts of enhanced solid waste management, it has been estimated that a 10 to 15% decrease in global greenhouse gas emissions might be accomplished using a life-cycle strategy. Furthermore, including source reduction might possibly enhance this contribution to 15 to 20% (United Nations, 1997).

Briefly, in order for local governments, as the primary authorized institutions to provide waste management services in the local regions, to properly apply the ISWM methods they need sustainable policies and laws that regulates them in both regional and local level, technological opportunities and infrastructures supported with the independent financing mechanism such as fees, taxes, fiscal resources, and a strong and functional governance mechanism with the participation of waste generators, service providers, private sector and government. In the last chapter of this research, it will be examined in depth in the context of Türkiye.

2.2.2. Disaster Waste Management (DWM)

As rapid urbanization increases the waste generation, it also elevates the vulnerability of the cities to disasters and the impact of disaster events. Furthermore, disasters and conflicts are one of the main generators of waste and debris that threaten the public

health and the environment. In order to be able to reduce negative impacts, not only a proper risk management system but also an adequate city planning and a comprehensive emergency response strategy is essential (Gordon & Dion, 2008).

According to Charlotte Brown (Brown, 2011), key aspects of disaster waste management are; planning, waste (composition, quantities, and management phases), waste treatment options, environment, economics, social considerations, organizational aspects, legal frameworks, and funding. Which does not only include the emergency response but also preventive strategies as well.

The scale of disaster waste might vary due to type and magnitude of the disaster, quantity of waste, development level of the region and etc. For example, waste generated due to the conflicts in the region might contains unexploded explosive substances, ashes, debris, and other type of hazardous wastes. Even though the issues vary between disasters, there are 4 main phases of disaster waste management defined by the UNOCHA and UNEP (UNOCHA, UNEP, 2011). The first phase of the disaster waste management refers to immediate actions regarding removing hazards to public health and safety. Although duration of the phases might differ for each situation, generally in the first 0-72 hours; identifying the waste issues, mapping and assessing the waste and prioritizing the actions took place as immediate actions (UNOCHA, UNEP, 2011), and the whole stage usually lasts between a few days and 2 weeks (Haas, Kates, & Bowden, 1977).

Early recovery phase can be considered as the foundation of the next steps. In this phase, assessment of the waste needs should be further examined, temporary storage and disposal sites should be identified, transportation needs to be addressed and the local capacities needs to be assessed (UNOCHA, UNEP, 2011). Afterwards the outputs gathered through this examination should be used as a base of the DWM strategy, considering allocation of resources will be determined due to the findings obtained from this stage, which will have much more long-term consequences.

Following the early-recovery phase, the largest amount of waste management activities held under the recovery phase. During this stage, exit strategies might developed, existing waste management facilities might be improved, restoration of the lifeline can be ensured and etc. Overall, a comprehensive and cost-effective waste management programme which aligns with the community needs and demands should be implemented.

The rebuilding phase should not be considered as the end phase since, as the longest phase of the DWM, it could last up to 10 years (Haas, Kates, & Bowden, 1977). In the rebuild phase, temporary solutions should reverse into a convenient long-term plan. Recyclable materials (including composting) can be segregated during the collection processes, temporary dump sites should re-organized, traditional disposal methods should be revised, waste generated as a result of the disasters should be re-used, for example debris can be utilized as a part of the re-construction processes such as concrete material.

According to the Chapandra (Chandrappa & Das), benefits of the proper rebuilding phase are; “(1) reduction of landfill space used, (2) reduction of the quantity of raw material used in re-build, (3) revenue from recycled debris, (4) reduction in transportation for raw materials and debris, (5) easy access for post disaster recovery activities, and (6) job creation.”.

Therefore, according to the UN’s DWM guideline, conducting a contingency planning is also a key factor for determining appreciate strategy in advance. Hence, an effective management must ensure a technical and financial stability which includes public and private cooperation. In addition to these, even though the disaster waste management seems to be a responsive policy, there is also a need for a preventive strategy, and this will be examined in the following chapters in the context of Türkiye.

CHAPTER 3

MASS MIGRATION EFFECTS ON MID-SIZED CITIES

Migration has been the concept that challenges the economic, social, and cultural structures of both sending, receiving and transit countries as an essential building block of the human history. Hence, by having deeper consequences mass migration has been considered as *great migrations* that has the influence to shift the course of the history. For example, migration of tribes considered as the “migration period” in between A.D. 350 and 568 that shaped the Europe (Reynolds Brown, 1995), puritan migration to New England from 1620 to 1640 (Anderson V. D., 1985) mainly motivated to practise their beliefs which shifted the religious structure in both England and New England as sending and receiving regions. Likewise, displacement of approximately 20 million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims during the partition of India is considered as the biggest mass migration in human history, produced stress by causing political and economic challenges in addition to the pressure of the Cold War on newly decolonized states (UNHCR, 2000). When examples of mass migration occurring for different reasons are observed, it can be stated that mass migration can be both formed by voluntary migration such as the movement to the America between 1850-1914 through the pull-factors of the targeted regions. It can be also caused by forced migration/displacement through the negative push factors of the sending region such as the Syrian influx to Türkiye after the Arab Uprisings. The inherent aspect, however, is that all these movements have the ability to reshape the governance, economic and social structure of the cities.

Although, mass migration studies mainly focused on economic repercussions, the under-studied subject of the mass migration's effects on urban socio-spatial relations, and local governments is becoming more relevant. For instance, within the context of migration's multidimensionality, it also started to be viewed by few scholars as a type of adaptation strategy in the context of immigrants and sending regions. It has been pointed out that migrating to less risky or more resourceful locations might strengthen household resilience, as seen by cases of climate change-related migrations as a driven factor for example migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe in recent years (Sherbinin, 2020). Today, mass migrations are on the global agenda as a result of human activities such as escalating conflicts and civil wars, as well as disasters caused by climate change. The Arab Uprisings, as well as the concept of "climate refugee" even though it has not been accepted as a legal term yet, have served as evidence that this issue cannot be overlooked any longer. The immediate consequences of mass migration on cities, as well as the development of administrative solutions to these effects, become essential in this setting.

While the world facing mass migration examples mostly caused by wars, conflicts, or natural disasters nowadays, Hatton and Williamson stated the movement from Europe to the New World between 1850-1914 was the "age of mass migration" which marked a profound shift in global demographic and socio-economic activity (Hatton & Williamson, 1998). Contrary to widespread perception, their study unfolds the impact of the migration on employment and labour sector might have positive effects in the long term. Greenhill (Greenhill, 1970) approaches this debate in terms of the use of mass immigration as a weapon in the international relations literature. According to Greenhill, whether it is a coercive engineered migration or migration driven coercion by capacity swamping or political agitation, mass migration is being used as a method to influence since the Refugee Convention came into force. To summarize, capacity swamping concentrates on targets' capacity to embrace migrants, whereas political agitation tends to focus on influencing targets' willingness to do so (Greenhill, 1970), with the main driving force for this coercion being the target countries' capacity to respond to mass migration, primarily in terms of public services. Henceforward, it can be observed that studies referring to mass migration mainly focuses on economic

and/or diplomatic prospects, yet effects of the mass migration on cities waste management have been neglected by previous studies in the field.

The effects of migration crisis appear in firstly public service delivery and secondly the burdens of the issue cannot be shared equally among all segments of the society. The sudden increase in population due to natural disasters and humanitarian crises also increases the demand for municipal services significantly, considering the municipalities are the first responders of a crisis. Hence, municipal service delivery is particularly critical in terms of crisis response and building local resistance to crisis. With already limited capacity in infrastructure and superstructure, a sudden and considerable rise in population might aggravate the existing issues with delivery of basic public services such as security, sanitation, health, education, employment, housing, social cohesion, and waste management.

Even though international migration plays a critical part of foreign policy, its reflection of the interior policy also occupies an important sphere with the possibility of changing the urban structure through rising public service demand priorly in health, education, security, and livelihoods. Hence, it can be claimed that the impact of the migrants in cities vary through economic, political and social impacts. For instance, according to the research conducted by McKinsey Global Institute, migrants contributed more than \$6.4 trillion (9.4%) of the world's domestic product (GDP) in 2015 (McKinsey Global Institute, 2016). And with the complexity of the migrants that includes diversity of language, race, religion, culture and etc. it can both risk and conduce the social cohesion. And as stated above, since the burden of migration cannot be distributed evenly among different layers of the society, disadvantaged groups become even more vulnerable with mass migration, and immigrants are at the forefront of these groups (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021). To overcome the negative effects of the inevitable forced migrations, IOM suggests primarily reducing the amount of unorganized and regular migration movements as much as possible, and using adaptation strategy to provide protection and humanitarian assistance when the first strategy cannot be displayed (IOM, 2014). Through the following chapters of this study, mass migration's effect on cities will be analysed.

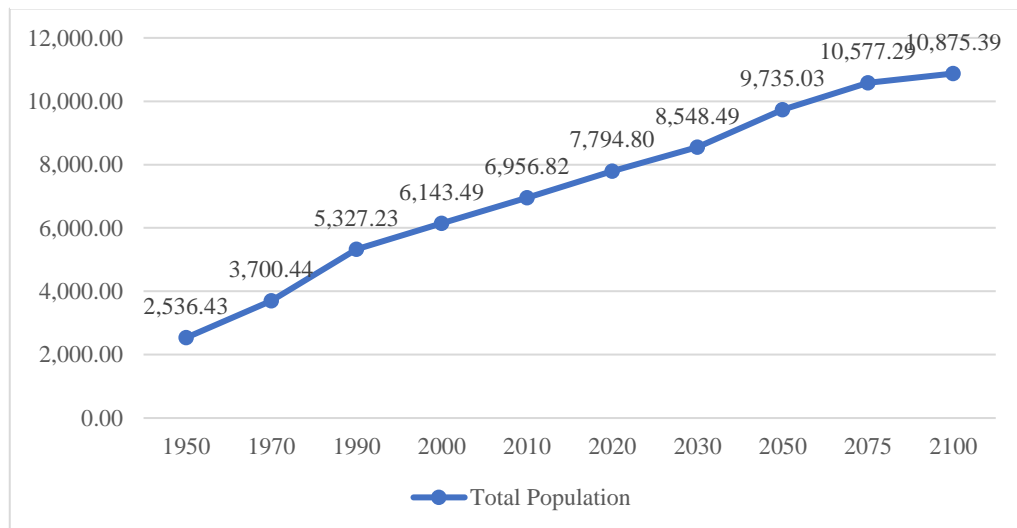
3.1. Population Matters¹

It is stated that the over population and deficient population projection and planning will cause problems in meeting the basic needs of people since the 18th century. According to the T.R. Malthus in his Essay on the Principle of Population in 1798:

Population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio. By the law of our nature which makes food necessary to the life of man, the effects of these two unequal powers must be kept equal (Malthus, 1798).

Since the 1950s, the world's population has grown by a billion people each 12-15 years. As of today, the world population is more than 7.75 billion and it is predicted that it might reach to 10.9 billion in 2100 with its 95% certainty range (*please see the graph 1* (United Nations, 2019)). Comparing to 1950s, our population is more than tripled today. While the population rapidly increases, it also multiplies the consequences of climate change regarding global warming, biodiversity loss, deforestation, waste generation, pollution, etc. in addition to the other predictable issues such as hunger, sanitation, poverty, decent work opportunities etc.

Graph 1 World Population Projection by 2100



Source: Adapted by the author from UN (United Nations, 2019)

¹ Population Matters is a charity that undertakes research about population growth and promotes sustainable and ecofriendly solutions. (For more information: <https://populationmatters.org/>)

Population might increase by displacement as well as by birth and it can create an issue if concentrated in a certain region or occurred in a short period of time. According to the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (referred as 1951 Convention), definition of refugee states as:

Who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2011).

Even though wars and conflicts are traditionally accepted as the main reason for displacement, we see that environmental disasters particularly caused by climate change have brought the concept of "climate refugee" to the literature. Therefore, to overcome the limitations of the definition made by the 1951 Convention, meaning of the refugee has been widened in a way to include humanitarian and natural disasters in the 1992 definition made by UNHCR and segregated the term internally displaced people (referred as IDP) from general refugee terminology (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014). Although the initial migration theories created in the late nineteenth century included environmental factors as a migration component, the link between migration and environmental conditions has since been disregarded (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021). Albeit it is now widely acknowledged in the international community that climate change impacts migrant patterns, the term "climate refugee" has yet to have a legal reference. Despite the fact that certain instances set a legal precedent, authorities should legally recognize the term as a critical emerging concern in the near future.

As of the first half of the 2021, more than 84 million individuals worldwide, almost half of whom are under the age of 18, subjected to conflict, violence and forcibly displaced. Between 2010 and 2019 at least 100 million people were forcibly displaced seeking refuge either within or outside of the borders of their country. And among the

total refugee population, 68% of them originated from only five countries which are Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar (UNHCR, 2021). After the war in Ukraine emerged, more than 6 million refugees fled to Poland, with 4 million of them crossing borders in the first five weeks of the conflict (UNHCR, 2022).

As the possibilities of mobilization increased over time, illegal immigration movements also caused a change in the perception of immigration and intensifying of the measures taken by states regarding their sovereignty and security. Because mass migration can change the social, cultural, economic, and political structure of both sending and receiving societies fundamentally. Cities will continue to play an important role in human mobility in the next decades, given expected increases in urbanization and migration.

Although cities play a critical role as initial responders to migration, they are generally underrepresented in national and international migration choices. Hence, cities must take into consideration current immigration trends and embrace greater responsibility for managing migration and its consequences. While a flood of migrants may still occur due to unforeseen reasons, cities must engage in migration as a long-term phenomenon by adapting and evolving for a vibrant future which will enable governments to change the way people think about migration from "problem" to "opportunity." (Castles, Haas, & Miller, *International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 2014). Especially since the twenty-first century has become an era wherein the conventional concept of migration push and pull forces has transformed to a notion that most countries experience both immigration and emigration. Municipalities are expected to handle related concerns as part of the circular economy. The European Green Deal is one of the most important initiatives done in this industry in recent years. A framework and roadmap for the EU's transition to a green and green economy were drawn up as part of the agreement (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021). Based on this judgment, it is highlighted that throughout the implementation of EGD, local governments should be seen and supported as EU Climate Agreement Ambassadors (Garcia, 2021).

2.3. Situating Mass Migration in the Concept of Public Service Delivery

“Refugees are worldless² in a world that is spliced into sovereign territorial states, and that demands identifying the possession of human rights with state citizenship” (Evans & Bauman, 2016)

In the modern era mass migration is not a novelty nor, in Bauman's (Bauman, 2003) words, a rare concept; instead, the mass migration movements can be considered as a result of this modern society that actually behaves like factories producing "redundant people". As stated before, mass migration might have a various impact on policy, economy and social life as well as their reflection on cities. In the research conducted between 22 cities around the world by the World Economic Forum on migration impact on cities (World Economic Forum, 2017), it is put forward that the health, education, access the labour market, housing, sanitation and waste management and social integration are the main issues that emerges in the early phases that needs to be address in a mass migration crisis. Through that research, it can be observed that even different factors play different roles in those cities, the emerging issues are similar.

In addition to having a negative financial impact on municipalities and weakening their resilience, mass migration also has a significant impact on vulnerable groups, particularly refugees. According to the "leave no one behind" principle³, it is critical for municipalities to integrate disadvantaged groups in public service and urban planning, otherwise their vulnerability will deepen. For instance, in a study of Syrian refugees in Türkiye, access to health and education services is cited as one of the major challenges refugees encounter due to the language barrier (Kaya & Kırac, 2016). Followed by; difficulty in accessing basic resources such as food, living in risky housing areas, limited access to information, accessing decent livelihoods opportunities etc. that increases the vulnerability of refugees and migrants. Main

² Reference the term of “worldlessness” by Hannah Arendt **Invalid source specified.**

³ The United Nations policy of equality and non-discrimination while achieving sustainable development goals **Invalid source specified.**

variables that need to be addressed while facing a migration crisis are stated in a study (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021) mainly as language barrier, access to health services, education, decent livelihood opportunities, housing and awareness. In addition to those, waste management and social cohesion are also considered as indicators that contribute to immigrants' vulnerability under this study.

2.3.1. Language Barrier

Language Barrier is being considered as the primary challenges that effects migrants due to its multiplier effect on other migration driven issues. With the lack of host community language knowledge, migrants face difficulties accessing other public services and also leads to not being able to integrate with the society and therefore to social exclusion. This problem also constitutes one of the most important problems as it affects other factors such as access to healthcare, access to correct information and decent livelihood opportunities etc. Consequently, language barrier is also identified as a critical constraint for integration to the labor market in a host country (UNDP, 2016).

To address this issue, professional interpreters are frequently hired as translators, and family members or children are also used as translators (Shah, Ayash, Pharaon, & Gany, 2008). However, inadequacies in communication channels might pose problems, particularly concerning formal occasions. In several research, refugees were concerned that translators were not accurately re-telling their stories (Palmer & Ward, 2007), which may cause issues in a variety of areas from health care to legal services. Therefore, it is prioritized by most governments in the emergency response process as a long-term solution instrument. Or in the case of planned or regular migration, language is at the top of the list of requirements.

2.3.2. Access To Health Services

In connection with the language barrier, *access to health services* can be considered as the second main issues regarding mass migration. One of the main problems is not being able to express a health problem or not knowing where to apply due to lack of language.

In the study of Syrian refugees in Istanbul, it has been stated that in addition to lack of language issue, not having the financial resources to cover health services also lays as an important factor (Kaya & Kır a , 2016). Another research on Syrians' restricted access to healthcare in Ankara among 221 Syrians found that 51.4 percent of respondents stated that language barrier is highly detrimental to accessing healthcare services (Abohalaka & Yeşil, 2021) which highlights the linkage between the language barrier and the access to healthcare. As per the study, gender responsive approaches play an essential part in overcoming the language barrier whereas gender of the respondents showed a distinction in the method that's being used to cope with the language issue. For example, while females generally tend to use friends and relatives as interpreters, male participants were much more open to using hospital-appointed translators (Abohalaka & Yeşil, 2021). Especially when we compare the number of women who benefit from health services in camps which is 93.8% and outside of the camps the number decreases to 57.9% according the report prepared by AFAD in 2014 (T.C. Bařbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Bařkanlıęı (AFAD), 2014), deeply demonstrates the importance of access to public services for women refugees.

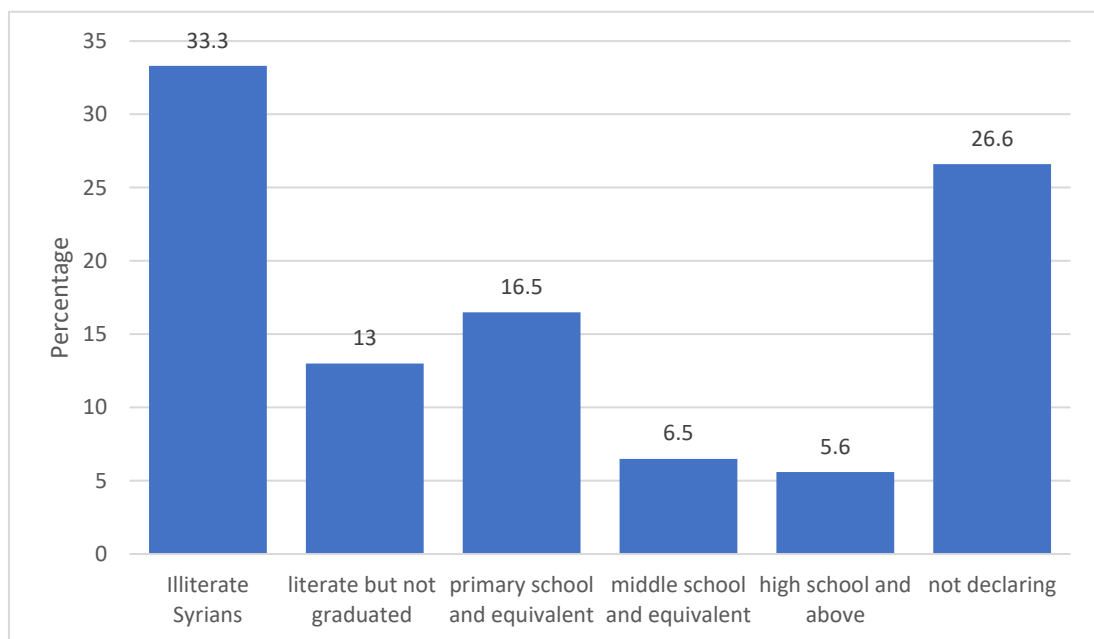
2.3.3. Education

Access to education is another issue linked to language barrier that refugees face. Primary reasons regarding access to education are that education is not a priority especially for families fled from a war, that families are unaware of the importance of education, that education expenditures cannot be covered by migrants, and that the

majority of immigrant children of school age have to work due to financial reasons (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021). Injustices that occur during such crises and disasters also lead to the premature death of women and children, early and forced marriages of girls, deprivation of girls' education, subjected to sexual abuse, harassment and discrimination, and trafficking of women (Tatgın, 2019).

Another dimension of the education is the certification of the previous graduations by refugees. Since there are no institutions that can validate the certificates such as diplomas etc. during a war, even well-educated refugees are working in different fields rather their expertise field or choosing a less knowledge-based and more muscle-strength based or informal work areas.

Graph 2 General Education Status of Syrians



Source: Adapted by the author from PoMM Data

According to a March 2016 study conducted by the Ministry of Development utilizing PoMM data, 33% of Syrians in Türkiye are illiterate, while 13% do not have a graduation degree despite being literate. Unfortunately, this data demonstrates a significant educational disparity (Erdoğan M. , Suriyeliler Barometresi-2019: SURIYELİLERLE UYUM İÇİNDE YAŞAMIN ÇERÇEVESİ, 2020). Additionally, lack of data in education regarding SuTPs also limits the analyses in this regard.

2.3.4. Decent Livelihood Opportunities

Therefore, *decent livelihood opportunities* become even more relevant to increase their resilience to access basic needs and fundamental public services. Prior to adaptation of the new Regulation for Work Permits for Syrian's under Temporary Protection in 2016, which allowed SuTPs to legally be employed in Türkiye, work permits of the foreigners were regulated by the Law on Work Permits of Foreigners No:4817 which were quite strict especially concerning the irregular entries. By this new regulation, not only a small portion of the Syrians who entered the country legally as in "foreigner" status were allowed to obtain to work permit but also SuTPs even though with limitations such as the work permit duration and etc (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). Additionally, these constraints also prompt to unregistered employment, which encourages child labor, working without occupational health and safety, and working without social benefits. Furthermore, entering the market as cheap and easy laborers might create tensions with the competition produced in the labor market for members of the host community.

Hence, need for the provision of employment services from legal institutions such as the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS) and the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR), in connection with ensuring the capacity increasing and taking additional measures like strengthening language capacity of the Syrian jobseekers has become an urgent need (UNDP, 2016). Also, in addition to regulating the work permits, strengthening local capacities to implementing those regulations is also quite critical. Considering integrating a migrant labor force to the local labor market, overlapping skills levels of the SuTPs with the unemployed host community members

in the region (UNDP, 2016) also creates an issue in the case of Türkiye. Thus, to increase job creation potential, a cohesive approach including skills development and infrastructural investments is needed.

Lack of language and occupational skills in addition the certification problem, led Syrians to turn to the informal labor sector. According to a study in Southeastern Anatolia region in Türkiye conducted by the UNDP in 2016, 30 to 50% of the labor is informally employed in the region (UNDP, 2016). This is conversely appealing to employers because of the low cost of labor; however, it leads to the violation of employees' rights.

Another dimension of livelihoods is that culturally, male members of the household work and women stay at home more frequently among Syrian refugees in Türkiye is an obstacle to the strengthening of social cohesion and the integration of women into society. Considering the conservative structure of Syrian society, women are expected to stay at home which resulted a dramatic difference between the working rates among Syrian women and men; while only 11.2 % women aged 15-65 work compared with the 71 % of men (Caro, 2022). Additionally, according to the 2014 AFAD report, approximately 35% of Syrian women lost at least 1 member of their family during the war, and 29.4% of them have a monthly income of less than \$100 (T.C. Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD), 2014). And all these put women in a more disadvantageous position with the psychology of war and destruction, as well as the deepening of poverty and discrimination. Hence, to both decrease the unemployability rates and to increase social cohesion a detailed profiling is needed to understand the characteristics of the population in the region including gender mainstreaming, skills mapping, economic features of the province and etc.

There is also a support mechanism for those who are unable to enter the labor market for a variety of reasons. The Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) program provides a debit card that delivers a fixed amount of money per family member each month, which may be used as a standard debit card. It is now being executed by the World Food Programme (WFP), the Turkish Red Crescent, and the Turkish government as

the largest humanitarian initiative financed by the European Union to date with 998 million Euros (World Food Programme and European Union, 2017). Which also stand as a critical emergency response strategy considering the Covid-19 effects to the most vulnerable groups in urban areas. Additionally, through the İŞKUR, job search and job placement services offered to Turkish citizens are also provided to SuTPs by the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners Under Temporary Protection. However, the rate of utilization is low due to reasons such as not being aware of the services and language barriers (Aydın Yılmaz, 2019).

2.3.5. Housing

Resettlement planning is carried out for applicants for international protection in the majority of developed countries. For example, under Germany's "Königsteiner Schlüssel" system, refugees are placed in a coordinated and balanced way from the moment they enter the country, within the already established different criteria's. As a result, the load distribution among states, cities, and districts is relatively balanced (Erdoğan M. , Suriyeliler Barometresi-2019: SURIYELİLERLE UYUM İÇİNDE YAŞAMIN ÇERÇEVESİ, 2020). However, in the face of extreme and unexpected migration flows, this may be difficult to realize. For example, Türkiye's major response to the crisis was to place Syrians in temporary refugee centers and try to increase their capacity and the number of those camps up to 26. Yet the capacity of those camps were inefficient and most of the residents of those camps have move to settling further inland, near relatives and acquaintances regarding kinship relations in the region.

Related to poverty, low-income immigrants reside either in refugee camps or in risk areas. And housing, also underlines the link between health and income levels. It is observed that the immigrants mostly settled in the regions where their relatives were, and residency choices were made within the framework of the networks that already existed before the war. This results in regionalization and intensification of problems in these local areas.

In order to prevent these compelling factors, it is critical for municipalities to adopt an inclusive public service approach to all segments of the society. To accomplish this, municipalities should initially analyse the roots of vulnerability, take measures to strengthen resilience proactively, and develop inclusive solutions to utilize the public resources effectively. Some of them must be structural "hard measures," such as infrastructure improvements, while some, such as language support and livelihoods opportunities, should be implemented as "soft measures" in an integrated manner through involving different actors to the process (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021). Waste management and social cohesion will be examined deeply under following separate sub-titles.

2.3.6. Waste Management After Migration

With the rapid increase in the urban population, as stated above, local governments face with unlimited public service delivery issues one of which is high waste generation rates. In the early phases of an influx, migrants and/or asylum seekers are first placed in temporary settlements like camps, container block and etc. depending on the receiving country's policy. Even though planning of settlements is in state's responsibility, most of the time as a response to the crisis, urgent needs are prioritized and issues such as waste management are considered as secondary. When the refugee camps investigated in detail, even though the standards in those camps have been determined through various international standards such as UNHCR Camp Planning Standards, it can be seen that very limited geographical and environmental data is being considered during the planning of the camps layout. And sustainability tools such as waste management, sanitation, emission control, food planning services are either deficient or inadequate (İnan & Korgavuş, Mülteci Kampları ve Yerleşim Alanlarında Sürdürülebilir Tasarım, 2017). In terms of individuals, after fleeing from a war, conflict, or a disaster, environmentally concerns do not naturally take place in daily life comparing other acute issues, and waste production increases due to the overuse of disposable products.

Managing waste relies on waste sorting as well as waste generation. The decent sorting mechanism of the waste can reduce health concerns, proper chemical waste management can improve water, air and soil quality while preventing pollution, managing food waste can contribute to combatting hunger and decent waste management also helps the efficient use of limited resources consequently lowers the impact of climate crisis (UN, 2015). Conversely, waste management can lead to serious crises in cities that do not have sufficient capacity to deal with the crisis.

A number of studies [(Hellwig, Hägglom-Kronlöf, Bolton, & Rousta, 2019) cited from (Tucker, 2001), (Barr, 2002), (Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1992)] considered behavioural aspects as an important trigger for engagement in waste sorting which indicates that sorting of the waste not only refers to a technical service but also requires societies engagement, therefore depends on cultural aspects as well. On account of this, people with migration background might not be in-lined with host community's waste management understandings. In a deeper view, studies mentioned the waste sorting habits of the immigration backgrounded people in Italy, Europe, UK, Sweden etc. have been sorted in the literature review of (Hellwig, Hägglom-Kronlöf, Bolton, & Rousta, 2019). Although these research based on the concept of recycling, it supports the above-mentioned idea by showing the numbers that immigrants or ethnic minorities sort less than the wider population. The main issues causes that ben be counted as; prioritizing acute concerns, lack of knowledge, language barrier, sorting takes time, lack of recycling cans in the neighbourhood etc. (Gregson, Crang, Botticello, Calestani, & Krzywoszynska, Doing the 'dirty work' of the green economy: Resource recovery and migrant labour in the EU, 2016).

2.3.6.1.Waste Laboring as a Survival Strategy

Manuel Castells claims that “urban” is a term which has an ideological content. And in this content, urban is a source of the processes of reproduction of labor (Keleş, 2016). In advanced capitalist societies, Castells argues that urban contradiction is at the center of the social and political sphere under consumption and class contradiction. The basis of the urban problematic lies in the state's intervention to socialized

consumption and these interventions are the key factors because they politicize the contradictions while they deepen them. And the urban ideology of the ruling class also recognizes and naturalizes class contradictions as urban (Castells, 1997). The subclass's response to urban crises is one of the most important factors determining political developments. When we look at the class contradictions in the cities of Türkiye, waste laborers became a critical turning point of the arguments in the context of laborization of the informal waste labor, conflict between host community member waste laborers and SuTPs, effect of cheap labor on the market and the way these contradictions re-shaping the habitus of the city.

Displaced Syrians who are unable to obtain a residence permit and/or a work permit due to their legal status in terms of employment, aside from the fact that some might be overqualified with university degrees working in factories or in fields without permits, have been forced to work without benefits such as insurance and for a lower wage. This scenario not only threw off the labor supply/demand balance in society, particularly in areas where displaced Syrians are concentrated, but it also put Syrian employees' occupational health and safety at risk. The death of 7 employees, two of whom were displaced Syrians, in a galvanization plant explosion in Gaziantep on January 30, 2013 (Ahmet Kaya, 2013), was the first manifestation of this.

In the work of Oran's (Oran, 2019) waste pickers in Türkiye, actors in the waste management market determined as;

- 1) **Waste pickers** sustaining the recycling system in Türkiye as the first actor,
- 2) **Local governments** that undertake the task of collecting and disposing of solid waste as required by law,
- 3) **Intermediaries** between collectors and recycling companies,
- 4) **Collector and separator companies**
- 5) **Recycling companies and authorized organizations**
- 6) **The Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change**

During his field work, Oran observed that as in the other examples in the world, the recycling scheme in Türkiye has emerged as a formal and informal dual labor market. While formal scheme is formed by laws and regulations, the informal scheme creates an alternative labor market with its unique structure.

In spite of the fact that waste laborers have no official status and seen as “dirty work” they stand as an essential building block of the waste management system. Even though Bauman (Bauman, 2003) believes that “rubbish collectors are the unsung heroes of modernity”, this particular lack of regulation also puts them in an invisible, vulnerable, and exploited situation. As an occupation model, waste picking has also gained different forms over time. According to Dias (Dias, 2011)’s study on Brazilian waste labor, she categorizes waste labours into 3 folders;

- a) **The unorganized/autonomous waste picker** who are not connected to the associations but collect and sort waste and sell to the different actors individually,
- b) **The organized waste picker** who works with associations of cooperatives,
- c) **The waste picker with a contract** who mainly works in junkyards or in metallurgic industrial sector.

Even though all of the counted categories might be observed in Türkiye under formal and informal sectors, the structure in Türkiye is mostly the product of an interlocking system. And in this system provides an alternative labor for Syrians in Türkiye with no work permit, technical requirement or capital is needed, nor language is a barrier. When all these reasons are recovered, it has paved the way for SuTPs to turn to mostly autonomous waste picking in the informal sector, where occupational health and safety risks are relatively eliminated compared to other jobs, where labor can be obtained more easily as a result of direct work by getting rid of employer exploitation, and where the flexible working hours is appealing for the female waste laborers with the burden of the identity of motherhood.

Due to the increase in waste production and the change in the consumption habits through rapidly increasing population with the tendency towards disposable products, etc. waste picking has become an appealing alternative as a survival strategy particularly for Syrians. And they took a huge place in the existing waste picking livelihood sector as an informal actor of the waste management. As the informal actors of the waste sector, they are facing with 3 main actors namely traders, residents and other waste laborers (Oran, 2019) which puts them in different contradictions and challenges the social cohesion as an increasing “threat of monopolizing the market with the Syrians” and also being the “dirty workers” (Tuçaltan, 2017) which be examined in the next section. Additionally, even though the terminology for the waste picking sector varies in the literature, “waste laborers” term will be used in the study to value their preferences and assist the efforts to make this term legal as a form of laboring.

2.3.6.2.Social Cohesion as a Waste Management Engagement

In Castles, Ozkul and Cubas’s work, social transformation considered as an important consequence of a human mobility which affects all forms of social interaction (Castles, Ozkul, & Cubas, *Social Transformation and Migration: National and Local Experiences in South Korea, Turkey, Mexico, and Australia*, 2015). In their work, the authors use the Polanyi’s analysis which highlights how market liberalism in the 19th century ignored the embeddedness of the economy in society (Polanyi, 2001), which also presents itself nowadays in the socio-spatial relations of waste governance. Accordingly, Syria crisis reflections also transformed the social interactions especially in the local communities. Therefore, social cohesion became both a critical concept that needs an immediate improvement and being challenged by the ideas such as “Syrians stealing host community members jobs” (Ballı, 2015). However, most research find that immigration has little or no effect on natives' labor market status (Dustmann, Glitz, and Frattini, 2008; Borjas, 2013).

The importance of social cohesion in terms of waste management, is the fact that the problem of increased waste production in the city is imposed on SuTPs, which is a

factor that prevents both host community members and migrants from being a part of the solution, and it also deepens the conflicts between recycling laborers. The literature review conducted (Hellwig, Häggblom-Kronlöf, Bolton, & Rousta, 2019) on waste sorting engagement after migration also supports the idea of increasing social cohesion might be possible through waste management activities. For example, despite the concern of xenophobia, it has been observed that contributing to the neighbourhood recycling activities is a form that migrant women express their dedication to the community (Bonatti V. , 2018).

As another reflection of the mass migration crisis connected to the neighbourhood, housing also has a great impact on waste production habits. Housing should be viewed as a human right considering the correlation between housing and city planning which consequently effects the public service delivery and the tensity of the infrastructural needs. Because the deficiency of proper housing led people to slums and/or staying in border camp sites.

Consequently, mass migration has a wider effect on public service delivery from housing to education. As one of the critical issues of this crisis, waste management reveals itself where its affects can be observed through various concepts. Albeit some matters such as waste laborers require a deeper analyse, planning and longer implementation period, part of the issues negative reflections can be reduced by detailed early response to a crisis planning, efficient amount of budget including the autonomy of using the budget by the first responders to a crises and support from the host community members.

According to Bustamante (Bustamante, 2011), immigrants are vulnerable, from the moment they leave their homes to immigrate by the nature of being human. As stated in the above sections, language barrier, different legal and cultural regulations, adaptation to a new society, social exclusion on top of economic challenges with limited livelihood opportunities increases the vulnerability of the refugees.

CHAPTER 4

DEFINING THE SITUATION, SYRIA CRISIS REFLECTIONS ON TÜRKIYE

4.1. The Narrative's Onset

Thousands of people have died, and millions more have been forced to abandon their homes, as a result of the outbreak of political unrest that began in Tunisia in December 2010 and spread throughout the Arab world. While violence was reduced to a bare minimum in Tunisia and Egypt, the brutal wars in Libya and Syria led to massive refugee flows." (Castles, Haas, & Miller, *International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 2014).

The Arab Uprising triggered dynamics based on religious, sectarian, and ethnic divisions, resulting in a period of instability throughout the Middle East. With the Arab Uprising's expansion to Syria, tensions between the Baath regime and the grassroots movement escalated, leading to a civil war. As a result of the panic of a big influx of migrants in Europe, international politics were formed by strengthened migration policies, and the vast majority of refugees sought asylum in Türkiye, Lebanon, Iraq, and other Mediterranean states.

Beginning in April 2011, when the first entries began at the Cilvegözü border gate, Turkish government saw the turmoil in Syria as a chance to strengthen its normative regional influence and implemented an "open door" policy based on the assumption that the inflow would be temporary. As a result, rather than providing legal refugee status, Syrian refugees are referred as "guests," which is based on the geographical restriction that Türkiye enforces, that grants refugee status and the right to asylum exclusively to "persons who have become refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe.". Additionally, the word "guest" has also been deliberately used to avoid

tensions between host community members and Syrians. However, the perception that this crisis, which has just begun to reflect on Türkiye, is temporary⁴, has also prevented the development of social cohesion and integration between Syrians and host community members (ŞAHİN MENCÜTEK, 2020). Nevertheless, by the *Olsonian Logic* (Olson, 1971);

...groups that feel threatened by the magnitude, speed or endurance of an inflow and anticipate having to bear concentrated costs associated with that inflow will be strongly motivated to raise vocal objections to accepting, assimilating, or simply shouldering the burdens associated with the migrants or refugees.

According to a detailed study conducted by Murat Erdoğan (Erdoğan M. , Suriyeliler Barometresi: Suriyelilerle Uyum İçinde Yaşamın Çerçevesi, 2018), 81.8 percent of Turkish society opposes cohabitation with Syrians and supports the following alternatives to varied degrees: “Syrians living in safe zones inside Syria” (37.4%); “leaving them in the camps” (28.1%); “deporting them” (11.5%); and “establishing a Syrian-exclusive city” (4.8%).⁹⁸”.

In addition to interior reflections of a sudden mass migration, Greenhill also argues that “While states tend to reject such a mass migration, it can also have a hypocrisy cost on governments” (Greenhill, 1970). In the words of President Erdoğan: “Ankara’s open-door policy for Syrian refugees will continue due to our responsibility towards our Islamic civilization, contrary to Western hypocrisy.⁵”. Despite the fact that Türkiye's open-door policy has recently changed, and even though it cannot be considered as coercive engineered migration (Greenhill, 1970), it is clear that the refugee crisis has been exploited as a mass migration weapon by the country.

⁴ The former Prime Minister R.T.Erdogan- “Our Syrian brothers and sisters will return.” 7 August 2014, retrieved from <https://www.haber7.com/partiler/haber/1188694-erdogan-suriyeli-kardeslerimiz-geri-donecek>, (Accessed on 10 March 2022)

⁵ Daily Sabah 2016, “President Erdogan: Turkey Will Continue Open-door Policy for Syrian Refugees”, retrieved from <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/03/13/president-erdogan-turkey-will-continue-open-door-policy-for-syrian-refugees> (Accessed on 21 May 2017).

While the number of Syrian refugees is rapidly increasing as a result of the conflict in Syria, the above-mentioned policy has altered through the PoMM of the Ministry of Interior's "temporary protection status" as an emergency strategy.

In the context of Türkiye, rapid increase in the urban population due to the Syria crisis has put local governments under decisive strain. First major influx with around 7000 Syrians, from Syria to Türkiye occurred in 2011 after the violent attack of the Syrian regime. The number reached up to 35000 Syrians who lived in container and tent refugee camps in the East and Southeastern region of Türkiye. As of June 2022, Türkiye hosts the largest number of refugee population in the world with more than 3.6 million registered Syrians who live amongst Turkish host communities especially concentrated in the Southeastern Anatolia region which is right next to the Syria border of Türkiye (Presidency of Migration Management, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Interior, 2022). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), (hereinafter referred as UNHCR) such a rise in population would lead to an increase in water usage of 70 billion litres and the generation of one million tons of solid waste per year (Regional Refugee&Resilience Plan, 2021). This again reveals the critical relationship between the re-generation of space and politics in terms of waste management. One of the reasons why Türkiye is an important case is that it has a unique feature in examining policies, as it is a process that has been going on for about 10 years. The dynamism of mass migration and the process itself and the examination of this situation in Türkiye will make a significant contribution to the literature. Yet, since the Syria conflict and the reflections of the crisis in Türkiye is ongoing, therefore its dynamic and variable character should be taken into consideration.

2.4.Situation of Türkiye Regarding Syrian Population

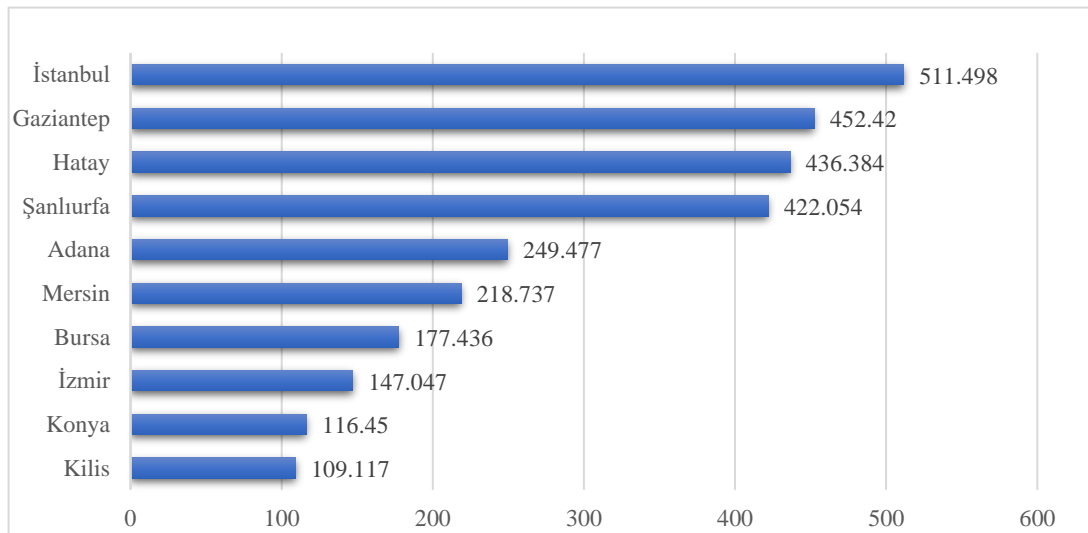


Figure 2 Top 10 Provinces host largest number of Syrian refugees in Türkiye

Source: Figure by Author

Türkiye has the highest population in the world in terms of the number of forcibly displaced people, with over 3.6 million people, followed by Poland (UNHCR, 2022),

Graph 3 Distribution of Syrians under Temporary Protection by Top 10 Provinces in Türkiye by October 2021 (Directorate General of Migration Management)

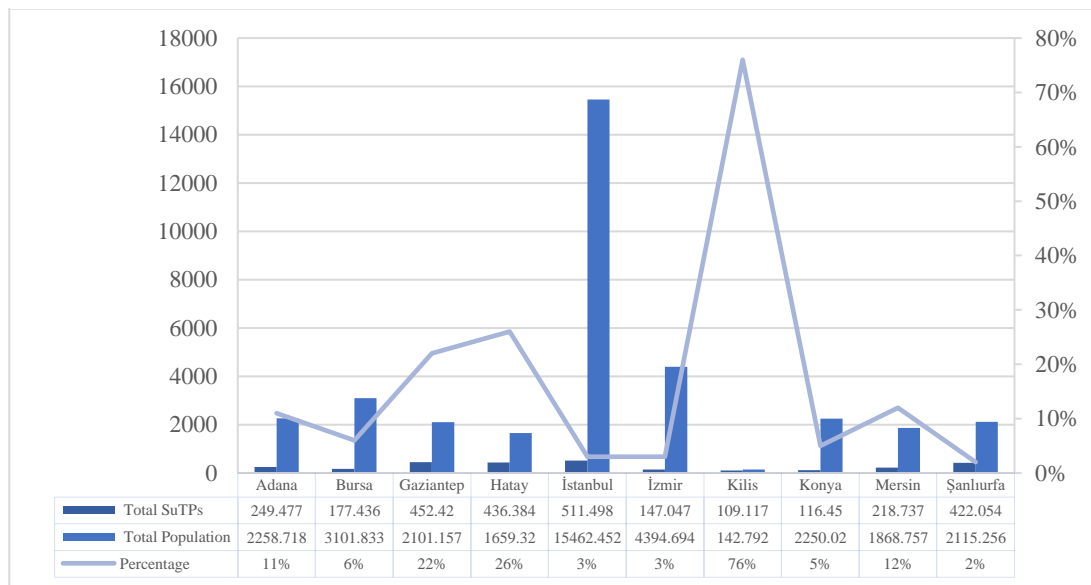


Source: Adapted by the author from PoMm Data (Presidency of Migration Management, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Interior, 2022)

Colombia, Pakistan and Uganda (UNHCR, 2021). As the world’s largest number of Syrian refugee hosting country, Türkiye faces the problems of rapid population growth in front-line particularly concerning public services. The demographic shock caused by the refugee crisis, in an already overburdened municipal setting, poses a major challenge of urban resilience.

As it can be seen from the above *Graphic 4*⁶ and that the registered Syrians mostly concentrates in the Southeastern region in Türkiye. Even though the total number of SuTPs in İstanbul may seem higher, comparison of the host community members population and the SuTPs draws a different picture which is demonstrated in detail in the below *Graphic 4*.

Graph 4 Comparison of the Population and SuTPs in Top 10 Provinces in Turkey in 2020



Source: Adapted by author from TURKSTAT data (TURKSTAT, 2018)

⁶ Syrians under temporary protection are not included.

The ratio of the Syrians comparing to host community members in Gaziantep and Hatay is higher than 22%, and the ratio of Kilis is around 76% which indicates that the population of Kilis almost doubled. It also indicates according to the below *Table 1* that the population in Adana, Bursa, Mersin and Hatay, have already reached and/or exceed the 2020 projections and Kilis has almost reached the 2023 projections by 2020. In addition to these, since Kilis Municipality is a provincial municipality, its access to resources is more limited compared to other metropolitan municipalities.

Table 1 Comparison of Population Projections and Actual Population (TURKSTAT, 2018)

No.	Provinces	Population Projection of Provinces by Years			Actual Population
		2020	2021	2022	2020
1	Adana	2,256,854.00	2,270,081.00	2,282,838.00	2,258,718.00
2	Bursa	3,086,244.00	3,135,032.00	3,183,391.00	3,101,833.00
3	Gaziantep	2,126,859.00	2,167,268.00	2,207,990.00	2,101,157.00
4	Hatay	1,627,619.00	1,643,846.00	1,659,866.00	1,659,320.00
5	İstanbul	15,682,267.00	15,893,822.00	16,103,390.00	15,462,452.00
6	İzmir	4,432,909.00	4,483,041.00	4,531,689.00	4,394,694.00
7	Kilis	139,835.00	140,889.00	141,925.00	142,792.00
8	Konya	2,253,462.00	2,276,950.00	2,300,470.00	2,250,020.00
9	Mersin	1,856,009.00	1,875,961.00	1,895,565.00	1,868,757.00
10	Şanlıurfa	2,128,948.00	2,174,825.00	2,220,570.00	2,115,256.00

In addition to the current constrains of municipalities, the burden of suddenly increased population and rising demand for unforeseen reasons can be mitigated by both strong local and regional institutions with strong emergency response strategies. For example, Climate Action Plans and Risk and Social Vulnerability Analyses are two essential cross-cutting policy instruments that municipalities may utilize in their operations related to climate, migration, and local governance, and they are still used in the context of local climate struggle in Türkiye (Balaban, Özgür, & Sakar, 2021). Through

this study, the problem will be analysed in detail, and the possible emergency response actions and mechanisms which need improvement will be examined in the context of Syria crisis reflections on waste management in Türkiye. Considering the most affected provinces from the Syria crisis are Southeastern Anatolia cities as stated above, this study will focus on the Southeastern Anatolia region mainly in Kilis province.

Syrians staying in Türkiye, especially in border cities such as Kilis, Hatay and Gaziantep, set up kinship relations upon their arrival especially due to the economic relations across the borders.

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees despite being signed by Türkiye, the asylum policy is defined by the "geographical limitation," which implies that the Turkish state grants refugee status and the right to asylum exclusively to "persons who have become refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe." As a result, they were designated as guests in line with Article 10 of the Ministry of Interior's 2014 Regulation as a temporary protection system, which included an open border policy, non-forcible returns, and registration chances with support through border camps. Temporary protection, on the other hand, is an emergency strategy used when refugees congregate at borders in unusually large numbers (Özdemir, 2017).

Following the charitable approach with the guest status, which gives the impression that they will return to their country unpredictable instead of the politically right-based approach, increased the vulnerability of Syrians and prevented social cohesion in terms of relations with host community members.

CHAPTER 5

WASTE GOVERNANCE OF TÜRKIYE

According to the Atiq Uz's analysis on SWM between 172 countries around the world; it has been concluded that among the 85% of the collected waste, only 15% of the waste is recycled (Atiq Uz, 2016). When we look at the Türkiye's municipal solid waste statistics from *Table 2*, even the number of municipalities provided waste services decreases, generation of the municipal waste increases each year. The main reason of the decrease in the municipality numbers is the amendment of the Law No:6360 (Official Gazette, 2012)⁷ entered into force in 2012 which extends metropolitan municipality borders to provincial borders, and it also increased the burden of the municipalities due to the fact that their financial resources did not expand to the extent that the areas they provide public services were expanded.

Table 2 Municipal Waste Indicators, 2010-2018 (TURKSTAT, 2018)

	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Türkiye's population	73,722,988	75,627,384	77,695,904	79,814,871	82,003,882
Total number of municipalities	2,950	2,950	1,396	1,397	1,399
Total municipal population	61,571,332	63,743,047	72,505,107	74,911,343	76,888,607
Number of municipalities provided waste services	2,879	2,894	1,391	1,390	1,395
Population of municipalities served by waste services	60,946,131	63,105,474	70,843,91	73,854,880	75,952,539

⁷ The Law Regarding the Establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities and Twenty-Seven Districts In Fourteen Provinces and Amending Some Laws and Decisions No:6360 Official Gazette Date: 06.12.2012 No: 28489

Table Continued

Rate of municipal population served by waste services in total municipal population (%)	98.98	99.00	97.71	98.59	98.78
Amount of municipal waste generated (Thousand tonnes/year)	29,733	30,786	31,23	33,763	34,533
Amount of municipal waste collected (Thousand tonnes/year)	25,277	25,845	28,011	31,584	32,209
Average amount of municipal waste per capita (Kg/capita-day)	1.14	1.12	1.08	1.17	1.16

As it can be seen from the above *Table 2* that almost every municipality provides waste services and average of nearly 90% of the waste generated has been collected between 2010-2018 years. From this, it can be concluded that the organization of municipal services in waste management has been successfully implemented. But also, increase in the municipal waste generation seems higher than the average amount of municipal waste per capita increase which causes a rise in the expenditure.

Table 3 Environmental protection expenditure by domains 2014-2020 (TURKSTAT, 2021)

Environmental protection expenditure by domains, 2014-2020	2014	2016	2018	2020
Total	24 262 138 313	27 402 904 608	37 921 641 420	41 688 821 273
Waste management	12 221 309 287	13 054 120 220	17 964 875 179	22 687 814 156

When we look at the environmental protection expenditures in the country, expenses of the waste management have almost doubled in six years, and it's share in the total expenditure remains the same as nearly the half of it. Compared to the increase in the population, the reason why the total money spent for waste management increases much faster can be explained by the technological and economic conjuncture, as well as the effect of the immigrant population waste generation which is not included in the general census.

Table 4 Waste Disposal and Recovery Facilities Statistics 2014, 2016, 2018 (TURKSTAT, 2021)⁸

Waste disposal and recovery facilities statistics 2014, 2016, 2018						
	2014		2016		2018	
	Number of facilities	Amount of waste treated (Tonnes/year)	Number of facilities	Amount of waste treated (Tonnes/year)	Number of facilities	Amount of waste treated (Tonnes/year)
Waste disposal facilities	117	41 324 637	140	N/A	166	N/A
Controlled landfill sites	113	41 281 755	134	43 815 135	159	55 878 883
Incineration plants	4	42 882	6	310 127	7	493 885
Composting plants	4	94 019	7	140 467	8	138054
Co-incineration plants	39	532 343	35	738 908	40	1 069 360
Waste recovery facilities	868	19 724 241	1 558		2 057	
Other recovery facilities	825	19 097 879	1516	35 769 611	2009	46 872 420

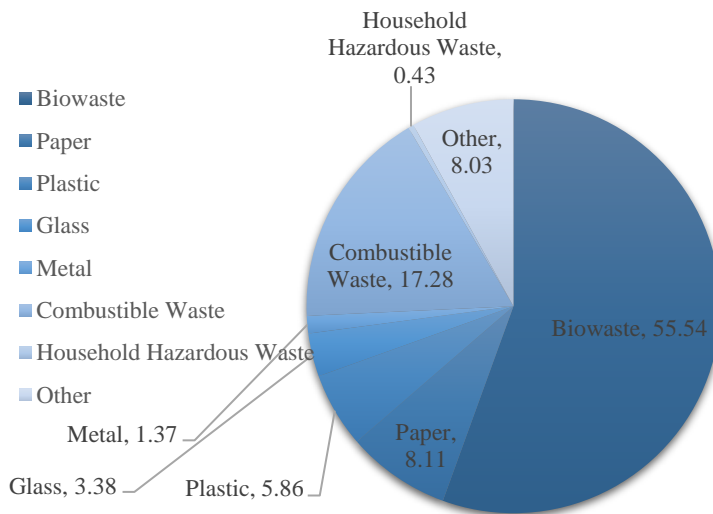
While the expenditures on waste management increases, the details of the facilities opened in that period can be examined in detail in the *Table 4* above. It can be observed that rapid growth in the number of facilities has occurred between 2014-2016 especially recovery facilities almost doubled their numbers and increase in the disposal facility numbers is way lower than other methods, which can be interpreted as the positive results of an ISWM policies.

Nevertheless, while 6% of municipal waste is managed by recycling and 64% by regular landfill methods, 30% is dumped randomly and left in random areas in 2014. The amount of municipal waste sent for recycling is 1.5 million tons, and the amount of waste stored in regular storage is 17.5. million tons, and the amount of irregular casting waste is approximately 8.1 million tons (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2016). Additionally, in order to reduce transportation costs and to provide optimization with distant districts, waste transfer stations (104 stations in total) are used by municipalities where wastes are collected before being delivered to the facilities.

⁸ Figures in table may not add up to totals due to rounding

According to the National Waste Action plan, it is predicted that the amount of waste generation in Türkiye will reach to 33 million tons/year in 2023 yet is has been exceeded by 2018 with 34 million tons/pear. It can be also observed that Kilis, Şanlıurfa and Adana did not consider as priorities provinces in terms of waste management strategies in this plan. And those are the provinces who reached 2023 population projections by 2020.

Graph 5 Municipal Waste Compositions



Source: Adapted by author from TURKSTAT Data (TURKSTAT, 2021)

In order to plan the waste management system in the most effective, efficient, and integrated way, it is necessary to know the waste characterization in the region. Even though the waste characterization depends on the socio-economical background, level of income and consumption habits, it can be said according to the below *Graph 5* that municipal waste mostly concentrates of household waste mainly biowaste in Türkiye. And while the generation of the waste increases, first method to be used to utilize this waste is mostly sanitary landfills and dumpsites due to the economic advantages.

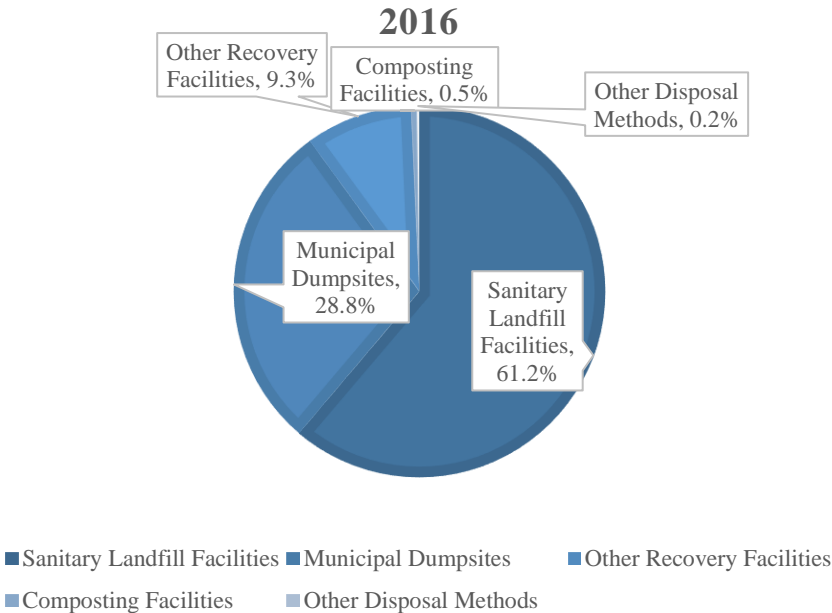
The fact that the rate of biological waste is more than 50% in our country indicates a potential investment in facilities where biological processes can be applied such as Mechanical Biological Treatment (MBT) facilities for mixed waste and composting⁹

⁹ Composting of biowaste collected separately at the source within the scope of organic matter recovery

or biomethanization¹⁰ for separately collected bio-waste. Therefore, the efficiency of these facilities directly affects the processes to be carried out by separating the wastes at the source or collecting them mixed. In cases where it is not possible to collect separately at the source, integrated models can be planned with mechanical separation. However, mechanical separation should be considered as a secondary solution as it causes a decrease in efficiency compared to separate collection at source.

The main goal of ISWM is to increase the recovery and to activate the collection of waste separately at the source. But when we look at the *Graph 6* and *Graph 7*¹¹, even though there is an improvement between two years it can be seen that ISWM strategies must be applied in a more rigid way considering more than 60% of the municipal waste is being send to the sanitary landfills and around 25% of the waste goes to dumpsites. Which also indicates that the recovery and recycle rates only reaches 10% of the total waste management while 90% of the MSWM consist of storage.

Graph 6 Municipal Waste Processing Rates by 2016

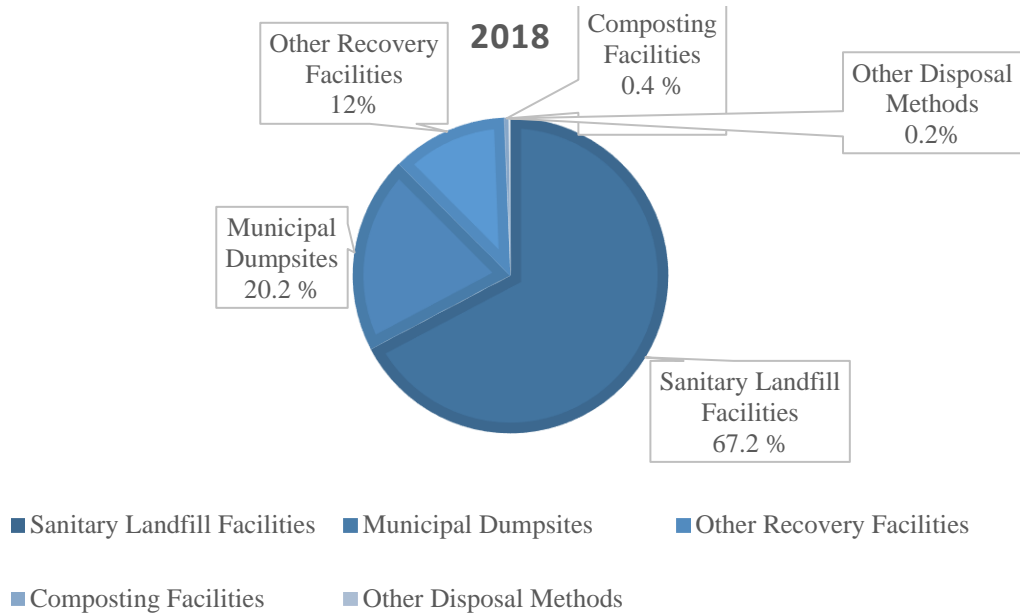


Source: Adapted by author from TURKSTAT data (TURKSTAT, 2021)

¹⁰ Using relatively high in energy content waste, such as food waste in biogas production

¹¹ Based on TURKSTAT’s statistics

Graph 7Municipal Waste Processing Rates by 2018



Source: Adapted by author from TURKSTAT data (TURKSTAT, 2021)

Yet, comparing the 2016 numbers with the 2018 numbers disposal through irregular dumpsites gradually replaced by the sanitary landfills and other recovery facilities.

5.1. Regulations on Waste Management in Türkiye

As a developing country, Türkiye faces with the waste management issue as one of the main environmental problems. Even though the main law on environment, Environmental Law was established in 1983, and the waste management have been on the agenda as a public health concern since 1930s, we can observe the main regulations has been made after 90s in parallel with the accident of Ümraniye-Hekimbaşı, which led to the death of 39 people with the accumulation of gas in the area in 1993 (Kocasoy & Curi, 1995) along with the increase of the international awareness regarding the environmental problems.

Until the 1990s, waste management was handled with the open-dump site method as the traditional method, after that the legislation was regulated more strictly, and the Solid Waste Control Regulation came into force in the early 90s and both the law and

the regulation have been continued to be updated until 2020¹². Throughout the history of waste management legislation in Türkiye, it can be seen that economic and political crises and developments both influenced the structure from global industrialization movement to Türkiye's regional centralization and de-centralization policies. To better grasp the waste management structure in Türkiye, the following sections outline how those structures took form and waste regulations are shaped through years.

5.1.1. Main Legislation and the History of Waste Management Regarding Central Administration in Türkiye

In Türkiye, right to health, which was mentioned for the first time in the constitution in 1960 has evolved to the right of everyone to live in healthy and balanced environment, by the Article of 56 in the 1982's constitution. However, with the regulation in Article 65 of the same Constitution, the provision that the state will fulfil its obligations within the scope of financial possibilities restricts the use of this right.

Even historically prior the Constitution of 1960, the Municipal Law and the Public Health Law, both issued in 1930 can be considered as the base of public health, thus waste management regulations; despite the fact that neither of them regulates waste directly. And in both regulations; municipalities are defined as the primary authority for sanitation cleanliness, collection and disposal of the waste as well as referral to Turkish Penalty Law aiming to discourage polluters (Güler, et al., 2001). It can be concluded from this that waste management was perceived as a public health issue by legislation of the period.

While municipalities are the key actors in waste management, the central government budget was strategically utilized during the 1929 global economic crisis. As a result, the most efficient method to mobilize resources was to reduce spending in urban services (Şengül, 2009), and limited financial resources naturally impacted waste management operations until the 1960s, where the production and the consumption

¹² With article 12 of 24/12/2020 dated and 7261 numbered Law, "the dissemination of zero waste" and the promotion of the circular economy have been added to the Environmental Law.

habits shifted through the newly adapted industrialization model of Türkiye as the main economic policy (Boratav, 2015) resulted a transformation in urban development and the waste-related legislation as well. For example, the circular No:4962 issued in 1968 that regulates the MSWM (Güler, et al., 2001) sets an important example of the early understanding of the waste in the 1960s (Tuçaltan, 2017).

Following the country's political and economic change in the 1980s, considerable institutional reconstruction has been made. Economic concerns were put under the paradigm of economic development in the first Environmental Law No:2872 enacted in 1983, and so waste management practices were placed within a wider context rather than being only related to public sanitation concerns (Güler, et al., 2001). Moreover, changing consumption habits by the establishment of supermarket chains and malls also influenced and increased consumption (Erberk, Arıkan, Öztürk, & Tüzel, 2011), which has a domino effect in waste where this shift both expand the variety of waste and the value of the waste in the recycling sector.

One of the major influences regarding waste governance in Türkiye's history is the restructuring after the EU candidacy starting from the late 1990s which played a significant role regarding the changing policy regimes to adopt the EU Acquis. While the environmental requirement challenges Türkiye, reliance on funding and foreign investments increased the presence of international institutions for instance the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Tuçaltan, 2017). Comparing to today dealing with the refugee crisis also attracted different international organizations in addition to UNDP and World Bank, such as UNHCR, UNICEF, WALD, UCLG-MEWA, and etc. And the presence of those organizations pushed the government to take further actions on waste governance through various tools such as the National Programme for the Adaptation of the EU Acquis (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008), where the new integrated waste management plans and new at-source technologies introduced, the EU funded Environmental Heavy-Cost Investment Planning (EHCIP) Project in 2005, or the launching of the Solid Waste Master Plan Project that advocates to establishment of municipal unions with the amendments in

2006, or the UNDP Projects including EU funded Municipal Service Delivery or USBPRM funded Effective Urban Waste Management Projects (UNDP, n.d.) and etc.

The main authority regarding the policy development at the country level for waste management is the Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change. Under the Ministry, Directorate General of Environmental Management is responsible for the waste management policies. Nevertheless, it can be observed that multilevel governance has tried to be achieved through obligating the Ministry and local governments to promote right to participate of trade associations, unions, non-governmental organizations, and citizens to exercise their right to environment according to Environmental Law. However, in order for this obligation to be fulfilled, and for both individuals and institutions to exercise their right to participate, this regulation should also be supported by various tools in practice. As Ilgın Özlüer stated based on the text of Cüneyt Ozansoy (Ozansoy, 2008);

As well as the constitutional recognition of the rights, the legal regulations that will realize these rights; the procedural tools that enable to demand, develop and realize these rights; (most importantly) an administrative culture that will internalize a democratic government is needed (Özkaya Özlüer, 2020).

In this context, The UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making, and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (The Aarhus Convention) which was adopted in 1998 but not signed by the Türkiye yet, is a critical document that imposes states to not only legally regulating the public participation, but also imposes developing participation tools and increasing the audibility of the administration. In addition to being the base regulations within the scope of access to environmental information, the Environmental Law, and the Right to Information Act No. 4982, provide the legal infrastructure to Türkiye and can be supported by the signature and implementation of the Aarhus Convention.

Additionally, Türkiye has created a number of tools to comply with the EU's environmental directives as part of its process of harmonization with the bloc specifically on waste management in terms of circular economy. One of them is in order to prevent environmental pollution, to ensure the protection, enhancement, and

development of green areas, and to carry out activities for the establishment, operation, monitoring, and inspection of a deposit management system on a national scale, the Turkish Environment Agency was established with the Law No. 7261 dated 24/12/2020 (Turkiye Cevre Ajansi, n.d.).

5.1.2. Regulations Regarding Local Governments

The right to live in a healthy and balanced environment has been supported through various laws in Türkiye some of which have direct links to waste management as stated above, such as the Public Health Law No. 1598¹³, states that municipalities are responsible from removal, disposal, and transportation of all kinds of debris and dirt generated in the cities. Even though municipal duties and responsibilities are regulated in detail through other laws in force today, it is noteworthy that waste management was also planned in the 1930s and that regulation is also remaining in force. Waste collection and transportation were specified as district municipalities' responsibilities by the Metropolitan Municipalities Law of 1984, while storage, disposal, and treatment activities were to be carried out by metropolitan municipalities. By specifying that metropolitan municipalities might delegate relevant services, the law also created the essential channels for public-private partnerships and privatization (Tuğaltan, 2017). And in 1991, the By-law on Solid Waste Control No:20814 which is later amended several times, assigned the metropolitan and the municipalities as the main implementing actors and the By Law took the 1975 EU Waste Framework Directive as the basis, it adapted terms such as at-source separation, reduction, waste hierarchy and etc (Güler, et al., 2001).

According to the Municipality Law¹⁴ that is still on force today; the collection, transportation, separation, recovery and disposal of solid wastes and to carry out all services related to storage is in the authority and responsibility of the municipalities. Yet, municipalities have the authority to outsource these services to the private sector

¹³ Public Health Law, Law No: 1593 Official Gazette, Date: 06.05.1930 No: 1489

¹⁴ Municipality Law, Law No: 5393 Official Gazette, Date: 13.07.2005 No: 25874

since the disposal facilities requires advance technologies and high financial resources. Due to a lack of financial income-expenditure balance to cover hefty municipal services, this public-private partnership method is widely adopted by local governments, particularly in recent years in the provision of infrastructure and other public services. And since the early 2000s, several numbers of legislations have been revised, by-laws, circulars have been established regarding environmental regulations and the details of the waste management process.

5.2. Budgets of the Municipalities

According to Article 127 of the Constitution, it is stated that local governments will be provided with a source of income commensurate with their duties. The main sources of income of local governments are the shares they receive from the general budget tax collection and their own revenues. Municipal own revenues are determined in the Law on Municipal Revenues No. 2464¹⁵ as taxes, fees, participation in expenditures, wages and rental income. The main difference is that the source transferred from the general budget is the share allocated from the revenue collected by the central administration, while local administrations collect their own revenues. The difference that seems like technicality is actually an important distinction that affects financial autonomy of local governments and accordingly, their administrative autonomy which has been covered by the European Charter of Local Self-Government, signed by Türkiye in 1985.

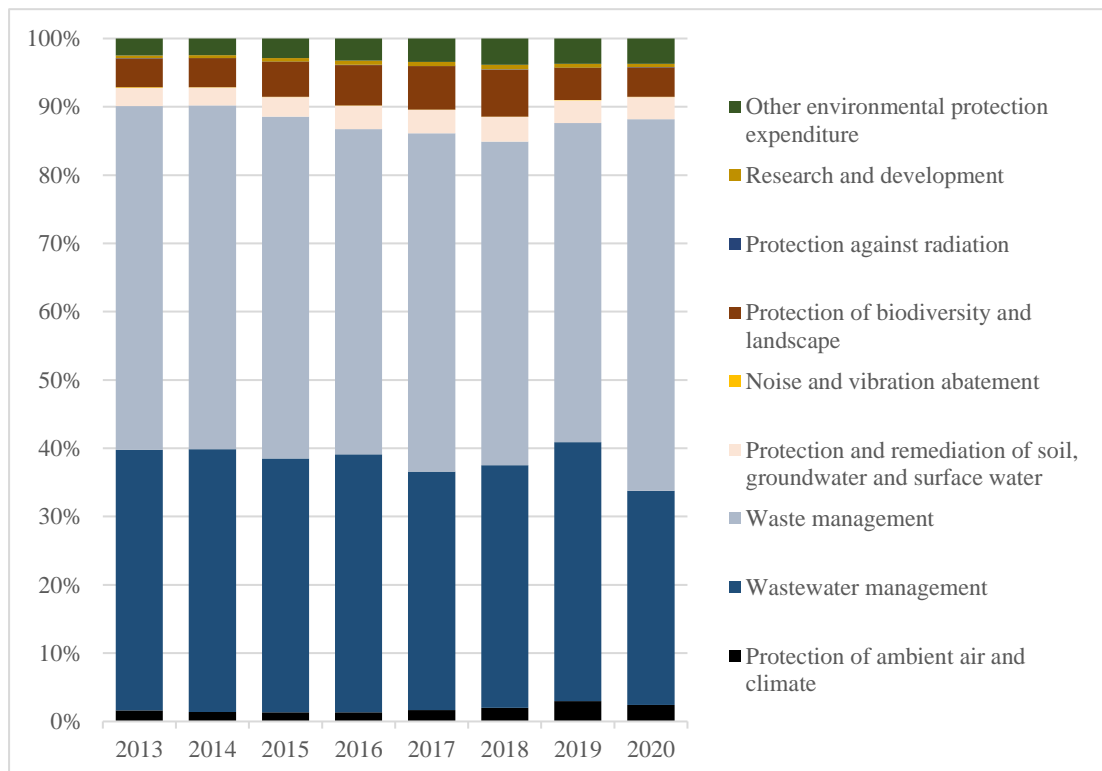
As regulated in the Law Regarding a Share of General Budget Tax Revenues to Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities ¹⁶although population, area and level of development are taken as the basic criteria in the distribution of shares, these rates vary according to local institutions. For instance, the share distribution according to population is 41% in metropolitan municipalities, 90% in metropolitan district

¹⁵ Municipal Revenue Law, No:2464 Official Gazette Date: 29.05.1981 No: 17354

¹⁶ Regarding a Share of General Budget Tax Revenues to Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities Law, No: 5779 Official Gazette, Date: 02.07.2008 No: 26937

municipalities, nearly 100% in other municipalities and 80% in special provincial administrations (Güngör, 2018), in addition to other criteria's such as village numbers in special provincial administrations. While the ratios for the share distribution varies through institutions, tourism-related factors such as day/night population and winter/summer population difference negatively affect service optimization when the revenue distribution method applied according to population. In addition to that, the fact that Syrians under temporary protection are not included in the general population census, therefore not included in these budget share calculations creates a financial imbalance between municipal expenditures and incomes.

Graph 8 Environmental Expenditures Ratio



Source: Graph adapted by author from TURKSTAT data (TURKSTAT, 2021)

Particularly when the environmental expenditures have been examined on a national level, it can be observed that the waste management holds a big share in the table. As it can be seen from the above table that shows the environmental expenditures ratio by years between 2013-2020, waste and waste-water management contain almost more than 80% of the total budget throughout the timeline indicated.

The high rate of resource transfer from the general budget shares instead of the own revenues that local governments collect and determine their own rates, is one of the biggest obstacles to financial autonomy. It is observed that there has been a decrease in municipal own revenues over the years, which can be divided into two periods, especially between 1950-1970 and later. For example, while the self-income rate was around 50% in the period until the 1970s, this rate decreased to 20% after 1970 (Güler B. A., 1994). As a matter of fact, when we look at the rate given in the *Table 5* below, the rate of resource transfer from the central administration is 52%, while the rate of own revenues is 48%, which supports this argument.

Table 5 Revenue of the Municipalities between 2009-2012 (Akçe, 2014)

	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total Revenue of The Municipalities	26.844.961	34.233.863	40.740.227	45.131.525
Total of Shares Allocated from General Budget Tax Revenues	13.358.440	17.333.265	20.738.988	23.440.051
Ratio to Total Income (%)	49,76	50,63	50,91	51,94

Consequently, municipalities tend to outsource some of their services as mentioned above to reduce the burden of the expenditures through private sector. Even though this method provides efficiency by increased expertise and rivalry, in addition the reducing the risks of the local governments, it does not provide credible accountability mechanisms and transparency due to the lack of regulations of this cooperation method, which has been also stated in the Türkiye 2014 Progress Report by the European Union (European Union, 2014). Furthermore, since the private sector prioritizes profit margins over the provision of public services, meeting the municipal common needs through the private sector may pose further issues. Conversely, General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which has entered in the force in 1995 by World Trade Organization, aspires to de-monopolize solid waste services from public institutions and open the sector up to international trade and competition, and Türkiye's commitments to the World Bank include making arrangements in accordance with the GATS regime (Güler, et al., 2001). Effects of the budget

allocation imbalances regarding waste management will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

When the major changes in municipal budgets are examined, it is seen that when urban crisis emerges, financial regulations regarding local governments also emerges. For example, first amendment of the Municipal Revenue Law No:338 put into force in 1924 after the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye, Municipal Revenue Law No:5237¹⁷ accepted in 1948 right after the transition to multi-party system, other Municipal Revenue Law No:2464 accepted in 1981 after the 1980 coup and there were also several changes in the regulations in the early 2000s that supports this shifting theory. In conclusion, to overcome the issues with the share distribution and to address the fiscal crisis caused by different factors, the most essential process to follow, as stated by the Ernst Reuter in 1945 (Reuter, 1945), is financial equalization.

Due to population density differences such as population, growth and age distribution in Türkiye, it is necessary to balance the economic development of the regions and to ensure a wide range of interregional integration prior to emergency strategies. Ensuring interregional integration and balanced economic development are also important in terms of the manageability of in-country population movements and increasing the efficiency of developed regions (Kerem, Dökmeci, & Özdemir, 2017). In order for municipalities to effectively provide the services they are responsible for; they need sufficient income sources and the authority to manage these resources autonomously.

5.3. Waste Governance Planning of Türkiye

According to the National Waste Action Plan, while creating the waste management plan, our country has been divided into 15 sub-regions out of 7 geographical regions, considering the waste amounts of the provinces, demographic structures, geographical features, socio-economic conditions, tourism sector, agricultural and forest areas and

¹⁷ Municipal Revenue Law, No:5237 Official Gazette Date: 09.07.1948 No: 6953

livestock activities. Accordingly, the Southeast Anatolian region was divided into two, with Adıyaman, Gaziantep, Kilis and Şanlıurfa provinces as the 1st region in Southeastern Anatolia and Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Siirt and Şırnak provinces as the 2nd region. Adana, Mersin and Hatay considered as the 1st region of the Mediterranean sub-region.

In 22 provinces across Türkiye, irregular dumping takes place and there was no facility to date to process municipal waste in both regions of Southeastern Anatolia. The first municipal waste processing facility will be the MBT facility in Gaziantep has opened on 5th October 2021 with the cooperation of UNDP, ILBANK and Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, funded by the European Union. Gaziantep's annual greenhouse gas emissions will be reduced by 9,309 tons of CO2 due to this facility's processing capacity of 100,000 tons waste annually, as well as its ability to generate 4,100 MWh/y clean energy from biodegradable waste and approximately 17,000 tons of recyclable waste (UNDP, 2021).

Outcomes of this facility stand out as a best practice example in the region, that aims to promote processing the waste rather than using dumpsites which is extremely harmful to public health event with the release of methane gas caused by irregular dumping.

Table 6 Projections of the Waste Generation According to Population Growth¹⁸

Years	Actuals					Projektions			
	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2023	2040	2060	2080
Population	73 722 988	75 627 384	77 695 904	79 814 871	82 003 882	86 907 367	100 331 233	107 095 998	107 100 904
Waste Generation	1.14	1.12	1.08	1.17	1.16	1.23	1.42	1.51	1.52

For a good waste management planning, first of all, an accurate population projection and waste generation estimations are needed. According to the *Table 6* above, in 2080 per capita waste generation will increase up to 1.51 kg/capita-day. To be able to fulfil

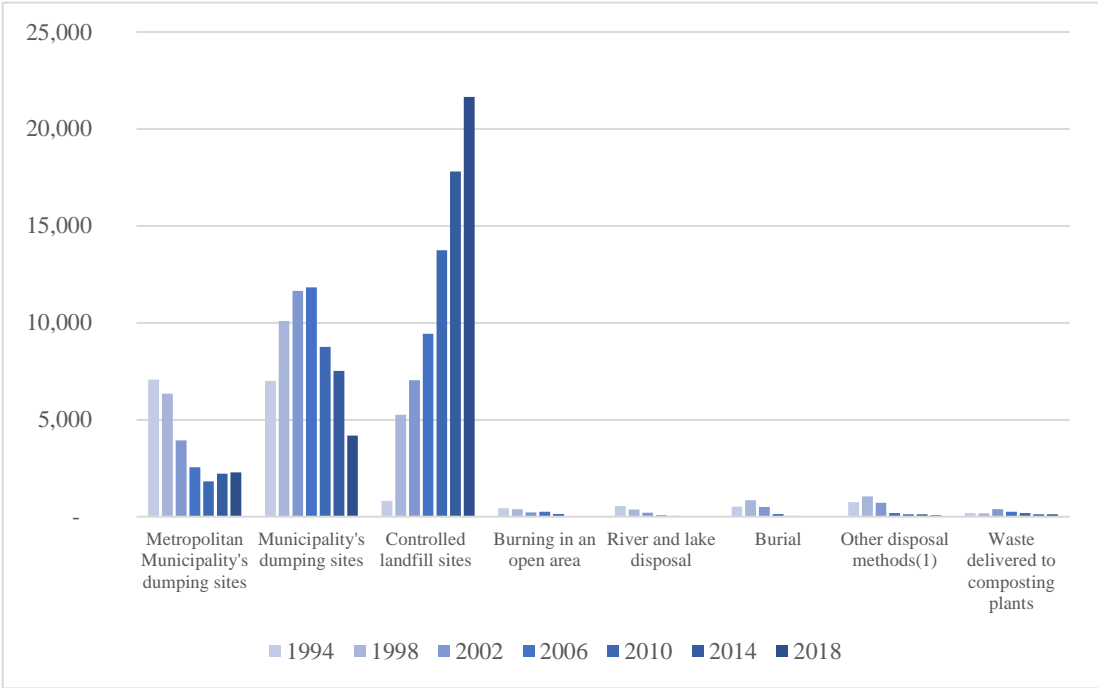
¹⁸ Waste generation projection was calculated based on TURKSTAT population projection and actual waste generation data.

the commitments Türkiye has made regarding the Paris Agreement, waste generation ratios must be decreased, or the rate of increase must be slowed down. Which can be achieved through the promoting the recovery and reuse policies and reduction of the product as mentioned in the lifecycle of a product in the previous chapters. For Türkiye's 2023's plan; the primary target is to reduce the amount of waste, to increase the efficiency of separate collection at the source, to increase the amount of waste directed to recycling and to reduce the amount of waste sent to the landfill. For the Southeast Anatolia Region, 2% of the total waste generated is planned to be recovered and disposed of by biological process, 15% by MBT, and 83% by landfill methods (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2016). However, the consequences of the migrant population and the measures to be taken to resolve them were not addressed in the national solid waste action plan, and as one of the most key determinants boosting waste generation was completely neglected.

Furthermore, since this data is based on an address-based population registration system, it excludes SuTPs and any other unregistered migrant population. As a result, the rate of municipal population served by waste services does not indicate the actual

ratio. Which also demonstrates the importance of the data system should be enhanced in order to better comprehend the problem and propose solutions.

Graph 9Municipal Waste Management Practices between 1994-2018



When looking at the graph on municipal waste management practices, it can be seen that irregular storage approach has gradually been replaced by more regular landfills. Nevertheless, the district municipalities' substantial increase in the utilisation of dumping sites between 1998 and 2010 can be defined as the initial response to the unexpected increase in population. Whereas no substantial difference is noticed when additional disposal strategies like as burning, burial, composting, and so on are considered. Although MBT, compost, and recycling facilities are long-term solutions that take many years to establish and demand wide investments, and the number of them is not projected to expand in the initial years, more sustainable strategies should be developed and executed.

5.4. The Other Side of the Governance: Free Market Environmentalism

Although waste management planning seems to have the dominance of the public sector, in a liberal economy, waste governance also indicates the inclusion of the private sector. Unfortunately, in the global capitalist economic model, human-centered environmental conjuncture leads the waste governance. Consequently, majority of the environmental regulations that resulted from neo-liberal institutions and agreements were implemented in accordance with free market environmentalism regulations or the notion of sustainable development (Kokalan Cimrin, 2014), which were both offered by the capitalist system as solution spaces to the issues generated within the system. Mainly because if environmental crisis cannot be controlled, it might negatively affect the economical conquests (Harris, 2000). Even though the sustainable development concept is inherently evil, understanding and implementing sustainability not through the environment but through the functioning of the market is seen as problematic.

Another dimension of the neo-liberal policies is free market environmentalism. Neo-liberals argue that government interference is one of the factors contributing to the poor functioning of the market mechanism. Contrary to the Marxist perspective, free market environmentalism advocates private ownership of natural resources since it is structured around property rights and the incentive principle for natural resources. Liberal theorists essentially claim that a lack of property rights over natural resources is the primary cause of environmental issues (Anderson & Leal, 1991). According to the free market environmentalism, neither the voluntary protection of environmental values by the private sector nor international or national regulations can guarantee the preservation of natural assets as local common interests. Consequently, rather than relying on government intervention, the solution to environmental issues should be sought in the free market and private property (Hardin, 1968). However, this viewpoint also entails putting the environment in the hands of polluting industries and perceive environmental values as a source of profit.

Reflection of this can be observed in ‘polluter pays’ principle. The polluter pays principle was first defined and accepted by the OECD in 1972 as “the polluter bears a

cost deemed appropriate by the public authority” (Barde, 1994), which has been also regulated by the Environmental Law in Türkiye. With this principle, it is aimed to internalize environmental pollution, which is considered as negative externality originated to the 1920s welfare economics that gained momentum after the 1970s (Sezer & Dokmen, 2018) by the commonly accepted term “extended producer responsibility” which has been regulated by the Waste Management By Law originated on 1991 with the Solid Waste Control By Law. Following the original regulation, CEVKO (Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Recovery and Recycling) Foundation has been established in 1991 and officially delegated by the MoEUCC in 2005 through Packaging Waste Controlling By Law. And since its establishment, CEVKO provides support to both private and public sector to ensure the extended producer responsibility and assists various stakeholders on waste management for the establishment of a sustainable recycling system (CEVKO, n.d.). In addition to these, through the Amendments in the Environmental Law in 2018 and 2022, it is stated that companies responsible for waste management could be determined, and in addition to this, recycling participation shares were determined. When the Article 11 of the Environmental Law has been examined, it can be stated that the role of the state shifted through time with different amendments from the main actor on waste management to a regulatory and supervisory authority. This rescaling of the structure inevitably resulted the dominance of the private sector in the waste governance sector.

Although these seems such progressive regulations, they also contain some negative consequences within themselves. For instance, companies may include this cost in their prices by reflecting it to the end users without bearing the costs, or if the cost is not an adequate deterrent, they may continue to pollute the environment while bearing the cost, which will diminish the effectiveness of the principle (Mengi, 1998). The reflection of the cost of the pollution on the consumers will deepen the injustice if not regulated and monitored properly, especially as those who feel the pollution the most will be affected. And this can also be interpreted as granting the right to pollute to the polluter to the extent that the costs are determined (Turgut, 1995).

The Environmental Cleaning Tax enables Türkiye to internalize negative externalities. According to the type and size of the facility, enterprises pay a certain amount of pollution (waste) annually, while households pay according to their water usage. Therefore, the fact that the amount of waste is not taken into account in the tax collected through CTV indicates that it is an application that requires revision. In addition, since the methods and principles of determining the amount of solid waste are subject to different applications by municipalities and the method itself is far from preventing pollution, its effectiveness is debatable. (Reyhan, 2014:116).

Looking at the other side of the waste governance can indicate that the waste management is not fully governed by the government, nor the solution can be sought only in the public institutions window by excluding the market. Even though budgetary limitations are one of the most important issues in this context, above approaches which are also implemented in Turkey proves that it cannot be solved solely through increase in the local and national budget on waste management. If public sector and civil society are the two legs of the governance structure, private sector must also be included as the 3rd and the biggest influencing pillar that is both shaped by the current conjuncture and deeply shapes it, which will be discussed in the context of Kilis in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CROSS CUTTING ISSUE OF MIGRATION AND WASTE MANAGEMENT; KİLİS

In previous chapters, the conceptual framework of mass migration's effects on mid-size cities in terms of public service delivery, particularly waste management is presented. In this chapter, the situation of Kilis in this context is evaluated by analyzing the data on population, migration and waste management.

In this section, effects of the Syria crisis on waste management system of the city will also be examined in detail and also it will be discussed how it is in a priority position in crisis management while challenging the existing practices of waste management.

6.1.General Information on the Research Field

In the introduction section, it is briefly described the motivation behind the selection of this case study. Firstly, Kilis is located in a quite strategic position in Türkiye where it is right next to the Syrian border that positions Kilis in a both buffer and transit province position with 10 km distance to Syria.



Figure 3 Location of Kilis in Türkiye

Source: Figure by author

Secondly, by the nature of Kilis's geographical position, it is among the top 10 provinces in Türkiye that host most Syrian refugee population and additionally, Kilis's other neighbor provinces which are Hatay, and Gaziantep are also one of the most effected cities from the Syrian influx. Considering its position, Kilis either was the easiest entry way to Türkiye for the fleeing Syrian refugees, or it has been the most convenient way to travel to more developed and industrialized provinces such as Gaziantep where the livelihood opportunities were higher. The absence of mountains, streams and similar structures that could create a natural border between Kilis and Syria also affected this situation.

In general, viticulture, horticulture, and olive cultivation are practiced on Kilis. Small and medium-sized industrial facilities are vital to the province. Before the Syrian crisis, Kilis had commercial relations with Syria, and after the Syrian community migrated to the province, approximately 100 enterprises were established (Harunoğulları, SYRIAN REFUGEES IN THE PERCEPTION OF KILIS LOCAL PEOPLE AND THEIR SOCIAL EFFECTS, 2019).

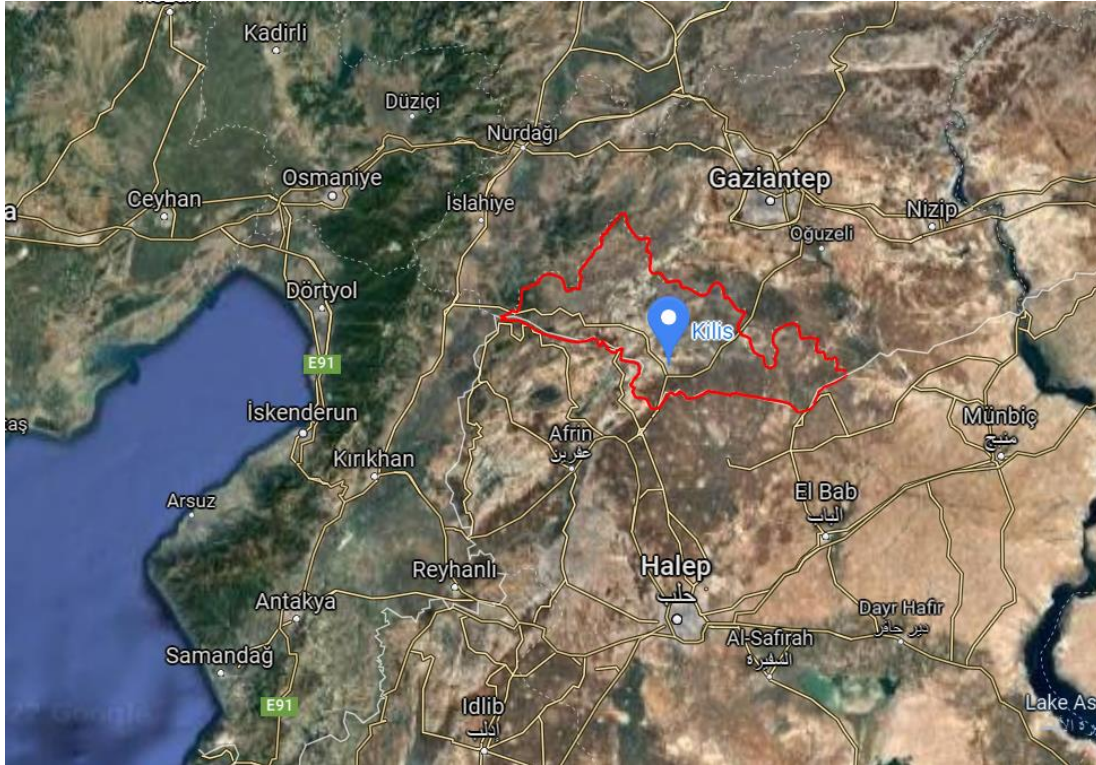


Figure 4 Location of Kilis in the Region

Source: Figure by author

Furthermore, being the only non-metropolitan province among the top ten, Kilis suffers from budgetary and administrative constraints to a greater extent. As previously indicated in earlier chapters, the ratio of Syrians to host community members in Kilis is roughly 76%, indicating that the population of Kilis has nearly doubled, as shown in Graphic 3, and population estimates for 2023 have already been exceeded by 2020.

Table 7 Population by District

Population of province/district centers, towns/villages and annual growth rate of population by provinces and districts 2021

Province and district	Population			Annual growth rate of population (%)
	Total	Province and district centers	Towns and villages	
	84 680			
Total	273	78 908 631	5 771 642	12.7
Kilis	145 826	113 311	32 515	21.0
Center	122 288	108 984	13 304	29.6
Elbeyli	5 679	2 015	3 664	-28.1
Musabeyli	12 861	1 222	11 639	-20.2
Polateli	4 998	1 090	3 908	-20.8

Source: The results of Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS), 2021

Looking at the above Kilis population growth data, it can be seen that the annual growth rate of Kilis is approximately double the national annual growth rate. The Kilis city center, in particular, has grown at a pace of about 30 percent. The extreme increase in population and high ratio of Syrian refugees in the city increased the visibility of Kilis on the media, primarily as the central focus of political arguments asserting that the host community member numbers are declining in comparison to the Syrian population in the city, and even claims that the local people are a minority in Kilis were made in the press¹⁹. Kilis also obtained an arena where it could more effectively express itself and the city's challenges as a result of the increased visibility provided by the population ratios.

As one of the cities that felt the most intensely the consequences of mass migration, Kilis also has an important place as a city where international organizations and non-governmental organizations are concentrated.

¹⁹Kaya,Ahmet, 4 June 2021, "Turks became a 'minority' in Kilis", Sözcü Gazetesi.

6.2. Story Behind the Crisis, “The Forgotten City: Kilis”

As stated above, Kilis’s geographical, economic and social status locates the province in a unique situation. Yet it has been phrased by an interview as “*Kilis is a forgotten city*”. When the initial reflection of the crisis is observed, it can be seen that the main mass migration challenges stated in the previous chapters applies in the Kilis case, with both minor and major differences. To meet with the emergency needs, the initial response was to build new temporary shelter centers and increase the capacity of the existing ones in line with UNHCR’s emergency shelter standards which also leads the establishment of current TSCs in the world (UNHCR, 1982).

6.2.1. Temporary Shelter Centers as the Initial Response

At the beginning of the crisis, the problem has been addressed as "disaster management" as discussed in the previous sections, in conjunction with the open-door policy which implies a temporary and urgent actions needed to be taken. And the Ministry of Interior Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) played a key part in many operations, including the establishment of shelter facilities. Those who arrived from Syria were placed in camps were promptly set up, especially between 2011 and 2013, but the inadequacy of these camps over time, as well as the realization that the process would not be as “temporary” as imagined, affected the course of the process (Erdoğan M. , Suriyeliler Barometresi-2019: SURİYELİLERLE UYUM İÇİNDE YAŞAMIN ÇERÇEVESİ, 2020). Until the 2014, AFAD was the main responsible party of the establishment and management of the temporary shelter centers (hereinafter referred as TSC), after the amendment of the Foreigners And International Protection Law No:6458, section 121/A, management of the TSC’s has been delegated to the Presidency of Migration Management. And until that date, considering the AFAD report on fiscal analysis of the temporary shelter centers, published in 2013, AFAD has spent 1,311,150.030 TRY between 2011 and 2013. Also, the expenditure of AFAD has been started as 33,212.167 TRY in 2011 and

increased more than 20 times in 2013 (T.C. Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD), 2013) ²⁰.

Which has been also mentioned in one of the interviews, where the interviewee stated that the most urgent need was sheltering for those who had fled from the war, yet the temporary shelter's capacity wasn't adequate. And those who were able to be settled in the camps can be considered lucky since there were no other alternative;

When they initially arrived, they brought as much belongings as they could salvage, the bare necessities, or a suitcase or two. As a result, in the early years, the most pressing issue was finding a place to live. Finding a safe environment and food. During the initial years, local non-governmental organizations and charity offered shelter, food, clothes, and basic necessities. There were two container cities as well. Those that arrived at the container city on their initial visit were fortunate, but since the number exceeded capacity, the residents there also ended up moving in to Kilis. A lot of services were offered there, including health care, shelter, and security; everything was built for a residential neighbourhood, but not everyone could fit.

As a result of the turmoil migrant waves 256,971 Syrian immigrants were housed in 26 TSCs constructed in 10 cities throughout Türkiye. According to Presidency of Migration Management data, as of September 2020, 59,877 Syrians seeking temporary refuge were housed in 7 TSCs throughout five provinces. These centers offer shelter, health care, education (including pre-school), religious services, and market services. According to the AFAD 2018 statistics, Kilis ranks third behind Şanlıurfa and Adana provinces in terms of the population of TSCs in ten provinces, with a total of 24,154 inhabitants in two container cities. And, before the temporary protection legislation went into force in 2014, the first waves of migration were generally concentrated in camps along the border, excluding illegal entry into cities, and thereafter diffused to other parts of Türkiye, mostly to border cities (MEMİŞ, 2015).

²⁰ Gecici koruma yönetmeliği,
(<https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/anayasa/MevzuatFihristDetayIframe?MevzuatTur=21&MevzuatNo=20146883&MevzuatTertip=5>)



Picture 1 Kilis Öncüpınar Temporary Shelter Center

Picture by Adem Yılmaz, (YILMAZ, 2012)

Kilis has two TSCs: Elbeyli Temporary Shelter Center and Öncüpınar Temporary Shelter Center. The Öncüpınar facility, with a capacity of around 10,000 people, was established in 2012, while the Elbeyli Temporary Shelter Center, with a capacity of 25,000, was established in 2013. In the centers, there are hospitals, a Turkish language education center, a high school-secondary school, a kindergarten, a youth center, social facilities, sports fields, and children's playgrounds (Kilis Valiliği). According to the AFAD data, establishment of the Kilis Öncüpınar TSC cost 27.741 TRY was the highest expenditure comparing the other TSCs. And reviewing the cost per person, per day Kilis stands in the 4th line following Malatya, Hatay and Adıyaman provinces in 2013 (T.C. Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD), 2013).

As of June 2022, there are 7 facilities in 5 provinces around Türkiye, and 8,200 Syrians are residing at the Elbeyli Temporary Shelter Center in Kilis. This equates to 1.36 % of the country's 3,712,047 refugees, and also 7.65% in Kilis with 107,204 SuTPs in total (Presidency of Migration Management, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Interior,

2022). From that it can be concluded that the majority of remaining residence of the shelters have been relocated to the city, which has been also stated by one of the interviewees who used to work in shelters;

In Kilis, 80 percent of the inhabitants in the camps were working in the city center. I also personally worked in the camps. They were returning to the camp in the evening and residing in the camps. But the burden of the camps to the state was too high. The cost was too expensive. Initially, everything was free, but eventually commercial marketplaces such as BM emerged. Shopping was made using the bank card issued to SUTPs by Kızılay (TRC). There is currently almost no one residing in the camps.

Consequently, one of the main questions is what was the motivation behind the legislative change in administrative authorities as the transformation of the management of the TSC from AFAD to PoMM? It could be interpreted as an implementation of the centralization policy of the Government of Türkiye, or could it be the overcapacity of the shelters made the management inconceivable for AFAD? To be able to analyse those questions in a deeply manner, another interesting legislative regulation might be examined. In the bylaw no: 36015 published in 28.11.2020, section 5; it has been stated that the General Directorate may transfer financial resources to public institutions and organizations and local administrations for the purpose of operating temporary accommodation centres. Interestingly, following that statement the by-law also regulates it could be in reverse setting as well, as in local administrations, other public institutions might also support the General Directorate in those terms. Which might be interpreted as both the central government, or the local administrations can provide the necessary public services that is mentioned in the same by-law later on and be responsible for the expenditures of the TSCs.

When the UNHCR, AFAD guidelines (T.C. Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD), 2015) and legislations in Türkiye are examined, even though the plans of the camps settlements are standardized in detail, it is seen that limited geographical and environmental factors are taken into account, and issues such as waste management and green infrastructure are not included in any documents. For sustainability, in addition to determining the minimum square meter required per person, the process of creating a liveable external environment with a sustainable

strength with effective energy use, minimum water consumption and maintenance costs should also be taken into account (İnan & Korgavuş, Mülteci Kampları ve Yerleşim Alanlarında Sürdürülebilir Tasarım, 2017).

According to an interviewee, in Kilis example, Municipality was conducting the waste management services in the shelters but after the overloaded work and limited budget, the Municipality outsourced the waste management activities to a licenced private sector firm later on.

When the crisis first broke out, we (Municipality) were collecting the waste with additional allowance. Then vehicles were purchased, and equipment support was provided. However, the wastes collected in the camps are also brought to our landfill. When the population in the container cities decreased, refugees were sent to other cities and districts.

The camps are organized as neighborhoods. There were large garbage containers on the main streets of those neighborhoods. Everyone was taking their own waste to the main dumpster. Then the private company was doing general waste collection and cleaning.

Even though no statistical data can be obtained regarding the waste generated or collected in TSCs, two statements above from the interviewees who worked in the waste management sector in Kilis and worked in TSCs in Kilis, outlines the waste management process undertaken in shelters. Even though at the beginning municipality was collecting and transporting the waste from the camps, municipality sources were inadequate and even equipment support were not sufficient enough for the Municipality to carry on those services. Hence, waste collection and transportation services outsourced to a private sector company. Which is also shows that private sector was included even in the first stages of the crisis, but the scope of the inclusion remains unrevealed.

Additionally, waste generated in the camps were addition to the cities predicted waste generation which is stored in regular waste landfill area of Kilis, which also contributed to overuse of the landfill.

6.2.2. Life Beyond the TSCs: Overview of the Initial Mass Migration Issues in Kilis

The uncontrolled increase in population in TSCs has led public services to be inadequate, and the fact that the situation is not as "temporary" as it was originally assumed, made it inevitable for the situation of refugees living in camps to transform. As the number of Syrians increases, institutions in Türkiye showed "silent acceptance" for them to move and settle wherever they want of their own free will in the cities (Erdoğan M. , Suriyeliler Barometresi, Suriyelilerle Uyum İçinde Yaşamın Çerçevesi, 2019). The initiation of official registrations and the rise of disparities in Syrian densities in provinces and districts were the repercussions of this predicament.

As stated in the previous chapters, the responsibilities and standards that are not clearly and openly described in the laws regulating the services offered to immigrants have resulted in the formation of various practices (Marmara Belediyeler Birliği, 2015). The effect of demographic change on municipal services has been expressed in various studies, especially in the Southeastern Anatolia region, where Syrian migration is intensely felt. At the same time, municipalities were in a difficult situation as there was no transfer or increase of special resources related to public services for Syrians in municipal resources. (Adıgüzel & Teköz, Syrians in Turkey and the Role of the Municipalities in Migration Management, 2019). In this context, in addition to public services such as health, education, and so on, which are regulated by municipality law and counted among the municipality's duties, other fundamental issues such as economic and infrastructure problems, inadequacy of quantity and quality of personnel, and irregular settlement have become battlegrounds for municipalities. Some studies stated that units such as Social Assistance and Solidarity units, the Directorate of Culture and Social Affairs, the Directorate of Press and Public Relations, and the Directorate of Strategy Development were actively involved in the relevant issue during the first years when the impact of the crisis was felt the most. (Erdoğan M. , 2017). However, as the need for fundamental public services has grown over time, the activity burden has shifted to entities that provide direct service rather than visibility services, such as the General Directorate of Cleaning and Water Works,

which can be seen in Kilis. Alternatively, like in the case of Adana Metropolitan Municipality, migration units were formed inside the respective general directorates and departments.²¹ Although local entities work to mitigate the consequences of the crisis, housing, security, language, education, health, and waste management remain major issues in Kilis, as they are across Türkiye.

6.2.2.1.Housing

Due to the overall limited employment opportunities in Kilis, including the fact that the population emigrating to Kilis is primarily composed of low-income families, the population has more than doubled, resulted in a housing shortage and an increase in the housing market (Dokuyucu, 2018). As a consequence, the immigrant population that settled in the city after the accommodation centers settled in the more affordable city peripheries, and despite the spatial transformations occurred in these neighborhoods, they did not completely shift away from Kilis and the existed socio-spatial structure of the province.

Additionally housing conditions, infrastructure deficiencies, social opportunities, and basic needs that were already insufficient in this area have become more difficult to provide as the Syrian population has settled in Kilis over the last five years, particularly in areas where poor neighborhoods are concentrated. In reality, since there are limited residences left to rent in Kilis, many immigrant families are staying in evacuated houses by making minor renovations. While the city's spatial structure is altering, urban transportation has become a major concern. The absence of public transportation, particularly from the north to the south, and the insufficiency of transportation between the west and the east, aggravated the situation. (Esen, 2019).

Although SuTPs in Kilis are dispersed around the city, they have settled in neighbourhoods such as Ekrem Çetin, Zeytinli, Muallim Rifat, Mihali, Barış, Yeni

²¹ The Immigration and Migrants Affairs Branch Directorate, which was established under the Health and Social Services Department in Adana Metropolitan Municipality, carries out its activities in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM). (Adıgüzel & Teköz, Syrians in Turkey and the Role of the Municipalities in Migration Management, 2019).

Mahalle, Mercidabık, and Meşetlik. However, a certain concentration is not apparent in the usage of market, plaza, and similar key locations which are being used with the prior residents of the city (Harunoğulları, Suriyeli sığınmacı çocuk işçiler ve sorunları: Kilis örneği, 2016). Which has been also stated by one of the interviewees, the Syrian population is not concentrated in one single location, as it occurs in other cities around the country. And even though there are some districts and streets filled with Syrian entrepreneurs, there is also a mixed dealers from each nation at the center of the city.

Although the city center bazaar is a mixture with SuTPs and Turkish merchants, all of the merchants in the Syrian neighbourhoods are Syrian. The majority of the churches have already been demolished. Because of the explosions, being at the border was very dangerous. It hasn't stayed local, especially after 2018 and prior. My flat is in a nice building beside the courtroom, but Syrians reside there as well. When I originally arrived, I was told that Syrians were not welcome.

Another interviewee also mentioned the density of the population among city;

In the city center, there is no distinction; anybody may start a business. He had to close the food stores that were located between the communities and the large retail centers. Grocery stores, for example, have opened there. They may do harm everywhere in the city. They may be found both on the outskirts and in the city center. The city has no Syrian or Turkish neighborhoods. However, there are certain areas where the population is concentrated based on where people live. For example, the Turks relocated to the growing neighborhood, where the luxury apartments were, and the Syrians were able to relocate to the unoccupied spaces since they were less expensive.

Another aspect to support this claim is the conflicts in everyday activities caused by cultural differences between members of the host community and Syrians. Other studies have found that local neighbours complain about the loudness, usage of public places at night, and cleanliness of Syrians who reside in more than one family in a single house for economic and cultural reasons. (Cengiz, 2015).

According to the interviews held under this study, Syrians are more active at night, use public places such as streets and streets more at night;

The Syrian way of life and the Turkish way of life are completely different. Syrians are more likely to be active at night. When we asked reasons, they told

it was because of the weather. They do not even open their businesses as traders in the morning; instead, they begin their days in the evening. Their stores usually open between 5 and 6 p.m.

Yet it might be considered as a positive effect as per other residents of Kilis, as in the example of the below interviewee;

The city became more alive with Syrians. Before the Syrians, for example, after 9 p.m., no one would be on the street unless absolutely essential. Currently, a woman can now go to the city center at 12 o'clock. The city comes alive at night, and there are things that they make a contribution to the city.

6.2.2.2.Rarification Project as part of Gentrification Policy

Aside from the ones described above, one of the significant repercussions of housing on the issue is that irregular settlement has an indirect impact on other public services such as infrastructure, sanitation, waste management, and public health. When the above-mentioned Kilis resident's comment is evaluated, it can be ascertained that working at various times with other craftsmen impacts municipal services such as street and street cleaning. Aside from that, the likelihood of comparable difficulties in personal residence regions grows. Considering these issues in addition to the increased hostility to Syrians, Afghans and other foreigners who seek refuge in Türkiye, Ministry of Interior Relations began to implement a rarification policy regarding foreign residence. In this context, according to Minister Mr.Soylu's statement, the foreign residence limit, which was announced as 25% in neighbourhoods in February 2022, will be reduced to 20% as of July ²².

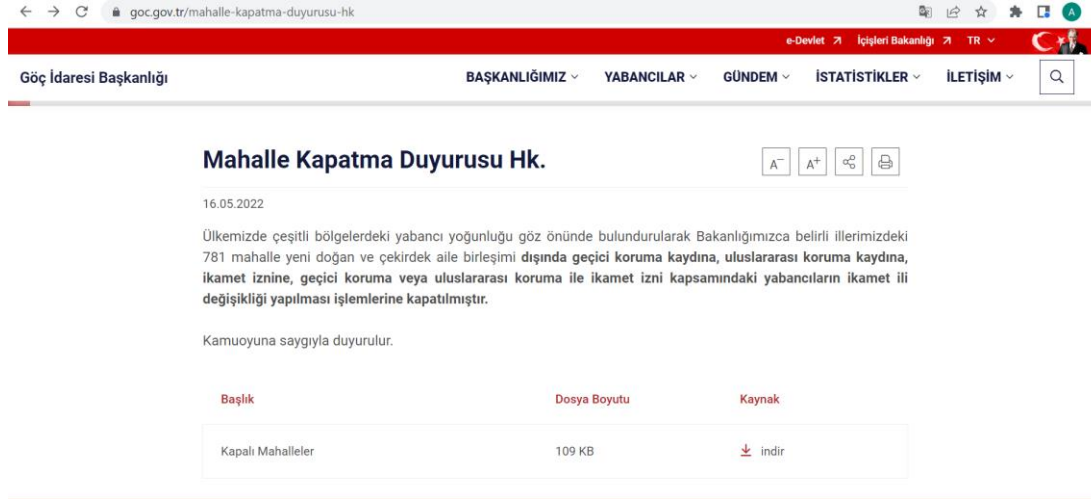
²² Ministry of Interior,11.06.2022 (<https://www.icisleri.gov.tr/bakanimiz-sn-suleyman-soylu-1-temmuz-itibariyla-mahallelerde-ikamet-edeabilecek-yabanci-orani-yuzde-20ye-dusurulecek>), accessed 25.06.2022.



Picture 2 MoIR Announcement on Website (Ministry of Interior Relations, 2022)

When we look at the PoMM announcement below, among 90 neighbourhoods in Kilis (TURKSTAT, 2022), 76 of them will be closed to additional foreigner residence and any other alterations of the resident status of refugees and people under temporary and international protection have been limited (Presidency of Migration Management, 2022). Which has been considered as violation against refugee rights and huge setback considering integration of the foreigners in Türkiye (Görgülü, 2022). Additionally, comparing the TURKSTAT Data and the PoMM announcement, remaining non-restricted 14 neighbourhoods can be counted as: Mehmet Rıfat Kazancıoğlu, Albay İbrahim Karaoğlanoğlu, Mehmet Sanlı, Necmettin Erbakan, Helvacıoğlu, Oylum, Mehmet Abdi Bulut, Yalçın Nane, Pınar, Ağyüz, Sosyal Konutlar, Şehit Ali, Kaymakam Kürşat Ağca and Murathüyükü neighbourhoods. Although statistics on the number of Syrians in the neighbourhoods is not provided, none of the neighbourhoods known to be occupied by Syrians are included in the limitation, according to information acquired from previous studies and interviews. Hence, it brings the suspect that the initial reason behind this arrangement which is balancing the foreign and host community members population might not be accurate.

While ghettoization is presently seen as one of the key barriers to immigrant integration (Adıgüzel, Göçmenlerin Kültürel Entegrasyonu, 2019), ethnic alignments also cause ethnic concentration and ethnic segregation (Erman, 2002). Immigrants can reproduce their identities due to ethnic concentration, however promoting these spatial concentrations can also have a detrimental impact on the reproduction of urban space.



Picture 3 PoMM Announcement on Website (Presidency of Migration Management, 2022)

Which has been also stated by one of the interviewees as:

Urbanization, ghettoization, or, when viewed as infrastructure, the rarification program will aggravate the crisis economically, socially, and administratively. It will make the distinctions sharper. Syrians were concentrated in districts with inadequate infrastructure as a result of this approach. There will be more service delays since the streets are already narrow and the infrastructure is inadequate.

Another dimension of this restriction policy is, when looking at the Social Housing Project which has been implemented since 2019 for the construction of around 100.000 residence, it can be seen that the planned districts are Ekrem Çetin, Polateli, and Center of Kilis which were the also the restricted districts (Municipality of Kilis, 2021) (TOKİ, 2020). Considering there is no information regarding the percentage of the foreign residence in those districts, and the fact that newly built housing areas are being closed to refugee residence can be interpreted as a reflection of the reproduction of the space in favour of capital which can cause the alienation of migrant population.

Consequently, this spatial transition in Kilis exemplifies the transition from the value of utilization to the value of exchange in capital reproduction, as well as the transfer of space from public service centers to rent areas. The social dimension of this is seen as gentrification and social exclusion for refugees which once again proves that power relations within the neoliberal system reproduces the dichotomies between

displacement and reterritorialization that also deepens the capital accumulation by urban planning practices. And the cost of survival in the urban increases specially for disadvantaged people (Gungordu & Bayirbag, 2019).

6.2.2.3. Education and Language

As indicated in the Graph 2, there is limited data on the educational status of SuTPs in Türkiye, and the illiteracy rate in 2016 data is more than 33%. Although the reliability of these data obtained in 2015 is viewed with suspicion due to the inadequacies in data collection (Erdoğan M. , Suriyeliler Barometresi-2019: SURIYELİLERLE UYUM İÇİNDE YAŞAMIN ÇERÇEVESİ, 2020) this table reveals a critical need for education services.

In this context, the "First Stage Needs Analysis for Syrians with Temporary Protection Status in Türkiye Covering the Period 2016-2018," conducted under the coordination of the Ministry of Development, established the principles and implementation principles that remain in force today. However, quantitative objectives such as schooling all Syrian children aged 5-17 (834,000 in 2016) by 2018 were not met, and this aim stayed at 62 percent in 2019 (Erdoğan & Çorabatır, Suriyeli Mülteci Nüfusunun Demografik Gelişimi, Türkiye'deki Eğitim, İstihdam ve Belediye Hizmetlerine Yakın gelecekte Olası Etkileri, 2019). Although no data on the general education situation in Kilis province has been shared in official sources, according to a 2015 news report, Kilis Provincial National Education Department Director Mahmut Kesikminare stated that 20,000 of the 32,000 Syrian children of school age began to receive education in schools (Anadolu Ajansı, Hürriyet, 2015). One of the interviewees pointed out that settling Syrian youth to the national schools had both positive and negative effects among the Kilis community;

Syrians have made considerable strides in their social integration. Though since their children attend the same school as ours. The new generation speaks Turkish like our children. You can't even understand that they are Syrian. Three or four years ago, children in the container cities were going to schools there. When the container cities were closed, the students were balancedly put in city schools. Of course, there was an initial reaction from parents when the Syrian population grew in some classrooms. After a few years, the locals also

embraced the situation. When the government is persistent in enforcing its rules, there is nothing left for the citizens.

According to the Kilis Governorship Provincial Directorate of National Education's 2019-2023 Strategic Plan, issues related to Syrian migration in education are including: an increase in the number of Syrian students in the province, resulting in school inadequacy, difficulties in integrating Syrian students into the education system, language deficiencies among Syrian students, and negative attitudes of parents and students toward Syrian students. Some of the overarching goals that will be developed alongside the other issues mentioned in the Plan are as follows: policy for improving foreign language proficiency, dissemination of pre-school education, raising awareness, providing in-service training, increasing financial resources, monitoring sector demands, and technological developments, increasing digitalization (distance learning, etc.), increasing SuTPs' access to education, strategy and legislative work. etc. (Kilis Valiliği İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü, 2019).

Support methods for SuTPs to learn Turkish have been created through national and international cooperation to address language deficiencies. Turkish language trainings are provided to Syrians in Kilis through Teaching Turkish and Foreign Languages Application and Research Center (TÖMER), in collaboration with the Kilis Provincial Directorate of National Education, within the scope of the PICTES program, in collaboration with the Turkish Red Crescent Kilis Civil Society Center, within the scope of the YTB project in collaboration with Turks Abroad and the Relatives Community, in collaboration with Kilis 7 Aralık University and the Provincial Mufti, and again in collaboration with Kilis 7 Aralık University and Spark. (Teaching Turkish and Foreign Languages Application and Research Center(TÖMER), 2019).

At the same time, in Kilis Public Education Center and Elbeyli Beşiriye Public Education Center, Turkish language education for foreigners and other vocational courses, as well as social cohesion courses are provided. (Ministry of National Education, 2022). However, language insufficiency was one of the most emphasized areas in the interviews with Kilis residents.

Different associations provided grants, equipment support, and training services. Yet I believe it was ineffective because it was carried out in an inconsistent and unstructured manner... Language is still a major issue; individuals with financial ability learnt the language and engaged with the community, while uninsured laborers who provide cheap labor were unable to learn the language and engaged with the host community.

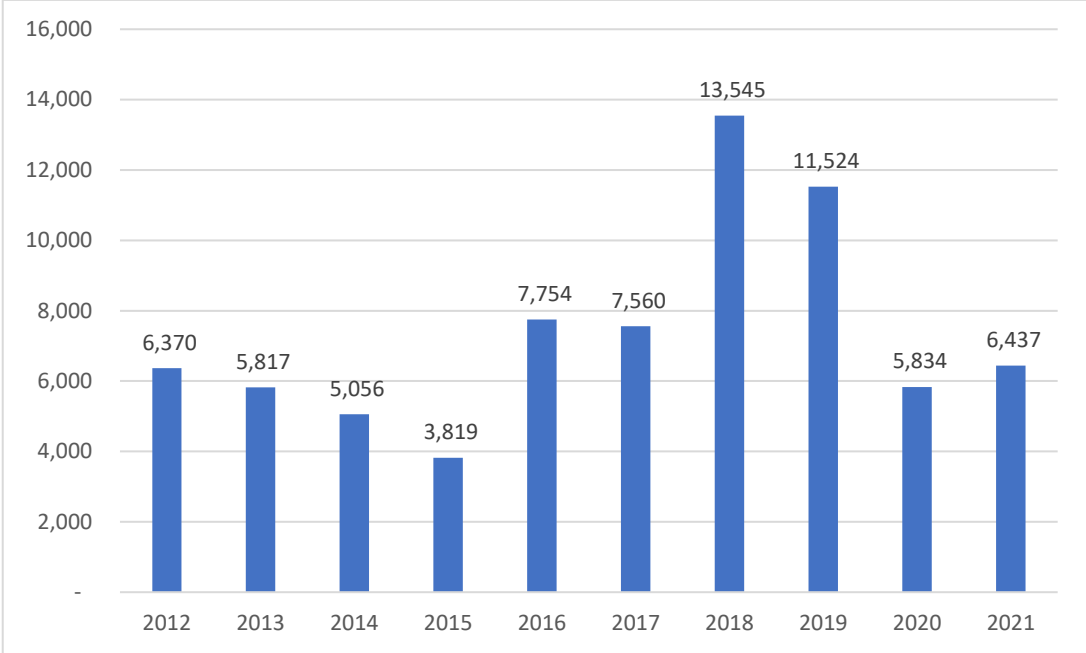
6.2.2.4.Livelihoods

According to the Labor Market Research, Kilis Province 2021 Final Report prepared by the Kilis Provincial Directorate of Labor and Employment Agency (under İŞKUR), the total number of employees, 1289 of whom are women, was estimated as 6956 for enterprises with 10+ employments in the province (Turkish Employment Agency, 2021). This ratio corresponds to approximately 18% female employees in terms of gender distribution.

When employment openings are considered, Kilis falls short of Türkiye's average of 1.3 percent, according to the same research. With 1.9 percent, the accommodation and food/beverage service sector have by far the most job openings. Furthermore, the proportion of empty employment in the province that do not require any degree of education exceeds 50%. Additionally, whereas a 13 percent rise in employment is expected in Türkiye over the next year, this figure is presented as 23 percent in the related report (Turkish Employment Agency, 2021). However, according to the Kilis Province Final Report for the year 2020, Kilis is above Türkiye's average in terms of employment vacancy with 1.6 percent, and the 5.2 percent gap in the construction industry was closed in 2021 and replaced by the accommodation sector with 1.9

percent (Turkish Employment Agency, 2020). It also demonstrates that employment and economic processes are active.

Graph 10 Registered Unemployment in Kilis (Turkish Employment Agency, 2021)²³



When the above graph of unemployed registrations in Kilis province is examined, it is clear that there is no broad volatility in the graph, with the exception of the years 2018 and 2019. Although the Covid-19 outbreak may be the primary cause of the increase in 2019, it has been noticed that there has been no growth in this graph in parallel with the regularly growing population graph since 2011. Registered unemployment, according to İSKUR legislation, refers to those who do not work in any income-generating job and apply to the institution with the intention of seeking for work. In this context, the absence of a consistent increase in the table may be explained not only by a lack of imbalance in the growth in unemployment, but also by the possibility that city inhabitants might be unaware of İSKUR services.

İSKUR implements a variety of workforce initiatives, on-the-job training programs, and vocational training courses in order to assure and increase employment. In

²³ As of October 2021

addition, international organizations are focusing on improving employment in Kilis. For example, through the Employment and Skills Development project, which is carried out in collaboration with UNDP and İSKUR, İSKUR carries out activities to strengthen the institution's general capacity by providing both physical capacity development and training to İSKUR personnel. Similarly, the mobile İSKUR vehicle, established as part of the same project, began to serve in Kilis neighbourhood's so that disadvantaged groups could be educated about and benefit from İSKUR services (UNDP). Furthermore, short-term working allowances and cash salary assistance, which were created in reaction to the Corona pandemic, are important crisis response strategies in the area of employment.

Waste Picking

Although government sources do not reveal information on SuTP employment and there is a severe deficiency of data in this area, interviews suggest that SuTPs are concentrated in specific industries in Kilis, especially in the waste picking sector;

Syrians constitute the great majority of paper collectors²⁴. If there are ten people, about seven of them are Syrians. When it comes to profitability, the employer only looks at the money. Therefore, they do not consider that the employer is indifferent..."

There are many paper collectors. Every morning, we see at least 5-6 individuals, primarily Syrians. Kids do it as well. There are some who have motors and those who have dragging cars...

By the latest regulation in waste laboring by the MoEUC (Circular No.2022/06) which the initial debates were ongoing in Kilis for a few years now as per the interviews, it is stated that an independent collectors will be determined in accordance with the Zero Waste Management System within the borders of Kilis. It has been also stated by the municipal authorities that the collectors will be registered in the municipality system *"Persons will carry out activities by wearing the vests given to them and wearing their*

²⁴ In the region, waste laborers defined with different terms by different interviewees such as, paper collectors, waste pickers and "çekçekçiler" which refers to the manual car that waste laborers pull by themselves. And in this study, individual referral is tried to be reflected to the translation.

badges within the borders of the province where they have obtained permission.”
(Habertürk, 2022).

Kilis municipality made an arrangement for the collectors to have them worked for the Municipality by registering them to protect Municipalities income. And it implies to both Syrian and Turkish collectors. However, as far as I know, this policy wasn't succeeded in İstanbul because the collectors in there did not want to be registered since their income would decrease.

This regulation also relatively provides solution to the other dimension of the waste laboring; the illegal waste collection through intermediaries buying the waste from unorganized/autonomous waste pickers.

Illegal scrap dealers are constantly making room to sell the waste. They buy papers and other wastes in a much smaller amount, they make a profit illegally, while it would normally be sold to the private sector by the municipality. This is the negative side of free competition. We are constantly trying to close them with the police. For example, the waste collector workers we recruited through tender are insured, but scrap dealers, in particular, employ Syrians illegally. We want to hire and register them, but it is very difficult to break this cycle.

There are Syrian *çekçekciler* (waste pickers) that we hire as insured workers. State aid is actually high. Almost 6.000 TRY can enter a household with child support, ESSN support and etc. For this reason, there may be people who do not want to be insured because they cannot benefit from those aid if they get citizenship...Therefore most of them work through firms. There are people who get paid as much as the waste they bring. There are also women, they work in the segregation area within the facility. We have employed 13-14 people with fixed salaries.

As per the statement given by one the authorities in the Kilis Municipality, scrap dealers are one of the main issues faced by the Municipality that decreases the Municipality income regarding recycling the waste and they also taking advantage of the disadvantaged position of Syrians, they employ them illegally for much lesser wages. Through the above-mentioned new regulation, it might be avoided but one of the most common reasons why Syrians do not want to register is that they would lose the benefit coming from the temporary protection status such as humanitarian aid. To overcome this hesitation, much more comprehensive study prior to implementation of

this regulation is needed to include both livelihoods need of the SuTPs and to meet the needs of the sector.

Another important dimension of registering the waste pickers is stated by a waste management expert;

I prepared the waste management plans in the GAP, we observed that the unregistered population is as much as the registered foreigner. For this reason, it is bad to go through the activities only on the registered population. In addition, the registration of paper collectors with a ministry circular means the official recognition of a group that has been ignored until today. What will the consequences of this be?

When the foreigners came, the members of the host community, who did this job in Türkiye, slowly left the sector to the Afghans and Syrians in most regions. But how detailed and efficient will the current regulation be seen? Do those people want to be recognized?

As stated in the above statement, the transition of Turkish waste pickers to foreigner waste pickers seems to be more silent comparing to other cities in Türkiye. In most interviews, city dwellers stated that they did not observe mafia or regionalization, or they did not witness quarrels among waste collectors. Yet it has been highlighted that they were observing more women waste pickers with their child which supports the idea of the lack of technical skills needed in this occupation, also as woman are culturally obligated to take of their child, waste picking becomes an appealing job alternative that can be carried out with their children. Or due to the war, most of the male members of the families were dead.

6.2.2.5.Social Cohesion

While social cohesion constitutes a significant part of the today xenophobia discussions in the country, Kilis represents slightly different success story in terms of social cohesion. Considering the initial interactions with the Syrian and Turkish population in the region through sharing a border, kinship relations has been established prior to the Syrian war. Additionally, as stated above, Syrians arrived to Kilis integrated to the society through economic relations by opening

entrepreneurships, learning Turkish language and etc. Even though, most of the interviewees point out that there are different cultural habits in daily life of the Syrians and the host community members, social conflicts seem quite rare between two society.

People generally accepted. It is beneficial for the inhabitants of the Kilis as well with the decrease of labor cost for example. Although, there is a prevailing sense of unease among the community. For example: when humanitarian aid is distributed to only Syrians, it creates discomfort among others who also in need.

Syrians moved to neighbourhoods where there were no stores, opened them, and brought those places back to life. Vegetable markets have gained traction in every district, and they are doing an excellent job. Prices are also lower in several areas, such as furnishing. As a result, shopping becomes driven by Syrians; there is no such thing as avoiding shopping from them simply because they are Syrians. However, Syrian's commute to the marketplaces and buy from each other, even if they are very far away.

As stated in the previous chapter of this study, it has been pointed out by different scholars that social cohesion has a positive effect on waste management practises. As the integration of the migrant community increases, waste management practises also alter according to host community approaches. Yet even though Kilis sets an interesting example regarding the high integration of SuTPs and host community members comparing to other cities with high density of migrant population, there are still some negative attractions caused by variety of reasons. For instance, changing dynamics of the economy, different cultural backgrounds, different day-to-day practises, political atmosphere in the country towards Syrians and social media...

We do not prefer to go to the places where they are. They are not very clean, they do not pay attention because they live in crowded places, not all of them, of course, but it is also related to their economic situation.

Motorcycles began to exceed cars in usage. Syrians have a high accident rate as well. Women and the elderly ride motorbikes as well, although most of them lacking mirrors and registration plates... It's not normal. They do not follow driving laws and also they speak very loudly. In terms of environmental hygiene, we saw nothing negative. We can't say the roads are not clean, but it may be because the municipality is working.

Consequently, to redeem the negative encounters in daily life, not only ensuring the social integration of the migrant population to the host community but mutual integration through social inclusion must be ensured. Which has been in the agenda of iNGOs and NGOs such as UCLG-MEWA and RESLOG.

We have an understanding of social inclusion, that is, everyone who comes to the city belongs to that city. For an inclusive and accessible city (that includes migrants, people with disabilities, children, disadvantaged groups, etc.), we think that everyone should be included in the municipal service, and we are working to assist local governments to achieve that.

Just as it takes a family from Erzurum who immigrated to Bursa two generations to believe they are from Bursa, it takes at least two generations for a Syrian who settled in Kilis to accept they are from Kilis... And migrants are changing the city too, it works both ways therefore we use mutual integration...

6.3. MSWM in Kilis under the Disaster Waste Management Context

As discussed in the 2nd Chapter of this study, mass migration needs to be included to the disaster waste management strategies. Since Türkiye is not the country where the war took place, it does not have hazardous wastes such as waste that may arise as a result of the war, hence it does not need immediate actions in the first 0-72 hours. Therefore, the initial phases that needed to be considered as a migration receiving country, Türkiye needed a well-organized early recovery phase. As stated previously, early recovery phase is particularly significant since it serves as the foundation for future actions to be established and executed. During this phase, waste requirements should be assessed further, temporary storage and disposal sites should be established, transportation issues should be addressed, and local capacity should be assessed (UNOCHA, UNEP, 2011). To be able to further analyze the Kilis in this context, it is highly critical to outline the former practices and dramatic changes in the numbers and activities held by the responsible parties.

As the initial reaction to the mass migration in Kilis, two temporary shelter centers established in 2012 and 2013. In the early faces of the influx, the legal situation of the

Syrians was uncertain therefore immigrants settled into those camps and main public services provided in those centers. The Presidency of Migration Management is in charge of managing and budgeting the centers, according to the regulations. However, the related legislation states that services at the centers may also be outsourced. Although there is no one-to-one reference to waste management in the legislation, it has been stated that a few services, such as cleaning and health care, can be performed by other public institutions and organizations, the Turkish Red Crescent, or those with expertise in the field of migration from public benefit associations.

An interviewee who had previously worked in the shelters provided the following information concerning waste management in the camps: “Waste collection was also undertaken by private companies through tenders.”

In addition to that, another interviewee from UNDP stated that they have implemented zero waste projects in both camps to train the SuTPs in those camps, however interviewee also stated that the trainings and the result of the project did not give the expected effect;

There were two refugee camps in Kilis at the time: Öncüpınar and Elbeyli. In both camps, zero-waste projects were implemented. Segregation the waste at its source training was given to both children and adults at the camp. The ÇEVKO foundation provided waste sorting and zero waste training. Each camp received one packaging trash collection truck, which was granted to the municipality of Kilis. However, in my opinion, even in industrialized countries, establishing new waste separation habits might be difficult, therefore it was not very realistic to expect a society that had just emerged from a war to embrace those habits. While people there require shelter, protection, and food, we have established a non-priority aim that is not in their highest interests. Additionally, monitoring and evaluation had to continue after the project was concluded. The key objective should be how long the project's influence on individuals lasted, maybe 6-12 months, and whether or not a lasting awareness has been raised among participants. As a result, the effort was ineffective and did not raise a consistent awareness of Syrians living in camps.

As it can be understood from the above statement is even though the temporary shelter centers can be considered as a successful initial response, as the situation rebuilt itself around new structures, unprecedented needs also rise. Which structures the recovery

face where exit strategies must be formed. To analyze the transition from the early recovery phase to recovery phase and to better understand the transformation of public service in Kilis according to years in detail, information gained from the interviews will be compared and supported with numbered legal documents that provide formal data. Specifically, few main documents can be consulted: waste action plans prepared by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change, environmental status reports prepared by Kilis Governorate, Provincial Directorate of Environment and Urbanism, and activity reports and strategic plans prepared by the Kilis Municipality. Environmental issues in the province, including waste management, are addressed in the environmental status reports, and changes in the environment might also be monitored. Annual activity reports, on the other hand, are an essential data exchange tool provided by local governments to ensure that the growth of municipal services can be tracked and that the administration acts with awareness when it comes to the public resources at its disposal (KÖSE, 2015).

The objective of compiling a public institution's annual report is to acquire financial transparency and public resources, to apply the principles of accountability at their expense, and to assure oversight of these concerns. Strategic plans, on the other hand, are performance indicators that demonstrate lessons learned and best practices based on yearly reports and national/regional development plans. Therefore, in this section, the recent situation will be attempted to be confined by using activity reports and environmental situation analysis data to comprehend the waste management problem in Kilis.

If the environmental status reports from 2012 to 2019 are analysed, it is conclusive that the registered population rate has grown dramatically, as previously stated. However, despite a rise in the amount of municipal wastes collected and the rate of waste collected per capita at a higher rate than this growth, and despite the inclusion of the unregistered population in the calculation of these rates, there is no increase in the number of facilities.

Table 8 Environmental Status Report Between 2012-2019

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Municipal Waste Collected (Ton)	28,467	38,400	48,363	48,363	58,400	60,225	58,400	62,900
Population*	N/A	124,320	128,586	128,781	130,655	130,825	136,319	142,541
Average Solid Waste Collected (ton/day)	110	110	216	158	178	185	175	210
Table 8 (continued)								
Average Solid Waste Produced Per Capita (Kg/Day)	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Number of transfer stations	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Number of disposal facilities	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Adapted by author from the Environmental Status Reports

When the average solid waste production ratio is compared for Kilis and national ratios for 2018 in the above *Table 6* in this study, Kilis also remains above the ratio of 1.51 to 1.16. It can be also concluded that Kilis reached out the national average of 2018 prior to 2012. And especially considering the 2014 solid waste collection numbers, even though the population increase is considerably low, the collected waste nearly doubles in the 3rd year of the Syrian influx crisis. Effects of these increase have been also observed by the Municipality, as stated by an interview;

One of the most significant consequences of the crisis was the dramatic increase in the volume of wastes produced. I can make a comparison because I began working before the war. In 2011, around 60 tons of waste were collected everyday; nowadays, over 270 tons of waste are collected. We anticipated a rise in this amount based on population projections. İLBANK budgetary assistance was coming accordingly. Since it weighed less than 100 tons, there was no need for an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) to build a sanitary landfill. As a result, it was assumed that the lot created would be sufficient. The second lot would not be required until 2040, however this projection was met in three years after the war. Furthermore, the need for equipment and vehicles has grown. The daily water requirement has tripled. Infrastructure was inadequate, drinking water was insufficient. All of a sudden there was a crisis of need.

As it is indicated in the above statement, Kilis had only one sanitary landfill which had 2 lots, yet 1 one lot will not be filled until 2025 as per the projections, and no disposal facility in the province borders. Which is also supported by the information shared in the project website with the capacity of to meet the needs of 91.475 person in the 1st lot and the 2nd lot to meet the needs of 105.100 people (ER-GE). Prior to the construction of the Kilis Sanitary Landfill Area, waste handled through wild storage method.

In fact, our landfill area filled in 2017. We are currently using it at twice the capacity by elevating it. Since there is no money, we are not able to open additional lots. God knows when it will happen.



Figure 5 Kilis Wild Storage, Picture by ER-GE

As stated in the environmental status reports, only municipal solid waste has been collected by the Municipality and send to the Municipality sanitary landfill. In addition to that, debris waste, medical waste and hazardous waste is being produce in the city yet there is no facility to send those wastes, therefore they are collecting by the firms

and transporting to neighboring provinces such as Gaziantep, which also includes Kilis to its Waste Association (Ministry of Environment and Forest (former MoEUCC), General Directorate of Environment Management, 2012). Additionally, it has been stated in the Municipality Activity Reports that medical waste has been sending to facilities in Gaziantep from 2010 to this day (Kilis Municipality, 2008,2009,2010,2011,2012,2013,2014,2015,2016,2017,2018,2019,2020).

When the Waste Management Action Plan (2008-2012) (Ministry of Environment and Forest (former MoEUCC), General Directorate of Environment Management, 2012) has been reviewed, it is clear that even though the influx cannot be predicted at that time, no further action is planned for the waste production and disposal of the host community members either. Despite the fact that the province lacks a licensed collection-separation facility and recycling facility, as well as a provincial separate collection study at the source, there is no strategy to improve this scenario in the four-year plan. Which also states as a foundation to the current waste management issue occurs in Kilis.

Domestic waste is collected and disposed of by Kilis Municipality, according to this environmental status report. Excavation rubbish is also stored at the excavation dump area. According to the most recent environmental status report (Kilis Valiliği, Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü, 2020), there is no licensed waste oil recovery facility, or electronic waste recovery facility in Kilis. Although the reports indicate that landfill gas released in the landfill lot is converted into electrical energy at the on-site Electricity Production Facility, which is the only disposal technique in Kilis, there is no information on how much energy is produced or how much waste is disposed of. Additionally, no information on the collection of these waste is included in the report. Between 2012 and 2019, the province has three packaging factories, and the number of enterprises that put them on the market climbed from 30 in 2012 to 70 in 2019. Simultaneously, the number of facilities registered with the system, which produced 48 hazardous waste in 2012, climbed to 126 in 2018. This may be seen in the increased production capacity of the population expansion, excluding the registered population, as well as the increased capacity of the facilities provided. The growth of the market

economy has also affected the multi-actor structure and also revealed new governance problems. However, when we look at the example of Kilis, the increasing number of manufacturers and the increasing waste rate did not lead to an increase or improvement in disposal methods. This can be considered as an indication that the presence of the private sector in waste management will not automatically affect the management in a positive way, although there are practices such as the polluter pays principle and recycling contribution fee.

When the report's solid waste composition data is analyzed on *Table 8*, the lack of a percentage rise between years raises the possibility of data collecting flaws. In fact, one of the interviewees expressed similar worries throughout the interview.

We witnessed increased pollution of the streets in the areas from which they arrived. They pitifully alleviate the agony of displacement by flinging trash onto the street. As a result, waste management began to pose a severe concern with Syrians. This intensifies social conflicts between the locals and the Syrians. It also boosts to the municipality's workload both in personnel, fuel, and equipment. Streets used to be cleansed once or twice a day, but now it is cleaned six times a day in Syrian neighbourhoods.

Adding to that, considering the shift in the life to the nights and changes in the daily consuming habits with the additional population of Syrians, the 'nature of the job changes. Not only a raise in the population increases the quantity but the waste composition itself alters hence, disposal planning needs an immediate revision.

Considering all the emerging needs in the field, rebuilding phase at the 11th year of the crisis where temporary solutions reversed into a sustainable long-term plan is needed. Yet, no convenient plan is prepared, or the content of the waste management plans, environmental status reports or action and strategy plans includes technical and financial stability with future contingency strategies.

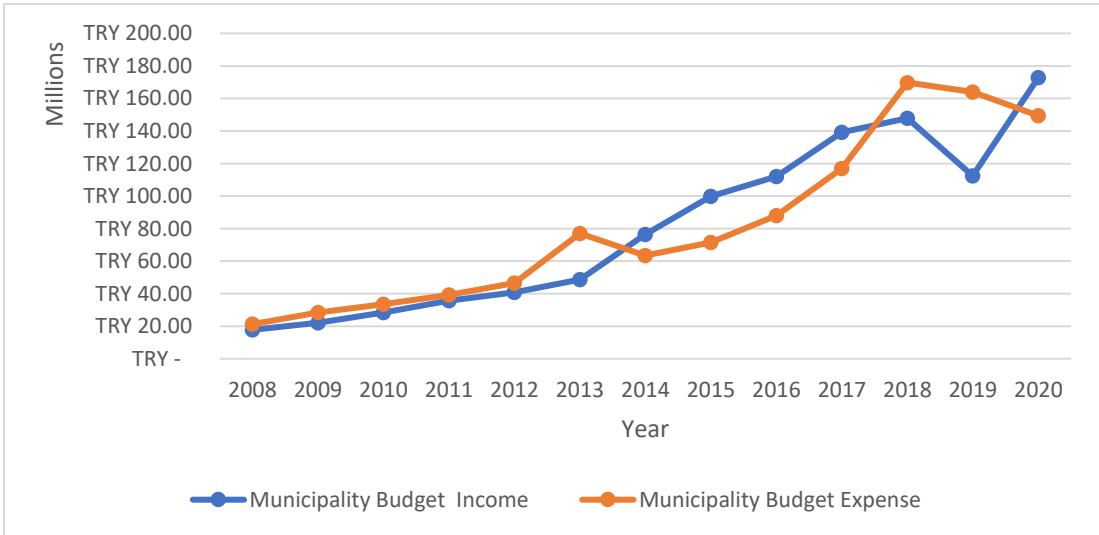
6.3.1. Municipality of Kilis as the Main Actor

Budgetary Limitations

Kilis Municipality plays a huge role as the main actor responsible for the waste management in Kilis as regulated in laws. Following the initial assumption in this study, in parallel with the information given previous sub-chapter, one of the main issues faced under this crisis is budgetary limitations. Which has been also supported by one of the interviewees who work as a director in the field of improving local governments resilience against migration; *“Of course, the most common problem in our work we encounter from municipalities and the most immediate solution demanding issue was money.”*

When the Municipality’s Activity Reports between 2008-2020 is examined, it can be seen that there is a dramatic increase in the Municipality’s expense after 2012. Looking at the below Graph 11, while expenditures increased regularly with a certain amount of income until 2012, serious increases and fluctuations can be seen in the graph after 2012.

Graph 11 Kilis Municipality Income-Expense Increase by Year



Source: Adapted by author from Kilis Municipality Activity Reports

Directorate of Cleaning Services (DoCS) in the Kilis Municipality is responsible for the waste management. Hence, examining the DoCS share in the total budget and fractions on this department's budget also provides an input. When we look at the municipality budget in detail on below *Table 9*, first thing to notice is after 2016 there are no data for the DoCS income and after 2019, there are no data shared in the report for the expenses of the department. While asked to one of the interviewees who works in this department regarding the lack of data, no additional information was given. Yet it has been confirmed that after the Syrian influx, there have been a budgetary crisis that cannot be ignored, which has been also pointed out by the former Mayor of Kilis, Mr. M.Abdi Bulut in the 2013 Activity Report (Municipality of Kilis, 2013);

The city's geographical position within the border region has made it unavoidably affected by the ongoing Syrian civil war. The budget expenses for a portion of the help allocated to our municipality to meet the urgent needs of Syrian refugees who have sought safety in our nation have grown.

Table 9 Kilis Municipality Budget Between 2008-2020

Year	Municipality Budget		Directorate of Cleaning Services Budget	
	Income	Expense	Income	Expense
2008	17,762,538	21,262,955	3,173,874	3,336,378
2009	22,189,965	28,447,057	2,487,448	3,466,228
2010	28,408,904	33,579,331	4,442,533	4,454,466
2011	35,610,070	39,246,516	4,514,457	5,100,821
2012	40,839,874	46,513,080	4,777,624	5,950,096
2013	48,623,892	77,058,891	5,044,666	5,996,650
2014	76,322,978	63,463,508	7,756,807	7,756,807
2015	99,865,810	71,407,872	10,790,276	9,514,315
2016	112,029,601	88,025,513	N/A	9,858,757
2017	139,241,716	117,028,170	N/A	16,124,236
2018	147,817,670	169,769,451	N/A	25,274,372
2019	112,354,757	164,063,017	N/A	N/A

Table Continued

2020	172,752,330	149,490,850	N/A	N/A
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Source: Adapted by author from Kilis Municipality Activity Reports (Kilis Municipality, 2008,2009,2010,2011,2012,2013,2014,2015,2016,2017,2018,2019,2020)

Another inference from that table is until 2014, both the municipality expense in general and the DG's expense is higher than the income of the municipality. Also, another interesting detail is that the DG income and expense amounts are exactly the same in 2014. Following that year as the income of the municipality dramatically increases, the expenses seem to decrease and there is no additional info of the DG budgets. Considering that there is no infrastructure investment that will have a large-scale impact or that there is no significant decrease in the urban population, it raises questions about the reason for the decrease in expenditure items. Especially as the budgetary restrictions are one of the most common issues raised by the local governments, surplus revenue in annual budgets puts the annual reports data in a contradictory position.

If the increase in income is examined specifically, it can be said that this increase can be achieved either by an increase in municipal revenues or by additional fund support from different actors such as UN agencies. In the Action Report of 2020, one of the fiscal targets stated as the 10% increase in the municipality budget yet no information is given on the method to achieve that goal. One of the highest increased observed in municipality revenues is on the realized property sales. For instance the realized property sales income in 2010 is 2.771.983,00 TRY, and it is increased almost 7 times in 2020 by 15.334.520,28 TRY. As also supported by one the municipality authority's statement;

The fee from Iller Bank (Provincial Bank) is according to the population, and even now it comes to 90 thousand people. Budget is a big problem. Efforts are being made to meet the needs by selling the properties belonging to the municipality. Additional budget did not come from the central budget. We tried to meet with grants and projects.

According to this statement, we can observe that the municipality of Kilis mostly needs the share from the center, but since the shares are based on citizenship, not taking into account the Syrian population pushes the municipalities to follow different paths. However, grant support, aid and projects carried out by international organizations are not considered sustainable as they are short-term and irregular supports.

A new inter-scale structure has been created with the establishment of The Environmental Agency and the regulation of recycling participation shares, financial aspect of the waste has been centralized with the ministry of treasury and finance. Furthermore, even while the additional funds that will be discussed in the coming sections are utilized to resolve the crisis, they create the illusion that revenue and expenses are balanced in the Municipality budget. But if these unsustainable funds are reduced or cut, the municipality's associated costs will rise drastically.

Data Limitations

Building on that, lack of data constitutes one of the biggest concerns of migration management in Türkiye and Kilis as well. Main authority on migration management, the PoMM does not provide detailed information regarding the population density in province districts, number of SuTPs who acquired Turkish Citizenship, budgets allocated to the Syria crisis, the demographic structure of the SutPs and so on. Although the data in Türkiye is collected by the PoMM in the registration system called Göç-Net (Esen, 2019), it is not integrated with the data in other institutions, regular data flow is not provided, and transportation is not made public, which is unfortunately similar in local governments data management.

When reviewing the annual activity reports, it was discovered that the data is not consistent, that some of the previously provided data may not be provided in subsequent years, and that some critical data, such as the amount of annual waste produced, is not specified in the reports and is not shared when asked. Furthermore, for political reasons, statistics like as education and job status of Syrians in the provinces may only be acquired through secondary and fragmentary sources, raising concerns about the data's veracity. Furthermore, the absence of data has become a

major issue for municipalities as well as other institutions and organizations that provide services.

Personnel Limitations

In addition to the budget, data and equipment needs emerged in the city, trained personnel were also an increasing need according to interviewees;

The need for not only vehicles but also personnel recurred. Especially packaging waste has started to be thrown away a lot on the streets. The need for hand vacuum cleaner personnel has increased. The garbage taken every 3 days increased to 2 per day. Salary, vehicle expenses, equipment maintenance etc. Expenditures also increased in the personnel area.

Changing Regulations

Another commonly stated issues in the sector were the consent changes in the regulations which makes it harder to adapt in an already formidable situation;

The constant legislative change of the central government proved problematic. Markets began to be able to give their waste to any company they wanted. For example, especially big markets here can give it to a collector company in Istanbul. That company also gives its certificate to the scrap dealers here, and they collect the waste illegally as if that company is collecting it. This resulted in a loss of revenue for the municipality.

In technical terms, the Ministry of Environment is constantly changing regulations. Progress is made with a lot of trial and error method, so the projects cannot be as successful as desired.

6.3.2. Other Supporting Actors

While municipalities trying to overcome everlasting mass migration problems, both national and international support is assisting them to cope with the crisis. While municipalities trying to overcome everlasting mass migration problems, in addition to the budgetary restraints of the central government, increased investment requirements for the delivery of local services have compelled municipalities to look for additional

sources of revenue (Cinar, 2009) and both national and international support is assisting them to cope with the crisis.

One important national actor is Iller Bank, as stated in the previous chapters, who supports municipalities in terms of financing public services, developing and implementing projects, providing consultancy services and also fulfilling the functions of development and investment banking (Iller Bank, n.d.). The structure of Iller Bank, which provides services using public resources, has changed, and it has been transformed into an intermediary financial institution that will connect municipalities and global money markets, particularly as a natural result of Turkey's structural adjustment efforts signed with the World Bank after 1980. The market expanded in terms of international financial institutions and state intervention was eliminated as a result of Iller Bank becoming a company and limiting its market dominance. As a result, the Turkish infrastructure construction and service provision sector evolved into a market with a high profit rate (Serter, 2015).

The Kilis Municipality itself trying to have additional budgets and new projects for example, the municipality has a solid waste transfer station project that will save time, fuel, labor and vehicle spare parts. With this station, it is aimed to reduce the daily trips of the vehicles from 50 to 10 (Municipality of Kilis, 2021). It has been also stated by the Municipality expert that they have cooperation with United Nations and they would like to expand those relations with different project. When examining the Services Advisor Programme provided by the UNHCR (UNHCR, 2022), that shows every project implemented or will be implemented by both public organizations such as Ministries and international organizations, Kilis has 63 different service in the province. Among them, few related with the waste management can be found below.

Within the scope of the Kilis Solid Waste Management project, it is planned to establish a 50 thousand m² solid waste management facility with a value of 2.000,000 Euro funded by the European Union Trust Fund (MADAD), between the years of 2020-2022. Within the scope of this project, a mechanical separation plant with a capacity of 310 tons/day and a compost facility with a capacity of 163 tons/day are scheduled. It is stated that the aforementioned activities will be fully completed in

December 2022. However, İzmir Delegate Mr.Kamil Oktay Sındır has submitted a formal inquiry to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization on 26th May 2021, because as operations did not begin even after a year has passed since the project's launch. And in the response from the Ministry on 26th August 2021, it has been confirmed.

In addition to that, UNDP's Effective Urban Waste Management for Host Communities Phase II: Strengthening Social Cohesion through Participatory Waste Management Project funded by the American Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration(USBPRM) in Kilis and Şanlıurfa-Haliliye provides equipment support to strengthening the municipalities waste management capacity, zero waste trainings to promote domestic waste management, also the establishment of Waste Collection Center (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). Although strengthening the municipal capacity is a much needed action to be taken, equipment support was only responding to an urgent crisis and did not considered as a sustainable approach since not only collection but disposing or storing the waste is also a critical issue. Additionally, it has been stated by the both UNDP experts and the Municipality expert that project's training section was not quite successful since waste management was not the priory concern for migrants and also, due to Covid-19 pandemic, most of them conducted online.

Since the project was online, it did not have much effect. Waste is still the problem in the richest regions, they are the ones who do not sort the most waste in the city. They don't care. The poorest people are more likely to segregate with incentives. As you get poorer, awareness of waste increases.

From above statement, it can be understood that the most effective project outputs gained through fiscal incentives because especially disadvantaged people such as migrants depends on any support that they can have.

In my opinion, the waste separation project, which has just nearly become a habit even in developed countries, for a community that has just emerged from the Syrian war, was not very smart in my opinion. While people need shelter, security and food, we have set a non-priority goal that will not be in their area of interest.

Additionally, in the newly built waste collection center, waste is being segregated to transferred to the different disposal facilities depending the types of the waste such as paper, glass, plastic and etc. Yet, according to one of the interviewees who worked in this project claimed that since there were no vehicles to transfer the glass waste separately, it is getting pressed with all the other waste even though residents segregated it in the Waste collection center, and separating again manually in the facilities;

There should be a separate vehicle to take glass waste. It was not done because it is not common in Türkiye. It is pressed together with other wastes in the waste collection center and taken away, and it is separated again manually/automatically in the waste separation facilities.

In relation with above-mentioned issued, another dimension of the international supports is observed as the disconnections between the field and funding organizations. Lack of correlation between the source of the crisis prevents the centralized institutions that provides funding or implementation to actually meet with the local governments needs and utilize the fundings.

While the projects are being prepared, the field needs are not analyzed in detail and detailed communication with the actors who will benefit from the project is not considered. It is being prepared on the table in Ankara. Not enough data was collected, the municipality did not know about the project...

Another expert working in an international organization who also have experience in refugee camps also stated that;

Senior managers should work in refugee camps working in this field. What we do with us is similar to giving pain relief, we produce pain relief solutions. We produce solutions that are disconnected from the field, far from sustainability and far from preventive.

In addition to the funded projects, institutions such as UCLG-MEWA provides assistance to strengthening local government capacities by organizing international forums, promoting declarations, sharing best practises and lessons-learned with other local actors which also serves in Kilis too.

Another resident of Kilis highlighted the inefficiencies of those support because it was not planned in detail and the qualifications of the people receiving the aid were not thoroughly investigated.

Different associations provided grants and equipment support, training support... But it was not very successful because it was done irregularly. It was not given to the people of work on merit. For example, even though someone who is not a tailor, received machine support by claiming that they are tailor. They determine whether they are in need or not, depending on their declaration.

NGOs are not very active. Protection and livelihood heavy work is done. There is Turkish language education, but the numbers are very low there, too. Visible things are very low. There are different organizations that I also worked too such as UCLG-MEWA, UNDP vs. projects, but there are no point shooters, including Kızılay (TRC). A permanent solution to the root of the problem is needed for them to continue their own lives. I worked in NGOs too, but the quality of the incentives is also important.

Parallel to above examples, Cesme-Alacati Water Supply and Sewerage Project via the Union of Cesme and Alacati Municipalities (CALBIR) who is also responsible for solid waste services financed by a Japanese grant also stands out as lessons learnt practice in terms of transferring the water management and sanitation services to a private operator. Both municipalities face with a mass increase in their total population during the summer period due to tourism sector in the area, and consequently municipal service demands increases as in Kilis. Due to unexpectedly higher bids, and the 2001 economic crisis in Turkey, in addition to the operational limitations of the union to carry out such a collaboration with private sector, project failed to reach its expectations which showed that in the absence of adequate municipal infrastructure services were not able to provided by private sector either (Cinar, 2009). Comparing to Kilis, even though private sector participation in the service provision can be used as an alternate approach, it can be observed in both examples that a comprehensive feasibility study and needs assessment is essential at the local level. Furthermore, in order for investments to be effective local infrastructure should be strengthened or the responsibility of the private sector partners in terms of infrastructure should be determined in the contracts in detail.

In conclusion, it can be said that as much as additional fundings and aids are quite important, deeper needs analyses needs to be taken prior to implementing those projects and with an inclusive governance approach, local actors should also be actively included in the process of finding funds, writing projects and/or identifying needs.

Moreover, including different actors specifically international actors might shift the local governments management processes. Even though, above mentioned projects implemented in cooperation with Kilis Municipality, it creates a multi-level actor structure where the initial capacity of the Municipality might not be adequate.

It results in the allocation of time and resources to the implementation of activities that will not really address local needs but will have an indirect influence in order to avoid losing funds. Municipalities may find themselves in a challenging situation, particularly if international organizations such as the UN execute their own objectives and procedures. In addition to these, the increasing number of companies and the follow-up and control of new legal regulations have put municipalities in a brand-new waste management order.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Today, while mass migrations have become an increasing issue with the effect of wars and climate change, migration management has also been the subject of various research. Although this field has been studied in various areas such as humanitarian aid, security, health, shelter, and education, local governments are often overlooked as the first to encounter mass migration crises. Hence, the main objective of this study to highlight the waste management crisis emerged through mass migration in the waste governance perspective that includes both local, national and private sector actors. And analyse Kilis as the testing ground of the vulnerable national system.

Through detailed literature review it has been observed that even though the waste management has a rich literature, correlation between waste and migration were inadequate. The limited studies conducted in this area both provides a baseline for this study and also led to new questions. While the main question is how mass migration from Syria to Türkiye effects Kilis in waste management, both the literature review and the interviews led various sub questions. For example, what is the linkage between social cohesion and waste management, in what concept livelihood opportunities defines the waste labouring, what was the main limitations of the Kilis Municipality as the main local actor or how did new additional actors affect waste governance structure in Kilis and etc. Which also caused revisiting the initial assumptions such as conflict between the host community members waste collectors and migrant population who work as waste labourers were one of the expected outcomes of the interviews yet no such an encountered is observed. Contrary to wide believe among Türkiye, Kilis did not create mafia type organizations, instead it can be said that Turkish waste laborers left the sector to Syrians. Yet the illegal waste collection activities re-shaped with the unregistered population working in a semi dangerous job

which created a new management issue. Adding the scrap dealers to the equation, who employ Syrians for lesser wages to make an illegal profit, the inclusion of new actors has led to administrative changes in the collection process in the waste management chain.

Prior to that, hosting a huge number of SuTPs also restructured the production and the segregation of the waste to begin with. Along with the increase in plastic production brought due to the city's industrialization, the composition of the waste stream has also altered as a result of the arrival Syrian population's different consumption habits from the host community members. Additionally, the city's waste management ecosystem, which lacks a disposal mechanism outside of regular storage, has been impacted by the rise in the number of packaging manufacturers and electronic waste producing companies. In connection with the waste collection service changed not only quantitatively but also qualitatively as a result of the gentrification policy that causes regional division.

Another initial assumption that has been supported by the data collected and interviews that the main issue raised by the Municipality is budgetary limitations. Especially as the non-metropolitan municipality, Kilis encountered many obstacles to create solutions for the increased public services demand with doubled population. And to solve this issue, they have mainly resorted to ways of increasing income by selling their municipal properties and applying for international funds. Those unsustainable solutions shows that the Municipality did not have the comprehensive emergency strategy for mass migration or disaster waste management. Additionally, central government perspective of this situation being temporary has made it inevitable to resort to such temporary solutions.

Not only not having any emergency strategies or efficient budget to response the crisis, Kilis's existing waste management policy was also depending on neighbouring cities such as Gaziantep. With no disposal facility and a limited sanitary landfill area, projections have been reached way quicker than it is expected. And the internationally funded projects were also limited and small-scaled and they were not responding the urgent infrastructural needs. In addition to the budgetary limitations, it has been

observed that the Municipality also encounters lack of necessary and adequate equipment, data limitations, lack of trained personnel and also constantly changing regulations made it difficult for them to build resilience. Parallel to this, the fact that the municipality outsources the majority of its waste collection and disposal services to companies in the neighbouring provinces prompts the query of whether the relevant companies obstruct competition in Kilis by intervening in the market. This can be viewed as a further inquiry that could advance the study.

Even though Kilis, with its multi-actor management, sets a serious example in terms of the new governance ecosystem that is transforming while trying to manage the crisis together with both the private sector, NGO/INGO and civil society.

On the other hand, as geography changes as a result of the rarification strategy, urban services also transform, and the tension between Syrians and members of the host community increases as a result of policy measures. Despite the fact that it is a new implementation, how the municipality approaches it will have an impact on how urban services are provided and how the situation further evolves.

Another dimension that can characterize Kilis as a deviation is the attitude developed by the municipality towards waste collectors. Considering the rest of the country, although it is seen as a phenomenon that is mostly ignored by the public but illegally supported by market actors, the municipality of Kilis is making significant efforts to turn waste collectors into formal labor in order to turn the crisis into an opportunity. In this way, they both protect the value of labor and prevent unfair competition in the market. In addition, it has been seen in the interviews that the municipality's attitude towards waste collectors has positive reflections on the society. When compared to the example of Ankara (Tuçaltan, 2017), no negative judgments were found such that the waste collectors in Kilis took away the jobs of the local people or polluted the environment, on the contrary, it was observed that they were appreciated for doing the 'dirty work' of the city and working in a labor-intensive job.

Technical analysis of the waste management chain reveals that the system is problematic overall because Kilis and the rest of the country experience the same

issues with waste production, sorting, collection, and disposal. This analysis also reveals that the centrally produced policies and solutions are insufficient for the internal dynamics of the city.

In particular, the market shaping effect of the private sector throughout the country remains limited due to their limited presence in Kilis considering when Gaziantep has 44 licensed waste transport company Kilis has 0, and the dominance of the companies in the surrounding provinces in the Kilis market also precedes the production of local solutions.

In addition, although there is an active civil society participation throughout the country and the effects of transforming the market are considerably high, the fact that the NGOs in Kilis focused more on migration problems and the lack of sectoral NGOs were also effective in the ecosystem transformation.

Considering the lack of data was one of the main limitations of the Municipality, it has been also one of the limits of this analysis as well. While institutions data is not consistent with each other, it has been harder to find supporting data with already restricted area as in migration in Türkiye. With the current policy discussions and social media effect, both legal public institutions hesitant to provide detailed information such as the Syrian population in the province districts, potential interviewees were also hesitant to provide input in this subject. Yet, reaching out a wide spectrum of experts from main actors in this field such as UNDP, Union of Turkish Municipalities, Municipality of Kilis, NGOs, private sector and etc. provided a comprehensive analysis. Data obtained from interviews also supported by different sources.

One of the main contributions of this study is highlighting the neglected importance of waste management in mass migration concept by examining a unique example of Kilis. Through this study, it can be concluded that to achieve a comprehensive migration management and social integration, waste needs to be put into the agenda as the cross-cutting issue. Also, local authorities need to be included in the funding and project initiation process as the main source of information for an inclusive

governance. Additionally, one of the most highlighted requests from local bodies to increase in the municipal incomes and increase rate of the central government shares through re-regulating the population condition by including the foreign resident of the city to the share distribution.

Pathways for further research can be considered as the future steps of the migration management in the 12th year of the crisis. Also, further analysis on disposal strategies to be chosen in the post-mass migration crisis might developed this field. Considering the circumstances in the Türkiye with constantly changing political atmosphere, regulating the almost 4 million migrants and the consequences of the new regulations such as in the field of waste laborers might deeply studied following this research. Another further research opportunity might be the increasing private sector presence in the waste management sector as a service provider through new centralized policies and how does it affect reproduction of urban space and local socio-spatial relations within multi-actor structure?

In a world with never-ending history of wars, forced displacements and neglected human rights, both supporting the migrant population and strengthening local governments should be the main objective of any emergency strategies.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

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ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816 /

14 NİSAN 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Osman BALABAN

Danışmanlığımı yürüttüğünüz Ayşe İlke GÜRBÜZER'in "Kitleli Göçün Atık Yönetimi Üzerine Etkileri, Kilis Örneği" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 0176-ODTÜİAEK-2022 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interview Number	Interviewee	Location	Date	Interview Type
1	RESLOG, Manager	Ankara	02.06.2022	Face-to-face
2	Provincial Bank of Türkiye (ILBANK), Expert	Ankara	02.06.2022	Face-to-face
3	Waste Management Expert (Private Sector)	Ankara	02.06.2022	Face-to-face
4	Presidency of Strategy and Budget of Türkiye, Expert	Ankara	03.06.2022	Face-to-face
5	UCLG-MEWA, Project Assistant	Ankara	05.06.2022	Zoom
6	Municipality of Kilis, Expert, Resident of Kilis	Ankara	10.06.2022	Telephone
7	Union of Municipalities of Türkiye, Expert	Ankara	10.06.2022	Zoom
8	Kilis 7 Aralık University, Doc.Dr./Resident of Kilis	Ankara	15.06.2022	Zoom
9	Private Sector Company-Director General	Ankara	19.05.2022	Face-to-face
10	UNDP Field Coordinator/Resident of Kilis	Ankara	20.04.2022	Zoom
11	Ministry of Justice/ Resident of Kilis 1	Ankara	20.04.2022	Telephone
12	Regional Environmental Center-Expert 1	Ankara	20.04.2022	Zoom
13	Ministry of Justice/ Resident of Kilis 2	Ankara	20.04.2023	Telephone
14	NGO employee/Resident of Kilis	Ankara	21.05.2022	Telephone
15	İŞKUR,expert/Resident of Kilis	Ankara	23.05.2022	Telephone
16	Hacı Bayram Veli University, Prof.Dr.	Ankara	24.05.2022	Zoom
17	UNDP, Project Associate	Ankara	26.04.2022	Zoom
18	Police Officer/Resident of Kilis	Ankara	27.05.2022	Face-to-face
19	UNDP, Projects Manager	Ankara	28.04.2022	Zoom
20	Municipality of Kilis, Department Manager, Resident of Kilis	Ankara	28.04.2022	Zoom

C. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

İklim krizinin acil bir konu olarak yükseldiği ve bunun uluslar genelinde gözle görülür ekonomik etkilerinin olduğu bir alanda, atık yönetimi de ortak bir konu olarak çözüm süreçlerinde bir değirmen taşı haline gelmiştir. 20. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren uluslararası kuruluşlar, farklı raporlar ve çerçeveler aracılığıyla atık yönetiminin temelilinin cercevesi cizilmeye baslanmıştır.

2020 verilerine göre nüfusun yaklaşık yüzde 56'sı kentsel alanda yaşarken (Dünya Bankası, 2020), atık yönetimi de birden fazla aktörü içeren bir kentsel yönetim konusu olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Tüketim ve üretim alışkanlıkları gibi diğer birçok unsur aracılığıyla nüfus artışı da atık yönetiminin en büyük zorluklarından biridir.

Göçün bir toplumun ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel yapısına meydan okuduğu düşünüldüğünde, kitlesel göçün daha da derin sonuçları vardır. Halihazırda sınırlı kapasite ile, nüfustaki ani ve önemli bir artış, güvenlik, sanitasyon, sağlık, eğitim, istihdam, barınma, sosyal uyum ve atık yönetimi gibi temel kamu hizmetlerinin sunumuyla ilgili mevcut sorunları ağırlaştırabilmektedir. Kitlesel göçün atık yönetimi üzerindeki asıl yükü ise bir krizin ilk müdahalecisi olarak yerel yönetimler üzerindedir. Bu araştırma bu kapsamda orta ölçekli şehirler üzerindeki etkileri aracılığıyla toplu göç ve atık yönetimi arasındaki bağlantıyı kurmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Ayrıntılı literatür taraması sonucunda atık yönetimi konusunda zengin bir literatür olmasına rağmen atık ve göç arasındaki ilişkinin yetersiz olduğu görülmüştür. Bu alanda yapılan sınırlı çalışmalar hem bu çalışmaya temel teşkil etmekte hem de yeni sorulara yol açmaktadır. Ana soru Suriye'den Türkiye'ye kitlesel göçün Kilis'i atık yönetiminde nasıl etkilediği iken, gerek literatür taraması gerekse görüşmeler çeşitli alt sorulara yol açmıştır. Örneğin, sosyal uyum ve atık yönetimi arasındaki bağlantı

nedir, geim fırsatlarının atık iřçilięi hangi kavramla tanımladıęı, ana yerel aktör olarak Kilis Belediyesi'nin temel sınırlamaları nelerdi veya yeni ek aktörler Kilis'teki atık yönetim yapısını nasıl etkiledi? Vb.

Bu alıřmanın alana temel katkısı, kitlesel göle birlikte atık yönetiminin bir kamu hizmeti krizi için bir zorunluluk olarak düşünülmesi gereken bir olgu haline gelebileceęini kapsamlı bir şekilde ortaya koymaktır. Yerel yönetimler üzerindeki en büyük stres faktörlerinden biri olan ve yukarıda bahsedilen tüm tartışmaları kapsayan acil durum müdahale stratejilerine bu da değinilmeli ve dahil edilmelidir. Ayrıca, bu konudaki ilk alıřmalardan biri olarak kitlesel gö ve atık yönetimi arasındaki iliřkiler vurgulanacaktır.

Bu arka plana dayalı olarak, Suriyelilerin kitlesel göünün Türkiye'de başta atık yönetimi olmak üzere kamu hizmeti sunumuna etkileri Kilis örneğine odaklanılarak incelenmiştir. Uygulanan yaklařımların yeterli olup olmadıęını görmek için Kilis'teki mevcut atık yönetimi faaliyetleri ve acil müdahale stratejileri derinlemesine analiz edilmiştir. Deęişen dinamiklerin rolünü tanımlayabilmek için, farklı aktörlerin kendilerini nasıl konumlandıkları ve bu deęişikliklerin toplumdaki temel hizmetlere erişim ve gömenler ve ev sahibi topluluk üyeleri arasındaki sosyal uyum açısından yansımalarının analizi yapılmıştır.

Ev sahibi topluluk üyeleri atık toplayıcıları ile atık iřçisi olarak alışan gömen nüfus arasındaki çatıřma gibi ilk varsayımların yeniden gözden geçirilmesine neden olan görüşmelerin beklenen sonuçlarından biri olmasına rağmen böyle bir durumla karşılaşılmamıştır. Kilis'te Türkiye'deki yaygın inanıřın aksine mafya tipi örgütler kurmadı, bunun yerine Türk atık emekilerinin sektörü Suriyelilere bıraktıęı söylenebilir. Ancak kayıt dıřı nüfusun yarı tehlikeli bir iřte alışmasıyla birlikte yasadıřı atık toplama faaliyetleri yeniden şekillenmiş ve yeni bir yönetim sorunu ortaya çıkmıştır. Suriyelileri daha düşük ücretlerle alıştıran ve yasa dıřı kazanç saęlayan hurdacıları da denkleme eklediğimizde, yeni aktörlerin de dahil olması, atık yönetimi zincirindeki toplama sürecinde idari deęişikliklere yol açmıştır.

Verilerin toplanmasında TÜİK, Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, AFAD vb. birincil bilgi kaynakları olarak başlıca sorumlu kamu kurumlarına başvurulmuştur. Ayrıca Kilis Belediyesi'nin veri kaynaklarından yararlanılmıştır. Her ne kadar bu çalışmadaki en büyük zorluklardan biri olarak Türkiye'de tutarlılık sorunlarına ek olarak hem göç hem de atık yönetimi konusunda veri eksikliği yaşanmıştır. Bu amaçla ikincil bilgi kaynakları olarak nitel araştırma yöntemleri, özellikle derinlemesine görüşmeler kullanılmıştır. Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Programı, İLBANK, Kilis Belediyesi, Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği vb. kamu kurumları temsilcileri, özel sektör temsilcileri, STK'lar, iSTK'lar, Kilis sakinleri, akademisyenler ile toplam 20 görüşme yapılmıştır. Ne yazık ki, bu araştırma sırasında karşılaşılan diğer büyük zorluklardan biri, seyahati, dolayısıyla yerinde saha görüşmelerini engelleyen Covid-19 pandemisi ve mültecilere yönelik Türkiye'deki siyasi atmosferdi.

Göç, insanlık tarihinin temel yapıtaşlarından biri olarak hem gönderen, hem alan hem de transit geçen ülkelerin ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel yapılarına meydan okuyan bir kavram olmuştur. Ancak kitlesel göç çalışmaları ağırlıklı olarak ekonomik yansımalara odaklanmış olsa da, kitlesel göçün kentsel sosyo-mekansal ilişkiler ve yerel yönetimler üzerindeki etkileri giderek daha fazla önem kazanmaktadır. Günümüzde artan çatışmalar ve iç savaşlar gibi insan faaliyetleri ve iklim değişikliğinin neden olduğu afetler sonucunda kitlesel göçler küresel gündemde yer almaktadır. Arap İsyanları ve henüz yasal bir terim olarak kabul edilmemiş olsa da "iklim mültecisi" kavramı, bu konunun artık göz ardı edilemeyeceğinin kanıtı olmuştur.

Göç krizinin etkileri, öncelikle kamu hizmetlerinin sunumunda ortaya çıkmakta, ikincisi ise sorunun yükü toplumun tüm kesimleri arasında eşit olarak paylaşılamamaktadır. Doğal afetler ve insani krizler nedeniyle nüfusun ani artışı da belediye hizmetlerine olan talebi önemli ölçüde artırmaktadır. Bu nedenle, belediye hizmetlerinin sunumu krize müdahale ve krize karşı yerel direnç oluşturma açısından özellikle kritiktir. Altyapı ve üstyapıda zaten sınırlı kapasite ile, nüfusta ani ve önemli bir artış, güvenlik, sanitasyon, sağlık, eğitim, istihdam, barınma, sosyal uyum ve atık

yönetimi gibi temel kamu hizmetlerinin sunumuyla ilgili mevcut sorunları ağırlaştırmaktadır.

Toplu göç, belediyeler üzerinde olumsuz bir mali etkiye sahip olmasının ve dayanıklılıklarını zayıflatmasının yanı sıra, hassas gruplar, özellikle de mülteciler üzerinde de önemli bir etkiye sahiptir. "Kimseyi geride bırakma" ilkesine göre, belediyelerin dezavantajlı grupları kamu hizmetine ve şehir planlamasına entegre etmeleri kritik öneme sahiptir, aksi takdirde kırılganlıkları derinleşecektir. Bir göç kriziyle karşı karşıya kalırken ele alınması gereken ana değişkenler, temel olarak dil engeli, sağlık hizmetlerine erişim, eğitim, insana yakışır geçim olanakları, barınma ve farkındalık olarak belirtilmektedir. Bunlara ek olarak atık yönetimi ve sosyal uyum da bu çalışma kapsamında göçmenlerin kırılganlığına katkıda bulunan göstergeler olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Yerleşimlerin planlanması devletin sorumluluğunda olsa da çoğu zaman krize tepki olarak acil ihtiyaçlar ön planda tutulmakta ve atık yönetimi gibi konular ikinci planda tutulmaktadır. Mülteci kampları detaylı olarak incelendiğinde, bu kamplardaki standartlar, UNHCR Kamp Planlama Standartları gibi çeşitli uluslararası standartlarla belirlenmiş olmasına rağmen, kampların yerleşim planlanması sırasında çok sınırlı coğrafi ve çevresel verilerin dikkate alındığı görülmektedir. Atık yönetimi, sanitasyon, emisyon kontrolü, gıda planlama hizmetleri gibi sürdürülebilirlik araçları da ya eksik ya da yetersiz. Bireyler açısından, bir savaştan, çatışmadan veya afetten kaçtıktan sonra, diğer akut sorunlarla karşılaştırıldığında çevresel kaygılar doğal olarak günlük yaşamda yer almamakta ve tek kullanımlık ürünlerin aşırı kullanımı nedeniyle atık üretimi artmaktadır.

Atık yönetimi, atık üretiminin yanı sıra atık ayırmaya da dayanır. Atıkların uygun şekilde ayrıştırılması sağlık sorunlarını azaltabilir, uygun kimyasal atık yönetimi kirliliği önlerken su, hava ve toprak kalitesini iyileştirebilir, gıda atıklarının yönetimi açlıkla mücadeleye katkıda bulunabilir ve uygun atık yönetimi ayrıca sınırlı kaynakların verimli kullanımına yardımcı olur ve sonuç olarak azalır iklim krizinin etkisi. Tersine, atık yönetimi krizle başa çıkmak için yeterli kapasiteye sahip olmayan şehirlerde ciddi krizlere yol açabilir.

Çok sayıda GKAS'ye ev sahipliği yapmak, aynı zamanda, başlangıçta atıkların üretimini ve ayrıştırılmasını da yeniden yapılandırdı. Kentin sanayileşmesinin getirdiği plastik üretimindeki artışın yanı sıra, Suriyeli nüfusun ev sahibi topluluk üyelerinden farklı tüketim alışkanlıklarının gelmesi sonucu atık akışının bileşimi de değişmiştir. Ek olarak, kentin düzenli depolama dışında bir bertaraf mekanizması olmayan atık yönetimi ekosistemi, ambalaj üreticilerinin ve elektronik atık üreten şirketlerin sayısındaki artıştan etkilenmiştir. Bölgesel bölünmeye neden olan soylulaştırma politikası sonucunda atık toplama hizmeti sadece nicelik olarak değil nitelik olarak da değişmiştir.

Örneğin, Türkiye'deki geri dönüşüm planı, resmi ve gayri resmi ikili bir işgücü piyasası olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Resmi şema kanun ve yönetmeliklerle oluşturulurken, enformel şema kendine özgü yapısı ile alternatif bir işgücü piyasası oluşturmaktadır. Atık işçilerin resmi bir statüsü olmamasına ve “kirli iş” olarak görülmesine rağmen, atık yönetim sisteminin temel yapı taşı olarak varlıklarını sürdürmektedirler.

Bu sistemde Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler için çalışma izni, teknik gereklilik veya sermaye gerektirmeyen, dil engeli olmayan alternatif bir iş gücü sağlanmaktadır. Tüm bu nedenler ortadan kaldırıldığında, iş sağlığı ve güvenliği risklerinin diğer işlere göre nispeten ortadan kaldırıldığı, bunun sonucunda işgücünün daha kolay temin edilebildiği kayıt dışı sektörde, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin daha çok otonom atık toplamaya yönelmesinin önünü açmıştır. İşveren sömürsünden kurtularak doğrudan çalışmanın ve esnek çalışma saatlerinin annelik kimliğinin yüküyle atık emekçi kadınları cezbetmesi. Atık üretiminin artması ve hızla artan nüfusun tek kullanımlık ürünlere vb. yönelmesiyle tüketim alışkanlıklarının değişmesi nedeniyle atık toplama, özellikle Suriyeliler için bir hayatta kalma stratejisi olarak cazip bir alternatif haline gelmiştir. Ve atık yönetiminin gayri resmi bir aktörü olarak mevcut atık toplama geçim sektöründe büyük bir yer almışlardır.

Kitlesel göç krizinin bir başka yansıması olarak konut, atık üretim alışkanlıkları üzerinde de büyük bir etkiye sahiptir. Kamu hizmeti sunumunu etkileyen konut ve şehir planlaması arasındaki ilişki ve altyapı ihtiyaçlarının yoğunluğu göz önüne

alındığında, konut bir insan hakkı olarak görülmelidir. Çünkü uygun konut eksikliği insanları gecekondulara ve/veya sınır kamp yerlerinde kalmaya yöneltmiştir.

Atık yönetimi açısından toplumsal uyumun önemi, kentte artan atık üretimi sorununun, hem ev sahibi topluluk üyelerini hem de göçmenleri çözümün bir parçası olmaktan alıkoyan bir faktör olarak GKAS'lere dayatılması ve aynı zamanda geri dönüşüm işçileri arasındaki çatışmaları derinleştirilmesi olarak görülebilir. Örneğin, yabancı düşmanlığı endişesine rağmen mahalle geri dönüşüm faaliyetlerine katkıda bulunmanın göçmen kadınların topluma bağlılıklarını ifade ettikleri bir biçim olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Türkiye bağlamında, Suriye krizi nedeniyle kent nüfusunun hızla artması, yerel yönetimleri belirleyici bir baskı altına sokmuştur. Suriye'den Türkiye'ye 7000 civarında Suriyeli ile ilk büyük akını, Suriye rejiminin şiddetli saldırısının ardından 2011'de gerçekleşmiştir. Haziran 2022 itibariyle Türkiye, özellikle Türkiye'nin Suriye sınırının hemen yanındaki Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesinde yoğunlaşan Türk ev sahibi topluluklar arasında yaşayan 3,6 milyondan fazla kayıtlı Suriyeli ile dünyanın en fazla mülteci nüfusuna ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Dünyanın en fazla Suriyeli mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülkesi olan Türkiye, özellikle kamu hizmetlerinde hızlı nüfus artışı sorunlarıyla ön saflarda karşı karşıyadır. Halihazırda aşırı yüklenmiş bir belediye ortamında, mülteci krizinin neden olduğu demografik şok, kentsel dayanıklılık konusunda büyük bir zorluk teşkil etmektedir. Türkiye'nin önemli bir vaka olmasının nedenlerinden biri, yaklaşık 10 yıldır devam eden bir süreç olduğu için politikaları inceleme konusunda benzersiz bir özelliğe sahip olmasıdır. Kitlesele göçün dinamizmi ve sürecin kendisi ve bu durumun Türkiye'de incelenmesi literatüre önemli katkı sağlayacaktır. Ancak Suriye çatışması ve krizin Türkiye'deki yansımalarının devam etmesi nedeniyle dinamik ve değişken karakterinin dikkate alınması gerekmektedir.

Krizin başlangıcında sorun “afet yönetimi” olarak ele alınmış, özellikle 2011-2013 yılları arasında Suriye'den gelenler hemen kamplara yerleştirilmiş, ancak zamanla bu kampların yetersizliği ve sürecin sanıldığı kadar “geçici” olmayacağını anlaşılması sürecin gidişatını etkilemiştir. Göçmen akınları sonucunda Türkiye genelinde 10 ilde inşa edilen 26 geçici sığınma evinde 256.971 Suriyeli göçmen barındırılmıştır.

Kilis'te iki adet geçici barınma merkezi (GKM) bulunmaktadır: Elbeyli Geçici Barınma Merkezi ve Öncüpınar Geçici Barınma Merkezi. Yaklaşık 10.000 kişilik Öncüpınar tesisi 2012 yılında, 25.000 kişilik Elbeyli Geçici Barınma Merkezi ise 2013 yılında kurulmuştur. Merkezlerde hastaneler, Türkçe dil eğitim merkezi, lise-ortaokul, anaokulu, gençlik merkezi, sosyal tesisler, spor alanları ve çocuk oyun alanları (Kilis Valiliği). AFAD verilerine göre 27.741 TL'ye mal olan Kilis Öncüpınar GKM'nın kuruluşu diğer TSK'lara göre en yüksek harcama olmuştur. Kişi başı günlük maliyete bakıldığında ise 2013 yılında Kilis Malatya, Hatay ve Adıyaman illerinden sonra 4. sırada yer almaktadır. Kilis özelinde, başlangıçta kamplardaki atıkların belediye tarafından toplanması ve taşınmasına rağmen, belediye kaynaklarının hizmetin verilmesi için yetersiz olması nedeniyle, atık toplama ve taşıma hizmetleri bir özel sektör firmasına yaptırılmıştır.

En fazla göçmen ağırlayan ilk on içinde büyükşehir olmayan tek il olan Kilis, bütçe ve idari kısıtlamalardan daha fazla zarar görmektedir. Ayrıca Kilis'te Suriyelilerin ev sahibi topluluk üyelerine oranı kabaca %76 olup, bu da Kilis nüfusunun neredeyse iki katına çıktığını ve 2023 için nüfus tahminlerinin 2020 yılına kadar çoktan aşıldığını göstermektedir. Şehirdeki aşırı nüfus artışı ve Suriyeli mültecilerin yüksek oranı, Kilis'in medyada görünürlüğünü artırmış, özellikle ev sahibi topluluk üye sayılarının şehirdeki Suriyeli nüfusa kıyasla azaldığını iddia eden siyasi argümanların odak noktası olarak, hatta Kilis'te yerel halkın azınlık olduğu iddiaları bile basına yansımıştır.

Yapılan görüşmeler ve toplanılan ve incelenilen veriler sonucunda, Kilis ilindeki en büyük göç kaynaklı sorunların barınma, eğitim, dil, istihdam ve atık yönetimi olduğu sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. 2012'den 2019'a kadar olan çevresel durum raporları analiz edilirse, kayıtlı nüfus oranının önemli ölçüde arttığı sonucuna varılmaktadır. Ancak, toplanan belediye atıkları miktarındaki artışa ve bu büyümeden daha yüksek oranda kişi başına toplanan atık oranındaki artışa ve kayıt dışı nüfusun bu oranların hesaplanmasına dahil edilmesine rağmen tesis sayısında herhangi bir artış söz konusu değildir.

Kilis'te ayrıca 2 parselli sadece bir adet düzenli depolama sahası bulunmakta olup, projeksiyonlara göre 2025 yılına kadar 1 adet tek parsel doldurulmayacak olup, il sınırları içerisinde bertaraf tesisi bulunmamaktadır. Proje web sitesinde paylaşılan bilgilerle de desteklenen 1. lotta 91.475, 2. lotta ise 105.100 kişinin (ER-GE) ihtiyacını karşılayabilecek kapasitededir. Kilis Düzenli Depolama Sahası inşaatı öncesinde, atıklar vahşi depolama yöntemiyle bertaraf edilmektedir.

Kitlesel göç her ne kadar o zaman tahmin edilemese de, ev sahibi topluluk üyelerinin atık üretimi ve bertarafı için başka bir eylem planlanmamıştır. İlde lisanslı bir toplama-ayırma tesisi ve geri dönüşüm tesisi ile kaynakta il ayrı toplama çalışması olmamasına rağmen, dört yıllık planda bu senaryoyu iyileştirecek bir strateji bulunmamaktadır. Evsel atıklar Kilis Belediyesi tarafından çevre durum raporuna göre toplanarak bertaraf edilmektedir. Hafriyat çöpleri de hafriyat döküm alanında depolanmaktadır. En son çevre durum raporuna göre Kilis'te lisanslı atık yağ geri kazanım tesisi veya elektronik atık geri kazanım tesisi bulunmamaktadır. Raporlar, düzenli depolama sahasında açığa çıkan çöp gazının Kilis'teki tek bertaraf tekniği olan yerinde Elektrik Üretim Tesisi'nde elektrik enerjisine dönüştürüldüğünü gösterse de, ne kadar enerji üretildiği veya ne kadar atık olduğu hakkında bilgi yok. bertaraf edildi. Ayrıca, raporda bu atıkların toplanmasına ilişkin herhangi bir bilgi yer almamaktadır.

2012-2019 yılları arasında ilde üç paketleme fabrikası bulunmakta olup, bunları piyasaya süren işletme sayısı 2012 yılında 30 iken 2019 yılında 70'e çıkmıştır. 2012, 2018'de 126'ya yükseldi. Bu, kayıtlı nüfus hariç nüfus artışının artan üretim kapasitesinin yanı sıra sağlanan tesislerin artan kapasitesinde görülebilir. Piyasa ekonomisinin büyümesi çok aktörlü yapıyı da etkilemiş ve yeni yönetim sorunlarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ancak Kilis örneğine baktığımızda artan üretici sayısı ve artan atık oranı bertaraf yöntemlerinde bir artışa veya iyileştirmeye yol açmamıştır. Bu durum, kirleten öder ilkesi ve geri dönüşüm katkı payı gibi uygulamalar olsa da atık yönetiminde özel sektörün varlığının yönetimi otomatik olarak olumlu yönde etkilemeyeceğinin bir göstergesi olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Belediye tarafından gündeme getirilen temel sorunun bütçe kısıtlamaları olduğu konusunda toplanan veriler ve görüşmelerle desteklenen bir diğer ilk varsayımdır.

Özellikle büyükşehir olmayan belediye olarak Kilis, iki katına çıkan nüfusla artan kamu hizmetleri talebine çözüm üretmek için birçok engelle karşılaşmıştır. Bu sorunu çözmek için de esas olarak belediye mülklerini satarak ve uluslararası fonlara başvurarak gelirlerini artırma yollarına başvurdukları tespit edilmiştir. Bu sürdürülemez çözümler, Belediyenin toplu göç veya afet atık yönetimi için kapsamlı acil durum stratejisine sahip olmadığını göstermektedir ve ayrıca merkezi yönetimin bu durumun geçici olduğuna dair bakış açısı, bu tür geçici çözümlere başvurmayı kaçınılmaz kılmıştır.

Belediyenin 2008-2020 Yılları Faaliyet Raporları incelendiğinde 2012 yılından sonra Belediyenin giderlerinde ciddi bir artış olduğu görülmektedir. Kilis belediyesinin daha çok merkezden paya ihtiyaç duyduğu ancak payların vatandaşlık esasına dayalı olması nedeniyle Suriyeli nüfusun dikkate alınmaması belediyeleri farklı yollara ittiği de gözlemlenmiştir. Ancak uluslararası kuruluşlar tarafından yürütülen hibe destekleri, yardımlar ve projeler, kısa vadeli ve düzensiz destekler olduğu için sürdürülebilir kabul edilmemektedir.

Yıllık faaliyet raporları incelendiğinde, verilerin tutarlı olmadığı, daha önce verilen bazı verilerin sonraki yıllarda verilemeyebileceği ve üretilen yıllık atık miktarı gibi bazı kritik verilerin belirtilmediği tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca, siyasi nedenlerle, illerdeki Suriyelilerin eğitim ve iş durumu gibi istatistiklerin ancak ikincil ve parçalı kaynaklardan elde edilebiliyor olması, verilerin doğruluğuna ilişkin endişeleri artırmaktadır. Ayrıca veri eksikliği belediyeler ve hizmet veren diğer kurum ve kuruluşlar için önemli bir sorun haline gelmiştir.

Kilis'i sapma olarak nitelendirebilecek bir diğer boyut ise belediyenin atık toplayıcılara yönelik geliştirdiği tutumdur. Ülkenin geri kalanına bakıldığında, halk tarafından çoğunlukla göz ardı edilen ancak piyasa aktörleri tarafından hukuka aykırı olarak desteklenen bir olgu olarak görülse de Kilis Belediyesi, krizi ekonomik krize dönüştürmek için atık toplayıcılarını kayıtlı işgücüne dönüştürmek için önemli çabalar sarf ediyor. bir fırsat. Bu sayede hem emeğin değerini korurlar hem de piyasada haksız rekabetin önüne geçerler. Ayrıca yapılan görüşmelerde belediyenin atık toplayıcılara yönelik tutumunun topluma olumlu yansımaları olduğu görülmüştür.

Özellikle, Gaziantep'in 44 lisanslı atık taşıma şirketi Kilis'in 0'a sahip olması ve çevre illerdeki firmaların Kilis pazarındaki hakimiyeti dikkate alındığında, Kilis'teki sınırlı varlıkları nedeniyle ülke genelinde özel sektörün piyasa şekillendirici etkisi sınırlı kalmaktadır. yerel çözümlerin üretiminden de önce gelmektedir.

Ayrıca ülke genelinde aktif bir sivil toplum katılımı olmasına ve piyasayı dönüştürmenin etkileri oldukça yüksek olmasına rağmen Kilis'teki STK'ların daha çok göç sorunlarına odaklanması ve sektörel STK'ların eksikliği de ekosistem dönüşümünde etkili olmuştur.

Krize müdahale için herhangi bir acil durum stratejisi veya etkin bütçesi olmamasının yanı sıra Kilis'in mevcut atık yönetimi politikası da Gaziantep gibi komşu şehirlere bağlıdır. Bertaraf tesisi ve sınırlı bir sıhhi depolama alanı ile tahminlere beklenenden çok daha hızlı ulaşılmıştır. Uluslararası fonlu projeler de sınırlı ve küçük ölçekli olması, ek olarak acil altyapı ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermediği gözlemlenmiştir. Bütçe kısıtlamalarının yanı sıra Belediyenin de gerekli ve yeterli donanım eksikliği ile karşılaştığı, veri kısıtlılıkları, yetişmiş personel eksikliği ve sürekli değişen yönetmeliklerin dayanıklılık oluşturmalarını zorlaştırdığı görülmüştür. Buna paralel olarak belediyenin atık toplama ve bertaraf hizmetlerinin büyük bir kısmını çevre illerdeki firmalara yaptırması, ilgili firmaların piyasaya müdahale ederek Kilis'te rekabeti engelleyip engellemediğini sorgulamaya sevk etmektedir. Bu, çalışmayı ilerletebilecek başka bir soruşturma olarak görülebilir.

Günümüzde savaşların ve iklim değişikliğinin etkisiyle kitlesel göçler artan bir sorun haline gelirken, göç yönetimi de çeşitli araştırmalara konu olmuştur. Bu alan insani yardım, güvenlik, sağlık, barınma, eğitim gibi çeşitli alanlarda çalışılmış olmasına rağmen, kitlesel göç krizleriyle ilk karşılaşanların yerel yönetimler olduğu çoğu zaman gözden kaçırılmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmanın temel amacı, hem yerel, hem ulusal hem de özel sektör aktörlerini içeren atık yönetimi perspektifinde kitlesel göç yoluyla ortaya çıkan atık yönetimi krizini vurgulamaktır. Ve Kilis'i savunmasız ulusal sistemin test alanı olarak analiz etmek amaçlanmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın temel katkılarından biri, Kilis'in eşsiz bir örneğini inceleyerek, kitlesel göç kavramında atık yönetiminin ihmal edilen önemini altını çizmektedir. Bu çalışma ile kapsamlı bir göç yönetimi ve sosyal bütünleşmenin sağlanabilmesi için israfın kesişen konu olarak gündeme getirilmesi gerektiği sonucuna varılabilir. Ayrıca, kapsayıcı bir yönetim için ana bilgi kaynağı olarak yerel yönetimlerin finansman ve proje başlatma sürecine dahil edilmesi gerekir. Ayrıca, yerel yönetimlerin en çok öne çıkan taleplerinden biri de, şehirdeki yabancıların hisse dağıtımına dahil edilerek nüfus durumunun yeniden düzenlenmesi yoluyla belediye gelirlerinin ve merkezi yönetim hisselerinin artış oranının artırılmasıdır.

Daha fazla araştırma için yollar, krizin 12. yılında göç yönetiminin gelecekteki adımları olarak düşünülebilir. Ayrıca, kitlesel göç sonrası krizde seçilecek bertaraf stratejilerine ilişkin daha fazla analiz bu alanı geliştirebilir. Sürekli değişen siyasi atmosfere sahip Türkiye'deki koşullar göz önüne alındığında, yaklaşık 4 milyon göçmenin düzenlenmesi ve atık işçiler alanında olduğu gibi yeni düzenlemelerin sonuçları bu araştırmadan sonra derinlemesine incelenebilir. Bir başka araştırma fırsatı, yeni merkezi politikalar yoluyla bir hizmet sağlayıcı olarak atık yönetimi sektöründe artan özel sektör varlığı olabilir ve çok aktörlü yapı içinde kentsel mekanın yeniden üretimini ve yerel sosyo-mekansal ilişkileri nasıl etkiler?

Bütün bu zorlayıcı faktörlerin önüne geçebilmek için belediyelerin toplumun tüm kesimlerini kapsayıcı bir kamu hizmeti anlayışı benimsemeleri kritik önem taşımaktadır. Bunu başarmak için belediyeler öncelikle kırılmanın köklerini analiz etmeli, proaktif olarak dayanıklılığı güçlendirmek için önlemler almalı ve kamu kaynaklarını etkin bir şekilde kullanmak için kapsayıcı çözümler geliştirmelidir. Bunlardan bazıları altyapı iyileştirmeleri gibi yapısal “sert önlemler” olmalı, dil desteği ve geçim fırsatları gibi bazıları ise sürece farklı aktörleri dahil ederek entegre bir şekilde “yumuşak önlemler” olarak uygulanmalıdır. Hiç bitmeyen savaşlar, zorla yerinden edilmeler ve insan haklarının ihmal edildiği bir dünyada, hem göçmen nüfusu desteklemek hem de yerel yönetimleri güçlendirmek, herhangi bir acil durum stratejisinin ana hedefi olmalıdır.

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