



**DISPLACEMENTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF
ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE JUSTICE:
CONCEPTS, DEBATES, AND CASES**

8/8

While the Black of Coal Suffocates the "Eternal" Tree in Muğla

The world is rapidly moving away from coal. The consumption of coal, which steadily increased worldwide between 1965 and 2013, started to decline after reaching its peak in 2013.¹ For the goal of the Paris Agreement to limit the global temperature increases to 1.5°C at the end of the century to be realized, the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries have to completely abandon coal use by 2030. The number of countries worldwide, which implement policies to gradually exit coal, such as not building new thermal power plants; deactivating the old ones; not contributing to the financing of coal/fossil fuel and “net-zero emission”, is on the rise. The date of closure of 750 thermal power plants worldwide has been announced. In 2022, the number of countries which will put new coal power plant projects into operation is 34; this number was 41 in 2021.² In short, although its speed and extent are debated, there is a worldwide tendency toward abandoning coal.

Turkey, on the other hand, has no policy of exiting coal. *Development* and *economic growth* have been a priority for the government and for different political actors with different political stances; they constitute the basis for economic and political policies. The main goal of the AKP government’s “neoliberal modernization” model, which is gradually growing more authoritarian, is to create development and economic growth.³ In addition to the construction sector, the energy sector, which has always been under the central control of the state, has critical importance in this model. The government’s policies regarding these sectors are centered around controlling the capital accumulation and the flow and distribution of resources and profits.⁴ Energy plays a vital part in the mega projects that government uses as a tool of legitimization and hegemony.⁵ As part of this model, the growth of the energy sector is adopted as a priority for general economic growth and development goals; the environmental and social costs of this are ignored.⁶ No change has been observed in this attitude even after the Parliament approved the Paris Agreement and Turkey became a party to the agreement in October 2021; contradictory energy policies are still in place. The reflection of this situation on numbers is as follows: The general share of fossil fuels in energy production in Turkey was 58% in 2020, increasing to 64% in 2021.⁷ September 2021 data shows that there are 68 coal power plants across Turkey with a total of 20,331 MW power.⁸ According to TEİAŞ (Turkish Electricity Transmission Corporation) data, 31.43% of the produced electricity in 2021 came from coal power plants.⁹ Although most of it is not finished due to financial difficulties and public reactions, the construction of a coal power plant of 1465 MW installed power in total continues. On the other hand, mainly due to reasons such as the cases of annulment, public opposition, and inability to find financial resources since

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the finances for coal projects worldwide are being reduced/stopped, the project of a 10.6 GW capacity coal power plant was shelved.¹⁰

One of the main goals of Turkey in the energy field is to increase local coal production and consumption instead of imported coal consumption which started to rise in the 2000s.¹¹ The basis of this goal is the government's political will to consolidate its control with the assertion of providing "energy and economic independence".¹² One of the indicators of this is the goal of increasing the country's installed power of local coal from 10,664 MW to 14,664 MW between 2019 to 2023, as declared in Turkey's "2019-2023 Strategic Plan".¹³ Within this framework, the implementation of several incentive mechanisms and programs for the coal sector, such as the guarantee of buying local coal, capacity mechanism and privatization of reserves, continue to be in place.¹⁴ In Turkey, where policies of reducing imported coal consumption and using local coal are implemented, there is also an increase in the share of local lignite coal in electricity production.¹⁵ TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) data shows that the production of lignite coal in March 2022 increased 18.4% compared to February and 33.6% compared to March 2021.¹⁶ In short, although Turkey has shown some development in renewable energy, it does not give up on coal usage; on the contrary, through incentives and investments, it carries out policies and projects toward excavating and using local coal.

Muğla, where coal activities are highly concentrated, is home to Yatağan and Milas, provinces among Turkey's most important coal regions. In the region, both coal mines and coal power plants have been active since the beginning of the 1980s. Today, there are three thermal power plants operating with lignite coal. Started in 1977, the Yatağan Power Plant's first unit was finished in 1982, second unit in 1983, and third unit in 1984. The Yatağan Thermal Power Plant thus reached its total capacity with 620 MW installed power and 4,095,000 KWh annual production capacity. The first unit of the Yeniköy Power Plant, the second thermal power plant in the region with 420 MW installed power in Milas, became operational in 1986 and its second unit in 1987. Lastly, the Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant construction in Milas, the plan of which was launched in 1983, started in 1987. The first two units of the power plant started operating in 1994. The last unit of Kemerköy Power Plant, with



630 MW installed power, was completed in 1995. The government's build-operate thermal power plants were privatized in 2014, together with the coal mines connected to them. Thus, Yatağan Thermal Power Plant was transferred to Yatağan Thermal Energy Production Inc., owned by Bereket Energy Inc.; Yeniköy and Kemerköy Thermal Power Plants were transferred to YK Energy Production Inc., which was founded with the partnership of IC İttaş Energy and Limak Energy.¹⁷

The coal mining activities in the region started with the construction of the Yatağan Thermal Power Plant. Yatağan-Eskihisar and Milas-Sekköy lignite mine pits were opened in 1979. With the thermal power plants being completed, the number of coal mines which provide fuel for these power plants also increased.¹⁸ By 2020, there were 12 lignite coal mines in Yatağan and Milas. According to 2019 data, 1390 (insured) workers are working in coal excavation activities in coal mines across Muğla.¹⁹ A 23,360-hectare area in Yatağan and a 23,340-hectare area in Milas have been allocated to the mines.²⁰

THE EFFECTS OF MINES AND POWER PLANTS ON ECOLOGY AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Coal activities cause severe and extensive ecological destruction in the region. The disruption/destruction of forests, olive groves, and water resources cause locals to lose their health and livelihood resources and activities, thus resulting in indirect and economic displacements.

In Milas and Yatağan, approximately half of the total area, which has been granted mining licenses, consists of forests, while the other half has olive groves, agricultural lands and residential areas.

68% of Muğla is forestland. Muğla's districts, Milas and Yatağan, are also considerably rich in natural life. Yet, the forests which have an important place in the region's ecosystem and the livelihoods of the locals are being destroyed due to coal mines. It is calculated that between 1979 and 2018, there has been coal excavation in an area of around 5000 hectares. It is estimated that nearly half of these areas are forestlands. By 2019, a total of a 46,700-hectare area in Milas and Yatağan has been allocated to coal pits through operation licenses. According to the estimations, nearly half of this area (based on a 43,800-hectare area, 47.3%) is forestland.²¹ The other half is composed of olive groves, agricultural lands, and village settlements.²² It is calculated that in case all the areas operation licenses are issued to are used for coal mining, 12,038 hectares of forestland in Milas and 8714 hectares of forestland in Yatağan will be destroyed.²³ The planting works toward eliminating the effects of the mine pits are pretty limited and ineffective. It is recorded that under the name of rehabilitation, a minimal area has been planted, and non-endemic species and species of fast-growing characteristics were chosen in the area.²⁴ In addition, the roads and facilities which are/will be opened for the coal mines do/will result in habitat disruption and the destruction of biological diversity.

The power plants and coal mines cause severe ecological problems threatening life and destroying waters and air in the region. The slag and fly ash from the three power plants combined amount to four million tons annually and are stored in forestlands openly without any treatment. For example, the waste area near Kapubağ Village, where the Yatağan Thermal Power Plant slags are stored, is around 130 hectares wide.²⁵ The area where water is dumped is a crucial spot for the feeding and storing of the underground waters that provide drinking and utility water resources of the region. Research carried out in the region indicates that the underground waters stored contain cadmium and lead levels were over the limit determined by The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).²⁶ The over-exploitation of the water resources is also a problem directly affecting the locals' agricultural activities and life in general in the region. The topographical changes that the coal mines induce, such as constituting rock and soil hills and disrupting the riverbeds, threaten the flow and availability of the overground waters. Meanwhile, the thermal power plants and coal mines also ex-

ert extreme pressure on the water availability in the region. Unlike the Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant, which obtains the water it uses from the sea, the water used during production in Yatağan and Yeniköy power plants comes from freshwater resources. According to CAN Europe's calculations, the amount of water that Yatağan Thermal Power Plant uses from the Dipsiz River is 7.5 times more than the total water consumption of the Yatağan district. Yeniköy, on the other hand, uses the water of the Geyik Dam and Dereköy; although the system it uses for the cooling down is a closed cycle one, the water it uses is nearly 2.5 more than the total water consumption of Milas.²⁷

The thermal power plants pollute the air with the particles, heavy metals, and gasses they emit into the atmosphere. Milas and Yatağan are one of the most air-polluted places in Turkey. This puts public health in both Yatağan and Milas at serious risk. According to the research HEAL (Health and Environment Alliance) carried out based on 2019 data, the reasons that the power plants in Milas and Yatağan pollute the air are as follows:²⁸

- *Particulate matter (PM) emissions:* The Yatağan Thermal Power Plant is listed among the first ten power plants in Turkey with the maximum annual PM (PM2.5 and PM10) emission; it is estimated that it causes a total of 1179 tons of PM emission per year. The PM



The Yatağan Thermal Power Plant ash pond.
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emission of Kemerköy Power Plant is calculated as 336 tons, and Yeniköy Power Plant as 278 tons. Across Turkey, among the places which are affected the most by particle emissions are the Afşin-Elbistan region, Zonguldak, and Çanakkale, in addition to the coal region lying between the Milas- Muğla region.

- *Sulphur dioxide (SO₂) emissions:* Annually, Yatağan Power Plant emits 10,146 tons, and Kemerköy Power Plant emits 10,020 tons of SO₂ into the atmosphere. Both power plants are among the first ten thermal power plants which create pollution by emitting the most SO₂. The annual SO₂ emission of the Yeniköy Power Plant is 8488 tons. HEAL indicates that although all three power plants have DeSOx filtering systems to reduce SO₂ emission to a minimum, there are suspicions because of the lack of transparent information about these filters' running times and maintenance. In addition, HEAL made its calculations based on the assumption that these filters work at total capacity. The probability of the filter system working less than assumed or not working efficiently signals that the amounts of emission can be much higher.

- *Nitrogen dioxide (NO₂) emissions:* When we look at NO₂ emissions, the Yatağan Power Plant is ranked first among the power plants in Turkey, with 18,405 ton emission per year. With its annual 7896 ton emission, Kemerköy Power Plant is ranked fourth; with an annually 6214 ton emission, Yeniköy Power Plant is ranked fifth. These emission rates make Muğla the place exposed to most NO₂ emissions in Turkey.

According to CAN Europe's calculation, breathing the polluted air that the three power plants cause results in around 280 premature deaths yearly. It is estimated that in the region, between 1982 and 2017, a total of 45,000 premature deaths occurred because of this. It is predicted that if the power plants work for 50 years, 5300 people will lose their lives between 2018 and 2043 due to air pollution.²⁹

AGRICULTURE UNDER THE THREAT OF COAL

The destruction that the coal sector causes in the region disrupts/annihilates the livelihood resources and activities of the locals. Apart from tourism, the essential livelihood resources of the locals are olive cultivation, citrus production, fruit and vegetable farming, greenhouse cultivation, stockbreeding, beekeeping, and fishery. Olive cultivation has the most significant share in agricultural activities in the region. Olive groves constitute 43% of the agricultural lands. In 114 villages of Milas, olive cultivation is one of the primary livelihood resources. A 52,900 hectare area of the 81,189 hectares wide agricultural land, in other

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words, 65% of it, is constituted by olive groves. When the estimated number of unregistered olive trees is added to around one million registered olive trees—7,785,000 fructiferous, 37,490—it can be said that there are a total of nine million olive trees.³⁰ The quality of the olive and olive oil produced in Milas is high-quality. The first olive oil in Turkey qualified to have Geographical Indication (GI), determining products that are specific to a geography and have distinctive qualities, has been of Milas.³¹

Olive cultivation, an essential livelihood resource for the locals, is adversely affected due to coal activities. The primary reason for this is the dust emissions containing heavy metals. As the ashes and dust from the power plants cover the olive trees' leaves in layers, the trees cannot get enough sun rays, and synthetization, which provides the formation of fruits, decreases, thus the quality of the fruit of olive trees deteriorates. Meanwhile, the emitted ashes, dust, and sulphur dioxide adversely affect the process of fruit formation as they affect the flowers of the trees; the fruit productivity decreases.³² The fieldwork carried out confirms these adverse effects through the testimonies of the locals.³³ For example, in the report prepared by Ekolo Kolektifi (the Ecology Collective), the locals stated that the effect of smoke and hazardous gasses emitted from the power plants on plants significantly increases during the night and rainy weather, and the filters on the chimneys are not operated during nighttime, and there is considerable decrease in olive production and productivity over the years.³⁴

Other agricultural activities in the region are also exposed to similar ecological destruction. For example, Muğla is one of the most developed places in Turkey for beekeeping. Around 6000 families engage in beekeeping. 2020 data indicates the existence of 755 beekeepers and around 177,000 hives in Milas.³⁵ This essential livelihood resource is damaged due to the ecological destruction that the coal power plants and mines cause, in addition to the temperature increases related to climate change.³⁶ The ashes emitted from the thermal power plant chimneys, which contain heavy metals and arsenic, poison bees. Meanwhile, the heavy metals in the liquids that the *basra* insect excretes, which bees use in honey making, transmit to honey; thus the honey produced in the region contains high levels of heavy

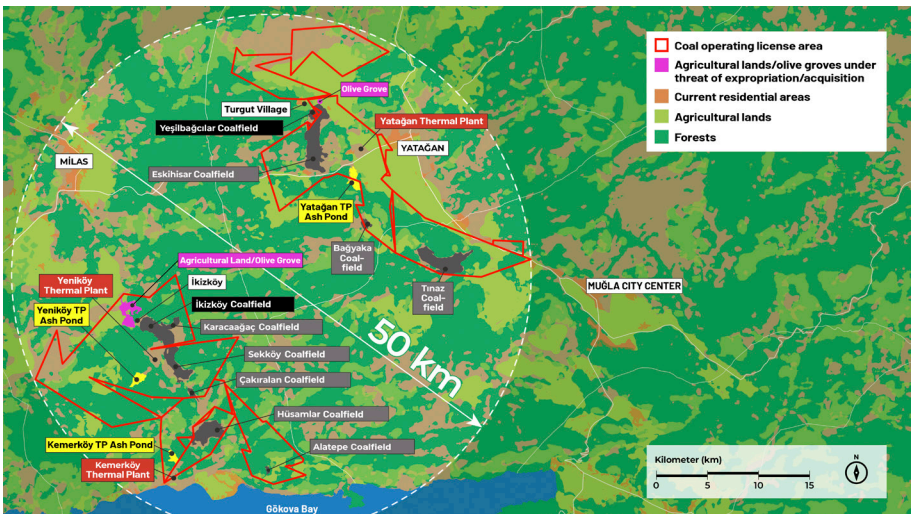
metals.³⁷ Also, the number of *basra* insects necessary for honeydew honey is decreasing due to deforestation, and ecosystem destruction is also decreasing honey production.

As a result, the people of Milas and Yatağan, whose clean water, clean air, and forests are at risk due to thermal power plants and coal mines, are losing their health and livelihoods. A series of rights, such as right to healthy life, right to the environment, water and food, of those not physically cast away from their houses and lands with direct expropriation and purchasing methods are also violated.

THE VILLAGES UNDER THE SHADOW OF THE COAL MINES IN YATAĞAN AND MILAS³⁸

In Milas and Yatağan, where the coal sector is concentrated, mining-induced displacements occur extensively. Until today, ten villages in Yatağan and Milas have been displaced through expropriation or purchasing including their olive groves and agricultural lands. In fact, the first expropriation in the region took place at the end of the 1970s in the Şahinler Village during the construction of the Yatağan Thermal Power Plant. However, in Şahinler, only the agricultural lands were taken away; the settlement areas were not touched. The first mining-induced expropriation in the region took place in the first half of the 1980s.

MAP 1: COAL MINING LICENSE AREAS IN MUĞLA



SOURCE: YASEMİN SAYIBAŞ AKYÜZ, İKİZKÖY ENVIRONMENTAL COMMITTEE ARCHIVE

The houses and lands in Eskihisar, Yatağan, and Sekk y, Milas were expropriated during this period. Later, people living in four villages, namely Baėkaya, Tınaz, Yeşilbaėcılar, and Karakuyu, were displaced in phases due to the coal mines in Yatağan. In Milas, on the other hand, the expropriation of villages and displacements, which started with Sekk y, continued with H samlar,  akıralan, Karacaėa , and  kizk y (Işıkdere Location) up until today.³⁹ Recently, there have been attempts to take away the villagers' lands and houses in other locations of  kizk y in Milas and Turgut in Yatağan in scope of the expansion works of the mine sites. It is predicted that currently planned and constantly proceeding coal mine projects in Milas and Yatağan will affect around 30,000 people; they will cause some of these people to lose their houses, lands and/or livelihoods directly and will indirectly displace some others in a social and economic sense by destructing their living spaces.⁴⁰ According to another calculation, it is predicted that due to the mines that excavate coal for the Yatağan, Yenik y, and Kemerk y power plants, a total of 48 villages' olive grove areas, 27 in Yatağan and 21 in Milas, will be damaged or destroyed.⁴¹

What took place in the Yeşilbaėcılar Village, one of the displaced villages due to the mines that provide coal for the Yatağan Thermal Power Plant, is narrated in CAN Europe's *The Real Cost of Coal - Muėla Report* as follows: In 2012, residents of the 4500-year-old Yeşilbaėcılar village were forced to relocate because of the expansion of the open-pit mine that supplies coal to the Yatağan power plant. Even though residents were notified of the evacuation decision back when the coal reserve was discovered in the 1980s, there had been no developments until the privatization process was completed in 2007. In the five years following 2007, evacuation accelerated when the open-pit mine reached the entrance of the village, damaging houses and exposing the village to the risk of landslides. In 2012, the entire village was evacuated. At that time the Turkish Coal Enterprises (TKİ), which operates the coal reserves, promised to move the whole village as well as the 109-year-old historical Yeşilbaėcılar Mosque to another site, but never kept the promise. The new settlement was located at two kilometers from the old village and the Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) built only 127 residences to accommodate the entire village. The rest of the villagers were scattered to different residences that were built in plots allocated by the municipality. The village, as a unit of social life, was scattered. Hundreds of villagers chose to migrate to other provinces and districts to join their relatives. The historical village mosque was never moved and still stands, damaged, at the old Yeşilbaėcılar village site near the Yatağan Power Plant coal mine. Recently, villagers who moved to the TOKİ residences have been facing the threat of another relocation on the basis that new coal deposits were discovered under the site.⁴²



İskidere village.
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Coal ore was detected in 1995 in the lands where Hüsamlar Village is located. In 2008, at the end of the works started by the Turkish Coal Enterprise (TKİ), a 500-decare land was nationalized initially; the land started to be expropriated.⁴³ Most of the villagers whose agricultural lands were included in the coal mine abandoned their houses and settled in nearby city and district centers; around 20 households were continued to live in the village. The electricity and water of the village, located at the border of the mine site, were cut after the expropriation; those living in the village started to provide their water and other basic needs through their own means. The primary reason these families lived in the village, deprived of using their agricultural lands and essential services, was their limited mobility capacity due to financial impossibilities. Inasmuch as, the sum of money paid to them in exchange for their agricultural lands was not enough to buy land elsewhere and build a house on it.⁴⁴ In addition, other factors were their choice to not break off from their traditional lives and continue their social and cultural existence in their own lands. This also holds for the previous inhabitants of the village, who settled in other places. To return to their old social lives in their village and to live together, the Hüsamlar Cultural and Social Solidarity Association, founded in 2015, made an application to buy a plot from the government in Kumluca Location, Pınar Neighborhood, three kms away from the Hüsamlar Village with repayment and build their village again; it is recorded that as of July 2022 their demands have not been met.⁴⁵

A reason for the companies to prefer purchasing is to break the social opposition which emerges in the case of the expropriation phase.

Other villages were exposed to and continue to be exposed to the right violations and injustices encountered during displacements in Yeşilbağcılar and Hüsamlar. The problems encountered during the processes of coal mine-induced displacement in Yatağan and Milas can be summarized as follows:

- **Purchasing/expropriation processes not being transparent and participatory:** In the period after the privatization, the displacement process generally proceeds in two phases: First, the companies propose the villagers to buy their houses, agricultural lands, and olive groves. Generally, after some of the lands are bought, the rest is taken away from the villagers by expropriation.⁴⁶ The companies that pay the expropriation costs initially prefer the direct purchasing method. In this way, they can possess ownership of the land. In the case of expropriation, on the other hand, the ownership is registered to the Treasury; companies can get the right of usage. Another reason for the companies to prefer purchasing is to break the social opposition which emerges in the case of the expropriation phase.⁴⁷ One of the major complaints by the locals has been that all these processes are carried out non-transparently and are far from being participatory. Not fulfilling the participatory dimension of environmental justice, such as EIA exemptions; not organizing meetings with the participation of locals; not notifying the decisions beforehand, and practices such as misguidance, the government officials not responding to the villagers' demands of support and protection of their rights increase the injustices.

- **Paying low prices for lands and houses:** The locals often express that their lands and the immovable properties, which are planned to be included in the mine site, are attempted to be bought for much lower prices than their current values. For example, while during the expropriation of Işıkdere Location, İkizköy in 2017, for one decare of land, 10,000 TL and in case it has olive trees, 13,000 TL was proposed, it was recorded that in the nearby villages, one decare of land was between 65,000 and 100,000 TL.⁴⁸ This situation makes it impossible for a villager, who sells their land, to maintain their life by working in agriculture nearby. However, there are also some exceptions. The companies use different methods to take possession of the lands. One of these methods is to make

WHAT DO DISPLACED PEOPLE THINK?

The results of the survey carried out by Emre Özsoy, as part of his master thesis in which he analyzes the social results of mining-induced displacements in Milas, present essential findings regarding the extension of environmental injustices in the region.¹ The survey was carried out with 56 people who lost their houses and lands due to expropriations in Hüsam, İkişköy, and Ekizköy, all connected to Milas, and had to later move to İstanbul, Gökçeada, and the center and villages of Milas to maintain their lives. Some of the findings of the survey can be summarized as follows:

The percentage of those who answered “absolutely disagree” to the statement “You currently possess the assets (land, house, trees, etc.) that you had before migrating” is 66%; the percentage of those who answered “disagree” is 32%.

43% of the survey participants responded “absolutely disagree” to the statement “You were able to establish your life”; 34% of them answered “disagree”. Those who expressed adverse opinions present factors related to hardship and unfavorable economic and social conditions as justification for their answers. These reasons include “the obligation of changing living habits”; “the insufficiency of living spaces and conditions”; “a life being abruptly ended after the long-time efforts exerted to establish the necessary conditions and becoming obligated to make a new start”; “the insufficiency of production

areas”; “becoming obligated to struggle with the distress of livelihood which emerges related to decreases in production”; “lack of financial resources”; “the physical environment being unsuitable for production”; “the insufficiency of the expropriation prices”; “the difficulty of adapting to city life”, and “the expensiveness of city life”.

96% of the participants answered “no” to the question “Did you migrate voluntarily?” whereas none of them answered “yes”. 34% of the participants described the feeling they experienced while migrating as “fear”; 41% described it as “anxiety”.

The percentage of the participants who objected to the expropriation process is slightly more than one-third. Those who did not object enumerate reasons such as “trusting the government”; no hope for a solution”; “the attitude of leaving solutions to time”; “being influenced by those who did not object”, and “not having registered estates”.

The percentage of those who think that they were “deceived” in the expropriation process is 55%; the percentage increases to 79% when they evaluate their experiences after expropriation. 79% of the survey participants want to return.

1- Emre Özsoy, *İklim Değişikliğine Sebep olan Enerji Faaliyetlerinin Yeni Ekoloji Paradigmasına Göre İstimlak Göçleri Üzerinden Çevresel Değerlendirmesi*: Muğla, Milas Örneği, Unpublished Master Thesis, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University, Institute of Science and Technology, Department of Environmental Sciences.

at least some of the villagers sell their lands by paying the market value prices per decare for the lands that are private properties. In doing this, the coal companies aim to prevent villagers from carrying out collective struggles and try to avert their resistance through creating divisions among them. On the other hand, with the motives of paying lower prices and thus not having a high precedent for later expropriation processes, the values in land title deeds are shown lower, or the lands are registered on the workers.⁴⁹

• **Irregularities:** The cases of keeping the extent of expropriation narrow and operating it as a random process are other problems related to the issue. In an example narrated during the fieldwork interviews, after the houses and lands were expropriated in

Karaağaç due to the mine, the coal excavation had only been done in agricultural lands. It was decided that the settlement area where the houses are located would not be used. Thereupon, the government sold the houses back to their owners. Yet, as they were sold for prices higher than the expropriation values, those who migrated to nearby villages and hardly maintained their lives who now wanted to return to their villages became obligated to get loans to be able to meet these prices. For the villagers who also lost their production means because their agricultural lands were taken away from them in addition to going into debt, this situation means further deepening of the existing poverty.⁵⁰ Another claim is that although there had been no information meetings in the region, it was noted down as “done” in official reports.⁵¹

• **The risk of being displaced again:** The mining sector’s gradual displacement practices, which spread over time and space, are also observed in Milas and Yatağan. Coal mines’ extension leads to multiple displacements—a process in which people who are already displaced are re-displaced. For example, the inhabitants of Yeşilbağçılar, Yatağan, who settled in TOKİ housings near the mine site, were exposed to the risk of being dispossessed of their houses again since their new settlements remained within the boundaries the mine-expansion site.⁵² All in all, although villagers have not been displaced for the second time (for now), the possibility of being displaced more than once leads to feelings of stress and anxiety among these people to say the least. Multiple-displacements, on the other hand, did take place in the region in the the past. In Tınaz Village, Yatağan, as a result of expropriation realized for the mines providing coal for the Yatağan Thermal Power Plant, the villagers moved their settlement place to an area four kms away. After 20 years of living there, their houses were taken away the second time due to the extension of the mine pit; the people of Tınaz were removed from their land and houses one more time.⁵³

• **Limited relocation (settlement) opportunities:** In Turkey, application of relocation/settlement programs are confined to emergency situations caused by natural disasters such as earthquakes disasters. On the other hand, relocation/settlement programs are implemented in the coal mine-induced displacement framework. Accordingly, neither the government nor companies offered organized relocation programs for the most part in Yatağan and Milas. The displaced people are generally expected to find new houses or jobs through their own means. It is observed that displaced people predominantly settle in the center of Milas and the nearby villages as long as they can find a job in the mines or power plants.⁵⁴ Yet, there are a few examples of relocation to new places after their houses and lands are purchased/expropriated. After the expropriation in 1984,

around 18 families from Sekköy, Milas, and around 40 families and Eskihisar, Yatağan were relocated to Gökçeada, an island in Northern Aegean, far away from the region where their homes were located.⁵⁵ They built the Uğurlu Village in the allocated area together with the families from villages in Burdur where land was expropriated due to a dam's construction. They started doing agriculture in the allocated lands. However, instead of commonly cultivated products in this region such as grapes, they have grown products that they are familiar with, such as wheat, corn, and sesame in a region with a different micro climate and soil structure. Even though they moved to their resettlement area together with their nuclear families and other families from their village and region that relatively minimized adaptation problems, these people lost most of their social ties with their relatives, neighbors and friends.⁵⁶

• **Using jobs in the coal sector as a means of oppression:** It is stated that local people are employed in more than half of the jobs in the coal mining operations in the region. One of the reasons for this is that people from nearby villages were hired to increase employment in the period when the government was operating the mines. It is argued that the General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration, although temporarily, pervasively employed local people in exploration and drilling. After the privatization of the coal establishments in the region, while an increase in the number of temporary jobs is observed, local people are employed in the mines, although not permanently. As in the example of the mining company financing the archeological excavation works carried out by the Directorate of İkişköy-Milas Museum through a sponsorship relation, the mine companies cooperate with various institutions in the region and thus indirectly create temporary employment.⁵⁷ Although it is indicated that in several households in the villages, at least one person directly or indirectly did/does work in the coal sector, this situation also has negative aspects. First, most of these jobs are temporary and precarious. When combined with purchasing/expropriation of the lands, the villagers, who were “dispossessed” by being ripped off from their lands where they did agriculture, have no other income resources left; most of them have no other alternatives than working in temporary and precarious jobs. In addition, it was claimed that by putting pressure on the people who work in mine-related jobs and threatening them with their jobs, mining companies try to take their relatives, who resist purchasing/expropriations, under control.⁵⁸

In short, the adverse issues listed above drag the villagers of Milas and Yatağan whether physically displaced or not into deepening poverty. However, the villagers' losses are not just limited to livelihood and income. At the same time, they face the risk of losing their social

ties and culture; the relationship they built with the place they were born, grew up, and feel they belong to become subject to change. The displaced villagers in the Hüsamlar Village and the villagers facing the risk of displacement in İkizköy narrate this situation in the documentary *Yok Olan Köyler* (Disappearing Villages) as follows:⁵⁹

...We never came back. That was the strongest frustration... We are not far away, but as you also said, professionally, there are only a couple of families in the village. We go there, but, the old side of our house is not there. Or the neighborhood is not there, the street where we played ball is not there. I don't know, someone's uncle died in another village, and I had no idea. That was the strongest frustration; I mean, being unable to be together. Otherwise, everyone is studying, living elsewhere, but when a holiday happens, a wedding happens, you come back to your village. We cannot go to our village, we have no village...

They stole our past. My past is here. Now, we are struggling for our future. My wife's, my mother's, my father's past is over. They are not even able to come to the village. Everyone takes their belongings, what they can, they say we cannot stand it, the rest of it can stay, they say. There is nothing they can do, they don't want to watch that moment, I mean. Really, the heart can't take that view.

İKİZKÖY: THE VILLAGE THAT DEFENDS ITS LAND AND FOREST

The mine-induced displacement attempts in İkizköy, Milas, are the last example of the environmental injustices that take place in Muğla. Meanwhile, the struggle of İkizköy people is one of the most striking examples of their search for environmental justice. The Yeniköy Lignite Mine, an open-pit mine, which provides coal for the Yeniköy and Kemerköy Thermal Power Plants and is the root of the resistance against the displacement attempts in İkizköy, was opened at the beginning of the 1980s as a government operation. Within the scope of privatization, the mine was purchased by YK Energy, half of which belongs to IC İçtaş Energy and the other half to Limak Energy. According to the 2015 records, the coal produced from the mine, with a 9.3 million ton capacity, provided 76% of the coal used in the Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant and 78% of that in the Yeniköy Thermal Power Plant.⁶⁰ The open-pit mine is spread over four coal basins; Sekköy, İkizköy, Hüsamlar and Alatepe.⁶¹

In 2017, the project of expanding the mine pit started to be implemented. The mining company first attempted to buy the houses and lands in Işıkdere, in the center of İkizköy,

THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN DISPLACED BY COAL

Women and children are the primary victims of coal mining-induced displacements in Milas and Yatağan. The loss of livelihood, dispossession, and poverty, which generally affect all locals, leave deeper marks on women and children who are situated in an unequal position within the traditional patriarchal order. Based on the observations by Environmental Engineer Deniz Gümüşel, a member of the İkişköy Environmental Committee, some of the problems that the local women and children are exposed to can be summarized as follows:¹

As the population of the villages radically decreased, the children generally became obligated to continue their schools elsewhere. The prevalence of mobile teaching (a system applied in rural parts of Turkey where children from villages without schools are sent to distant schools) leaves many children at risk of traffic accidents daily, as the village roads, which are side by side with the mining sites, intersect with coal transportation roads where heavy vehicle traffic is dense. The children have scarcely any social life. For example, the children of four families who, due to financial difficulties, cannot move somewhere else despite expropriation and live through their own means in Hüsamlar Village live isolated lives. These families, who suffer from deep poverty, are rarely able to go to the nearby city centers as they cannot afford transportation and other expenses. Displaced families are not able to meet their food expenses as their incomes decrease. They cannot feed their animals anymore since the physical conditions of their new settlement places are unfavorable. This situation results in the inability to provide their children with the daily needed nutrients, such as milk, eggs, etc. Thus, problems such as the inability to access food and insufficient and unhealthy nourishment emerge.

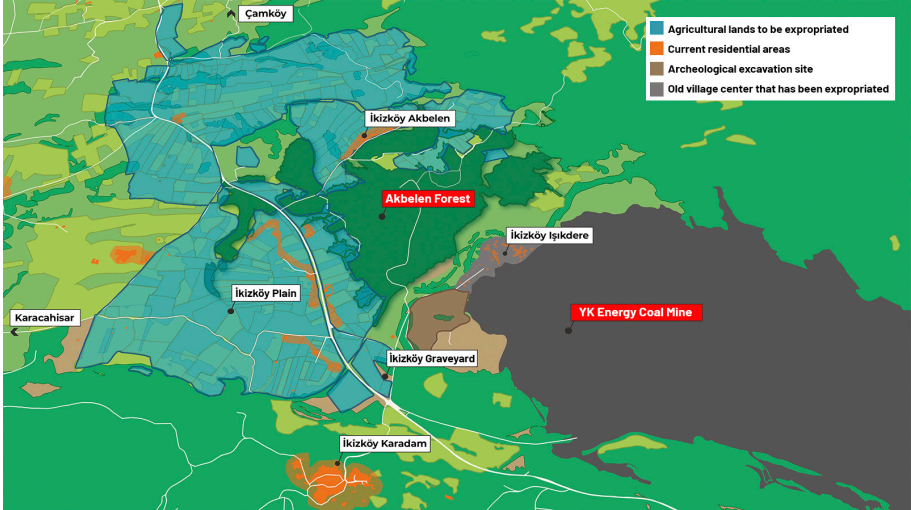
Like in several places in Anatolia, the women in this region also traditionally work in agricultural activities. While men in the fields carry out work such as using machinery and ploughing, women generally undertake daily work and animal care which requires hand labor. The agricultural activities that women carry out are a tool which provides women with a say within the family. Yet, the families generally have to with-

draw from agriculture and stockbreeding when their agricultural lands are taken away; thus the women are also devoid of this opportunity. In the new settlements, especially in city centers, the contribution of women to the households decreases. They become more dependent on men who have more opportunities to work in other jobs. On the other hand, migration has various reasons, foremost agricultural policies; the youth migrate to cities from villages for different reasons. Displacements, however, force people over a specific age to change their place of settlement. It is already difficult for these people to find new jobs by acquiring new qualifications, whereas women over a specific age have even less chance of finding jobs in the current market conditions. For example, in the villages of Milas, the percentage of women who work in fish farming and the tourism sector does not exceed 10-15%.

Living in cities [as Deniz Gümüşel expressed] also takes away women's "right to be in nature". For example, the Akbelen Forest in İkişköy is an important place for women to socialize and spend time. They take walks in their free time; they sit together and chat; they do activities such as gathering herbs and mushrooms. Women also pass the time by working in the gardens of their houses. The women who become obliged to migrate to city centers due to displacements are stripped of these activities and rights. The primary complaint that the women, who become obliged to settle in the city, mostly express is the question: "What will we do within four walls?" Meanwhile, it is observed that psychological and physical problems, such as diseases related to not having enough physical movement, stress and anxiety, have increased among the displaced women—especially those over a specific age.

1- Field interview, July 1, 2022.

MAP 2: PROCESSES OF EXPROPRIATION AND DISPLACEMENT IN İKİZKÖY



SOURCE: YASEMİN SAYIBAŞ AKYÜZ, İKİZKÖY ENVIRONMENTAL COMMITTEE ARCHIVE

which is at the border of the mine. After the company bought some of the residential areas, agricultural lands, and olive groves there, the rest was included in the mine site through expropriation. The inhabitants of Işıkdere indicate that they were not aware of their rights and acted by trusting the government in that period; they say that they were notified or informed of any decision. There are also claims that when they asked the government officials about the process, they received a response stating that they should “abide by the government decision”.⁶² As a result, apart from three families, Işıkdere was completely evacuated in 2019.⁶³

The process of expanding the mine did not end there. In 2019, the company began its attempts to acquire olive groves as well as other areas in İkizköy, living quarters and agricultural lands in Karadam, Ova and Akbelen. Villages, agricultural lands and olive groves are not the only targets of the mine expansion, which continues today. At the same time, the expansion aims to include the Akbelen Forest, which is physically intertwined with the village and located in the middle of the mentioned locations, to carry out coal excavation operations here. This situation signals a displacement process which will result in impoverishment and various injustices for the rest of İkizköy. Because during and after the displacements in Işıkdere, many of the injustices of participation, distribution and recognition summarized above for Yatağan and Milas in general came to the fore here as well: The in-

habitants of Işıkdere whose houses and lands were expropriated in exchange for low prices, without any information and participatory mechanisms, lost their livelihoods and income; they tried to find new settlement places and jobs through their own means in Milas or other nearby villages; they have been cut from their traditional ties and cultural existence.⁶⁴ The ecological destruction that the mine has caused in the region, such as water pollution; groundwater withdrawal; topographical changes; dust and noise pollution, have a series of devastating effects on the health and livelihood activities of the rest of İzkizköy. For example, an inhabitant of İzkizköy, who makes a living from husbandry, started to use tap water for his animals because of the water pollution, yet in return, received a very large water bill he could not afford. The inhabitant is thinking of quitting husbandry as he has difficulty feeding his animals because the grazing lands are also covered with dust.⁶⁵

Since the bed of the section of Işıkdere Stream in the mining area is being changed and taken into the channel, the flow of surface waters is also changing. This adversely affects the water availability and livelihoods in İzkizköy as well as Ekizköy Plain and eleven other villages.⁶⁶ The people living in the rest of İzkizköy locations/neighborhoods, who are already exposed to the adverse effects of mine expansion, are facing the risk of losing their livelihood by losing their olive groves and agricultural lands, and their housing rights and cultural existence as a result of expropriation of their houses, lands, and common areas.

The Akbelen Forest, located within the expansion site of the mine, has critical importance not only for İzkizköy but also for the vast area around it. The forest is spread over an area of approximately 740 acres. It has a very rich ecosystem and is at the center of the life of the people of İzkizköy. Some of the olive trees of the villagers are located in the forest. In addition, the inhabitants of İzkizköy collect mushrooms, wild strawberries, and herbs, which they use for medicinal purposes and food, from the forest. The Akbelen Forest is also an inseparable part of the cultural life of İzkizköy inhabitants. For example, according to İzkizköy inhabitants, collection of “*çintar* mushroom” (Lactarius deliciosus (L.) Gray] which is a local species and grows at specific times of the year, becomes a festive-like event. The Akbelen Forest is also described as a space for gathering, recreational activities, socializing and spending time in nature. The Akbelen Forest, as an inhabitant of İzkizköy described it, “If the forests disappear, everything disappears”, is an inseparable part of the livelihood and cultural existence of the İzkizköy inhabitants; the cutting down of the forest and turning it into mine will radically effect the life in the region.⁶⁷ Moreover, the Akbelen Forest is also a critically important water catchment area that affects the underground and overground

water availability of a vast region. Beneath Çamköy, located at the border of the Akbelen Forest, there are enormous underground water reserves. In case the Akbelen Forest is destroyed, the water flow to these reserves will be blocked; The underground water reserve, which supplies approximately one third of the water used by the Bodrum Peninsula, will be under the threat of extinction.⁶⁸

Until today, several rights violations and injustices took place in scope of mining-induced displacements in Yatağan and Milas. However, the local inhabitants' objections and struggle for rights were expressed individually or by a small group, they were disorganized and short-term reactions.⁶⁹ There have been similar attitudes in the inhabitants of the Işık-

THE ANTI-COAL STRUGGLE IN MİLAS AND YATAĞAN

The locals in Milas and Yatağan have been resisting coal activities in different ways for a long time. The protests and activities against the coal sector in the region are listed below:¹

→ Mobilization initiatives such as the foundation of Yatağan Environment Protection Association in 1991, and the foundation of Muğla, Denizli, Burdur, Isparta, Antalya Western Mediterranean Environment Platform (BACEP) in 1995,

→ Well-attended protest marches and demonstrations such as the demonstration in 1993 with the participation of 7000 people against the radiation scattering due to the power plant in Yatağan; again in 1993, the demonstration, in which 3000 people participated, to protest the construction of Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant; the demonstrations between February and December 2014 against privatization, where environmental pollution was also protested,

→ Petitions such as the Petition of "No to the Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant" in 1984,

→ The direct actions against land expropriations: such as in 1984, the women not letting the crews carrying out fieldwork for the construction of the Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant; the villagers blocking the construction of the Kemerköy Thermal Power Plant by lying down in front of the construction vehicles in 1986.

The villagers have also been utilizing institution-

al channels and bringing their grievances to the attention of the authorities many times through presenting petitions about the choice of location for thermal power plants and the air pollution and health problems they cause. For the purpose of raising awareness, there are several studies published and a series of panels organized by professional chambers and environmental NGOs about the environmental, health, and social problems that the coal sector causes. There are legal appeals with the initiatives of NGOs and environmental lawyers on various issues such as stopping the construction of thermal power plants and coal mines; preventing unauthorized tree cutting, and setting gas filtering systems in chimneys to prevent air pollution.²

Recently, there have been protests and lawsuits opened by the Turgut Village against the expansion of the mine site by expropriating the agricultural lands in Yatağan.³

1- Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, *The Real Costs of Coal - Muğla* (CAN Europe, 2019), <https://caneurope.org/content/uploads/2019/08/The-Real-Costs-of-Coal-Mugla-Full-Report-Final.pdf> (accessed: September 7, 2022).

2- Ibid.

3- Hülya Yıldırım, et al., *Yatağan Termik Santrali: Etki Alanındaki Turgut Köyü Hak İhlalleri Raporu* (Ekoloji Kolektifi Derneği, 2018) <https://secureservercdn.net/160.153.137.123/nm7.e04.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Yatağan-Termik-Santrali-Etki-Alanındaki-Turgut-Köyü-Hak-İhlalleri-Raporu.pdf> (accessed: July 28, 2022).

dere location of İkizköy against the displacement.⁷⁰ Yet, unlike the first time, the second expansion attempt of the company in Işıkdere encountered an organized resistance of İkizköy inhabitants, which was spread over time and involved a diverse action repertoire.

Witnessing what their displaced neighbors and relatives in the Işıkdere location had experienced has motivated the rest of the village to start their contention against the expansion of the mine and removal of their villages and forests. The impoverishment of the inhabitants of Işıkdere, whose lands and houses were taken away from them for low prices thus jeopardizing their livelihoods and income resources, became a clear indicator of the devastating effects of the displacement process. Another adverse result that the İkizköy inhabitants observed was that those who migrated to nearby city centers, such as Milas, suffered financial difficulties in addition to the loss of their traditional social ties and relationships.⁷¹ Another critical factor for those left in İkizköy to start resisting was the risk of living through multiple displacements. Some of the displaced Işıkdere inhabitants settled in other locations of İkizköy. Yet, during the acquisition/expropriation process in Işıkdere, the company allegedly made a verbal commitment that the mine would no longer be expanded,



and did the opposite. The expansion of the mine toward the rest of Işıkdere means that the villagers will lose their residences where they settled for the second time. The villagers who also don't want to be cut off from the community and place to which they are attached with a sense of belonging came together and organized. The locals, who also get the support of different NGOs, environmental platforms, and activists, continue their struggle as the İkişköy Environmental Committee. In order to facilitate legal action and official applications, the locals founded Karadam Karacahisar Neighborhoods Nature, and Natural Life Protection Beautification and Solidarity Association (KARDOK) in 2021 despite all emerging/emerged bureaucratic difficulties through which they achieved a legal entity enabling them to act more effectively in institutional channels.⁷²

The primary goal of the İkişköy inhabitants' struggle is to stop the expansion of the mine and not to lose their living spaces where they were born, grew up and earned their livelihoods. In doing so, they also protect their houses, agricultural lands, olive groves, and the commons of the village, the Akbelen Forest. Their struggle has two main axes. The first is their legal initiative. Through the legal struggle, which holds an essential place in the action

"MY HEART REMAINED IN MY VILLAGE"

A villager who was displaced while living in Işıkdere and now trying to establish a new life in another locality of İkişköy expresses the things he experienced and felt as follows:¹

In the village, there were lands of our ancestors, our grandfathers. They were divided into shares. We didn't have that much of a say. We also didn't have much awareness. There were meetings with the district governor of the time. One of us tried to resist. No one stood behind him. The governor used a sentence in that process, "The government does not aggrieve its citizens." Money was deposited in my account. Mister Governor said, "Even though you resist, they will deposit the money in your accounts and remove you by the force of the gendarme." We had minimal financial means. Right next to the Akbelen Forest, we had a place left by our mom. It was divided into shares. I bought the other shares. I decided to build a prefabricated house there. I learned that because our land had the status of being cropland and not a settlement,

it was hard to get electricity and water. We applied to the Governor. He said, "Leave your information about the title deed." They called us a week later. "You cannot build a house there," they said. We strived a great deal. I built a prefabricated house with my own means. My village, where my childhood, my youth, my everything passed, where I live, my everything being lost. It has been four years since we moved here. As the saying goes, they put the bird in a golden cage, it said: "My homeland, my homeland." They say, "Let's let it go and see where is its homeland." It goes, we call it "crown of thorns" and settles on top of the thorn. I mean, it is happy there. My heart also remained in my village. Since I came here, I have had dreams about my village over and over, zillion times. There have been those who went to the nearby villages, to Milas. We see them at weddings, on holidays. We hug, we cry. We miss each other deeply. Those who live it know. It is a very painful process.

1- Field interview, July 1, 2022.

In October 2019, a group of villagers from İzkıköy, Karacahisar, and Çamköy submitted petitions, indicating that “they do not want their houses and lands to be expropriated” and demanding suspension of this attempt, to the ministries, presidency, and other related institutions.

repertoire of the several local ecology movements in Turkey, they fight for the rights granted to them by the constitution and laws; they emphasize the legality and legitimacy of their demands. The legal action by the İzkıköy inhabitants, who opened court cases about the expansion of the mine site being exempt from EIA and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forest permitting the opening of a mine pit in the Akbelen Forest, is still ongoing as of August 2022. In the continuing court cases, there have been some legal gains, albeit temporary, with the courts stay of execution decision.⁷³

On the other hand, the second axis is constituted by the İzkıköy inhabitants' actions and protests on the site. Through press statements, meetings, and appeals to various state institutions, the locals try to draw the attention of the authorities and create public awareness about their contention. For example, in October 2019, a group of villagers from İzkıköy, Karacahisar, and Çamköy submitted petitions, indicating that “they do not want their houses and lands to be expropriated” and demanding suspension of this attempt, to the ministries, presidency, and other related institutions; they visited TBMM (the Grand National Assembly of Turkey) and repeated their demand of the suspension of the mine expansion.⁷⁴

Direct actions are also used by İzkıköy inhabitants to protect their villages and forests: Although the legal process has not been finalized, and despite the fact that there are ongoing court cases and the court's decision for stay of execution, YK Energy attempts to carry out its operations in the Akbelen Forest. For example, on July 17th, 2021, the teams of Milas Forestry Operation Directorate cut down around 20-30 trees in the Akbelen Forest. Despite the provision in Article 27 of the Forestry Law that no one except the Forestry Administration can cut trees, YK Energy company teams started cutting down trees in the Akbelen Forest on August 8, 2021.⁷⁵ At the time when all attention of the public and authorities was on wildfires widely ongoing in different regions of Muğla, around 100-105 trees were slayed by the YK Energy teams. The villagers, arriving at the area shortly after the chopping, stopped the operation, using their own bodies as shields, and they launched a forest watch to prevent fur-



ther chopping. The forest watch continues despite the security forces' harsh interventions; the locals have been continuously on watch for the Akbelen Forest for more than a year.⁷⁶

A similar direct action took place against YK Energy's attempt to remove olive groves in the area where it wants to operate as a mine site. Even though there is no specific legal regulation preventing the expropriation of olive groves in general, the Olive Cultivation Law's 20th Article prohibits the olive groves being expropriated for the purpose of mine operating.⁷⁷ However, the company unlawfully attempts to involve the locals in the process of uprooting the trees in the olive groves expropriated in the region, suggesting that they plant these trees elsewhere or use them as wood. After the villagers were informed about the Olive Cultivation Law's provision of prohibiting the cutting and removing of olive trees, they started objecting to this attempt of the company that would make them partake in the unlawful act. On March 1, 2022, a change was made in the Mining Regulation's 115th Article, which served to pave the way for the company's activities.⁷⁸ The company immediately told the villagers to cut/remove their olive trees. The villagers applied to the District Governorship with a petition. They demanded the local authority to take action and protect the olive groves. When the İzkizköy inhabitants' call did not get a response, the company started to remove olive trees on March 30; around 30 trees were removed.⁷⁹ The villagers, hearing about this, protected the olive groves by standing in front of the diggers to stop the olive tree removals. Despite the security forces' interventions, the villagers resisted. The olive grove removal was thus stopped.⁸⁰ Later, it was revealed that the company had no permission from

the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture or the District Governorship.⁸¹ In the face of the increasing reactions, the company announced that it replanted some of the removed trees. Yet, only eight of these trees were planted in a way that the villagers would have access.⁸²

In their objection to the mining activities, the İzikköy struggle refrains from being a “Not in My Backyard” mobilization; İzikköy activists support and act together with the other villages facing the risk of displacement in the broad region that it is located. The coal sector triggers other projects in the region, which would end with other displacements. One of these projects is “Bodrum Drinking Water Dam and Material Mines, Breaking-Screening-Washing Facility and Concrete Plant Project”.⁸³ The primary purpose of constructing the 83 million cubic meter capacity dam, as it is indicated, is to provide for the water needs of the increasing population—especially in the summer months—of Bodrum, which is one of the most popular summer resort areas in Turkey. Yet, according to the locals, only a part of the water kept in the dam will be sent to Bodrum, whereas a big portion of it will be used in the thermal power plants. In addition, there are arguments that due to the dam, the underground waters in the mine site will be withdrawn; and this is ignored due to its facilitating effect on mining activities.⁸⁴ It is expected that 20 families living in Çamlıca Village Dipkayadere Location, which stays within the water catchment area of the Bodrum Dam, will be directly displaced, and several families in the wider lower areas of the dam will be indirectly/economically displaced due to the ecological destruction and loss of livelihoods. İzikköy inhabitants are also acting in solidarity with these villagers.



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- ciliğe Etkileri Üzerine Ekolojik bir Değerlendirme (2018), [http://costsofcoal.caneurope.org/assets/1.gb-anadolu-toz%2C-ar%C4%B1c%C4%B1l%C4%B1k%2C-zeytincilik-kantarc%C4%B1-2018-\(1\).pdf](http://costsofcoal.caneurope.org/assets/1.gb-anadolu-toz%2C-ar%C4%B1c%C4%B1l%C4%B1k%2C-zeytincilik-kantarc%C4%B1-2018-(1).pdf) (Accessed: July 28, 2022).
- 33- Hülya Yıldırım, et al., Yatağan Termik Santrali: Etki Alanındaki Turgut Köyü Hak İhlalleri Raporu (Ekoloji Kolektifi Derneği, 2018), <https://secureservercdn.net/160.153.137.123/nm7.e04.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Yatağan-Termik-Santralı-Etki-Alanındaki-Turgut-Köyü-Hak-İhlalleri-Raporu.pdf> (Accessed: July 28, 2022); Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, 2019, Ibid.
- 34- Hülya Yıldırım, et al., 2018, Ibid.
- 35- Nevzat Çağlar Tüfekçi, “Bir dava da Muğla Arı Yetiştiricileri Birliği’nden,” Haber Milas (May 26, 2021), <https://habermilas.com/haber/7219628/bir-dava-da-muğla-ari-yetistiricileri-birliginden> (Accessed: July 29, 2022).
- 36- Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, 2019, Ibid.
- 37- Doğan Kantarcı, 2018, Ibid.
- 38- The status of villages as legal entities located within the borders of metropolitan municipalities was revoked with the Metropolitan Act dated 12 November 2012; they were administratively turned into neighborhoods. Rather than “neighborhood” which is an administrative description, this research prefers to use the term “village,” which preserves the historical and sociological validity of the vicinities and corresponds to the life style of these settlement units in terms its connotations.
- 39- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 40- Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, 2019, Ibid.
- 41- Muğla Metropolitan Municipality, Madencilik Konuşuyoruz, (Muğla Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2019), p. 19, <https://www.muğla.bel.tr/uploads/sayfatr/Daire%20Ba%C5%9Fkanl%C4%B1klar%C4%B1/%C3%87evre%20%C3%87al%C4%B1C5%9Ftay%C4%B1.pdf> (Accessed: August 7, 2022).
- 42- Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, 2019, Ibid, p.109, <https://caneurope.org/content/uploads/2019/08/The-Real-Costs-of-Coal-Muğla-Full-Report-Final.pdf> (Accessed: September 5, 2022).
- 43- Milliyet, “Hüsamlar Mahallesi’nin çaresizliği” (March 28, 2016), <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/yerel-haberler/Muğla/Hüsamlar-mahallesinin-çaresizligi-11289150> (Accessed: August 7, 2022).
- 44- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 45- Milliyet, March 28, 2016, Ibid.; Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 46- Field interview, July 2, 2022.
- 47- Field interview, July 2, 2022.
- 48- To show the proportional differences between the paid low prices and market values, the indicated prices per one decare are approximate and estimated numbers which were indicated during the field work.
- 49- Field interview, July 2, 2022.
- 50- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 51- Anıl Olcan, August 22, 2021, Ibid.
- 52- Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, 2019, Ibid.
- 53- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 54- Ibid.
- 55- Nevzat Çağlar Tüfekçi, “Bir Göç Hikâyesi: Milas Sekkôy’den, Çanakkale Gökçeada’ya” (Interview with Abdullah Yalçintas), Haberveinsan.com (February 3, 2020), <https://haberveinsan.com/bir-goc-hikayesi-milas-sekkoy-den-çanakkale-gökçeada-ya/896/> (Accessed: July 27, 2022).
- 56- Field interview, July 1, 2022.; E. Ozsoy, İklim Değişikliğine Sebep Olan Enerji Faaliyetlerinin Yeni Ekoloji Paradigmasına Göre İstimlak Göçleri Üzerinden Çevresel Değerlendirmesi: Muğla, Milas Örneği (June 28, 2021), Unpublished master thesis, Muğla Sıtkı Kocman University Institute of Science and Technology Department of Environmental Sciences; Nevzat Çağlar Tüfekçi, February 3, 2020, Ibid.
- 57- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 58- Ibid.
- 59- These quotations are taken from the documentary Yok Olan Köyler, which is shot by Kerem Topuz in the scope of a project by Mediterranean Greens Association and still in the making. For detailed information, see: <https://www.facebook.com/akdenizyesilleridernegi/>
- 60- Limak (n.d.), Yeniköy Kemerköy Termik Santralleri, <https://www.limak.com.tr/sektorler/enerji/enerji-uretimi/isletmedeki-termik-santraller/Yeniköy-Kemerköy-termik-santralleri> (Accessed: August 7, 2022).
- 61- YK Enerji (n.d.), Yeniköy Linyit Maden İşletmesi, <https://www.ykenjerji.com.tr/tr/Yeniköy-linyit-maden-isletmesi> (Accessed: August 7, 2022).
- 62- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 63- Ibid.
- 64- Ibid.
- 65- Ibid.
- 66- Ibid.
- 67- Ibid.
- 68- Cihan Başakçioğlu, “Bilirkişi değinmedi: Akbelen Ormanı’nın altından geçen yeraltı suyu Bodrum’un ihtiyacının üçte birini karşılıyor,” Gazete Duvar (June 6, 2022), <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/bilirkişi-deginmedi-akbelen-ormaninin-altindan-gecen-yeralti-suyu-bodrumun-ihhtiyacinin-uc-te-birini-karsiliyor-haber-1567942> (Accessed: August 7, 2022).
- 69- For some of the protests by the initiative emerged in the region to stop displacements, see: Deniz Gümüşel and Elif Gündüzyeli, 2019, Ibid.
- 70- Field interview, July 1, 2022.
- 71- Ibid.
- 72- Anıl Olcan, August 22, 2021, Ibid.
- 73- Bianet, “Akbelen’de Yürütme Yürütme Kararı: Mücadeleye Devam” (August 12, 2021), <https://bianet.org/1/136/248664-akbelen-de-yurutme-yurutme-karari-yolun-basindayiz> (Accessed:

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75- Anıl Olcan, August 22, 2021, Ibid.

76- Yeşil Gazete, "İkizköy'de Mücadelenin Zaferi: Her iki davada yürütmenin durdurulması kararı alındı" (August 12, 2021), <https://yesilgazete.org/ikizkoyden-mucadelenin-zaferi-her-iki-davada-yurutmenin-durdurulmasi-karari-alindi/> (Accessed: August 7, 2022); Anıl Olcan, August 22, 2021, Ibid.

77- According to the 20th Article of the Law About the Rehabilitation of Olive Cultivation and Grafting of the Wilds: "No facility which leaves chemical waste, produce dust and smoke that can stop the vegetative and generative development of the olive groves can be opened or operated, except olive oil factories, within the olive grove sites and at least 3 kms away from these sites. The olive oil factories built in these areas and the construction and operation of their small-scale agricultural industry business are subject to the permission of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Areas...The olive cultivation sites cannot be narrowed. However, in case the olive grove sites located within the municipality borders are included to scope of zoning borders, the total construction, including the infrastructure and social facilities cannot pass 10% of the olive grove area. The removal of olive trees in these sites are subject to permission of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Areas based on scientific justification. This permission is subject to favorable opinions from the research institutes connected to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Areas and an existing chamber of agriculture on the premises. Even in this case, an olive tree for which a certain imperative is not observed cannot be cut or removed..." For detailed information, see: "Zeytinciliğin Islahı ve Yabaniyelerinin Aşılattırılması Hakkında Kanun" (Official Gazette, February 7, 1939), <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuatmetin/1.3.3573.pdf> (Accessed: August 7, 2022).

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81- Cihan Başakçioğlu, June 6 2022, Ibid.

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84- Field interview, July 1, 2022.