

## Neoliberal Governance and Accumulation by Dispossession in Karaburun Peninsula, Izmir, Turkey

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**Abstract:** The transition to neoliberal governance brought along the transfer of the property or the right to use of natural areas to the private sector. Having undertaken the role of deregulation and reregulation, the state has provided the legal framework of new capitalist activities leading to the commodification and marketization of natural areas, which were previously non-commodified or non-marketized. In this way, the biophysical world has been encompassed in the accumulation process. On the other hand, with privatization or the assignment of use rights, unowned, state-owned, communally-owned areas have become spatial fixes for capital. Hence, the people living adjacent to, or in these areas, have been deprived of the right to use of them. Karaburun Peninsula is encompassed into this process especially after the 2000s. The forests, pastures, natural conservation areas, coastal and the sea, which were belonging to State or open to the use of local people, have been enclosed for, and exposed to the sustainable energy investments, fish farming, quarries, industrial agriculture, and tourism by private sector initiatives. So, the local people have been dispossessed by legalized transfer of use or property rights, as they can no longer sustain their daily practices and relations to nature to make their living.

**Keywords:** privatization, dispossession, enclosure, governance

### Introduction

This paper aims to examine the regulatory mechanisms which support neoliberalisation of nature and dispossession of local people in Karaburun Peninsula. The Peninsula presents a very specific modality of “actually existing neoliberalism” regarding how natural areas were absorbed in capital accumulation, and how accumulation by dispossession occurs with neoliberal policies and practices. Neoliberalisation of nature in the Peninsula has been occurring by deregulations and reregulations but in vigorously contested ways in the national and local contexts, as it was lastly witnessed in Yaylaköy, a village settlement that was announced as “disaster zone” by a decree of Presidency in order to block local people’s resistance but to open the way of wind power companies. Privatization and marketization occurred by the allocation of pastures, forests, coastal waters, agricultural lands and natural protection areas and partly private properties to private firms at the expense of livelihood of local people. Private investments in industrial olive production, wind farms, fish farms, quarries, secondary houses are localized mostly in common biophysical sources of the local people. As the natural and common lands are commodified, so local people are dispossessed intensely.

The Karaburun Peninsula has been exposed to all general strategies and characteristics of neoliberalism as Bakker (2010) defined: privatization, real subsumption (intervention to biophysical processes and capacities), market proxies and marketization (see Ryterri and Puhakka, 2012, p. 256). In Turkey, especially by the 2000s, reregulations and laws about expropriation of private lands and allocation of common natural areas (the Treasury lands, State lands, public lands) to private investments have increased. This means that the lands at the disposal of the State were commodified (Adaman, Arsel and Akbulut, 2017, p. 4, see Özcan Cive and Arslan Avar, 2019, p. 18).

The reregulations in the laws such as Forest and Pasture laws are carried out to support investments in natural areas. Thus, the investments started to occur on natural areas by the allocation of common natural lands such as mountains, pastures and forests. The first regulations leading to privatization and marketization of natural areas were the Tourism Incentive Law (no. 2634) in 1982 and the Assignment of Institutions except Turkey Electricity Administration for Electricity Production, Distribution and Trade Law (no. 3096) in 1984. The former laid the legal framework for the development in natural areas and forests, the latter for deregulation of energy market and opening the way to allocation and leasing the natural areas to private sector. Secondary house development began at coastal line of the Peninsula as an early neoliberal practice, after 1990. The changes in the Forestation regulation paves the way of private forestations in agricultural lands in 1994. The pastures in the Karaburun peninsula were converted to olive groves by the support of that regulation, after 2006. Aquacultural production was privatized by the regulation in related law in 2003, and fish farms have increased in the coastal waters of the Peninsula. Wind power production began to be applied by the constitution of the legal framework for the sustainable energy sector, after 2005.

The list of allocated and expropriated parcel data was collected from state institutions (Chieftaincy of National Property and Karaburun Cadastral Office). The data of investments and their local overlaps with natural areas and private properties were analyzed by using GIS and KML data in ArcGIS. The synthesis map in Figure 1 is created by the authors. As to be seen in the figure, the allocation and the transfer of use rights of pastures, agricultural lands, forests, coastal waters and natural protection areas to private companies resulted in profound dispossession of the local people.

The article concludes that the neoliberal investments constitute on natural areas as agricultural lands, pastures, forests and natural protection areas, and seas under conservations of the Peninsula. Through the privatization and marketization of natural areas, private companies gain the usage rights of natural areas. On the other side, the private properties and the usage right of local people on State or common land are taken away. In this way, accumulation by dispossession occurs in the Peninsula.

### **Transition to Neoliberal Governance and Changing Property Rights on Natural Areas**

As Harvey argues, by the 1970s, capital extends its limits and finds new places to overcome crisis (see Baker and Cohen 2014, p. 131). The state is restructured in a way of undertaking the role of supporting capital accumulation. On the one hand, deregulations were implemented for creating more competitive and free market. The state has withdrawn from public services and strict controls on nature, and the reregulations were applied for more flexible and consumer-friendly market such as decreasing state intervention and taxes, on the other. Privatization and marketization were promoted by cutting public services and investments. Also, the public services such as water supply, energy production were transferred to the private sector (Harvey, 2003, Jessop, 1994 see McCarthy and Prudham, 2004, p. 276, Castree, 2010, p. 10-11, Bakker and Cohen, 2014, p. 129-130). The new governance model, deregulations and reregulation are constituted to fulfill the new type of state's obligation for creating opportunities for the market.

Countries tried to adapt the legal framework to the new governance model that is created at local, national and global scales. Rescaling of management and government were promoted to achieve expanding capital circulation. Over-

accumulation of capital started to be transferred to new places which have natural and rural characteristics (Arrighi, 2006, Fletcher and Neves, 2012, Harvey, 2001 see Devine 2016, p. 638). During the process of rescaling and transition to a market-based system, the biophysical world gets involved in capital accumulation and became a subject for the global market (Castree 2003, 2007 see Duffy, 2008, p. 328). This means that untouched or common natural areas and resources exposed to more intervention for making profit. The property rights of the previously non-owned or communal owned areas were transferred to private actors, and enclosed (Castree, 2010, p. 10-11,18).

The enclosure of the natural areas and divestments of property and use rights on them are the characteristics of a new type of capital accumulation as “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey, 2003). In so far as rivers, forests, pastures, etc. became harnessed to capital accumulation, the access of the local people, villagers, indigenous people, goat breeders to natural areas and common lands is prevented (Çoban *et al.*, 2015, p. 19-20, Mercile and Murphy, 2017, p. 1042 – 1043).

In this process, also the legal framework was created for the conservation of natural areas. The latter are enclosed by approval of the reregulated or newly enacted laws, or deregulation practices. Laws and regulations defined the use of natural areas with restrictions and opportunities, that is, for whom they would be restricted and for whom it is allowed to use. “Allowable natural destruction” was consisted of making profit on the natural areas (Apostolopoulou, 2014, p. 18 - 19). New types of institutions at the international scale were established for the conservation of natural areas and management of the global capital. The role of governments decreased and a part of their authorities were transferred to local and non-state actors like NGOs or councils in accordance with global conventions and contracts. In this way, a free environment was created for the capital with the change in the authority of control.

Having been exposed to deep commodification at the global scale, nature is no longer an “anchor” of capital. Rather, natural areas and features became “spatial fixes” for the new type of capital accumulation. Bakker (2004) conceptualizes environmental features, outcomes and circumstances subjected to capital accumulation as “ecological fixes”. Castree (2008) presents “environmental fixes” which include new governance mechanisms such as marketization and privatization of nature, reregulation, deregulation, flanking mechanisms, and commodification of communal, non-owned or state-owned lands, environmental degrading in the areas. Bakker and Cohen (2014) developed these concepts with spatial and scale dimensions, and they presented “eco-scalar fixes” as strategies to overcome the crisis and environmental degrading with managements on naturalized boundaries. Bakker and Cohen (2010) also show that the “eco-scalar fixes” are closely associated with environmental degrading and uneven development.

### **Neoliberalizing Nature: Turkey Experience**

In Turkey, the neoliberalisation began in 1980 with 24th January decisions that defined a shift in economy from inward-oriented industrialization model to the global liberal economy (Temizel 2007, p. 76, Bal, 2011, p. 44). Accordingly, new laws were enacted for the privatization programs and marketization. The state began to cut financial support for public services, to promote activities for the growth of private sector through tax tariffs and low interest rates. Following the regulations for leading up foreign investments and commercial activities by the 1990s, foreign investments began to increase. One of the path breaking event in neoliberalisation in Turkey was the decrease in the central regulation authority of the State Planning Organization (DPT). Its some authorities were transferred to the Undersecretariat of Treasury (Temizel, 2007, p. 112). By the 2000s, the deregulation and reregulation began to increase for easing flexibility of market and privatization implementations. It follows that some important state institutions, which were suppliers of public services such as POAŞ (Petrol Office incorporated company which is petrol supplier company of Turkey in the past), TEDAŞ (the Incorporated Company of Turkey Electricity Distribution)

and THY (Turkish Airlines), were privatized according to the IMF (International Monetary Fund) contracts and programs (Bal, 2011).

In Turkey, as well as it was elaborately shown by Theodore and Brenner (2002) and McCarthy and Prudham (2004) in the European and the USA contexts, the government has undertaken regulatory and promoting role to develop the private sector (Işlar and Harris, 2013, p. 2, Özgül, 2017, p. 36) rather than rolled-back, as well. New laws were enacted or the existing ones were reregulated in order to provide the land demands of neoliberal activities. So began the use of natural areas, State lands and Treasury lands for this aim. For example, although the 1983 dated Expropriation Law (no. 2942) had been stated to be operated under the war conditions, it has been used as a mechanism to supply land for energy investments since the 2000s (Erensü, 2017, p. 125-127).

On the other hand, Turkey got involved to global scale neoliberal conservation through some international contracts and conventions on conservation of natural areas such as the Paris Climate Convention, Bonn Convention and Bern Convention. It follows that a legal framework for protection areas was structured by new laws like the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties law (No. 2863) in 1983 in a way of adapting national policies to global context (Dağıstan Özdemir, 2005, p. 23-24). However, it was not necessary to wait so long until the restrictions on the use of natural areas were bent by the amendments in related laws.

Privatization and marketization of natural areas were made possible by new laws or the regulations in existing ones. This means that the scale of the capital accumulation was expanded. Tourism Incentive Law (no. 2643) in 1983 and the Assignment of Institutions except Turkey Electricity Administration for Electricity Production, Distribution and Trade Law (no. 3096) in 1984 firstly paved the way for allocating Treasury lands, forests and natural areas to private sector for tourism investments and electric power production. The Electricity Market Law (no. 4628) in 2001, and the Water Rights Agreement on Electricity Production in 2003, the Use of Renewable Energy Resources to Generate Electric Power Law (no. 5346) in 2005, and ensued amendments and reregulations in these laws increased the use of the natural areas. Industrial agriculture, quarries, energy infrastructures, “sustainable” energy production, alternative tourism activities, fish farming, private construction and operation of physical and social infrastructures were allowed even in natural protection areas and national parks.

Especially after 2000, Turkey undergo multidimensional spatial and governmental restructuring and rescaling resulting in profound changes in natural areas and their management. With the establishment of Development Agencies (law no. 5449) in 2006, the administrative boundaries were rescaled at NUTS II levels and redefined according to “economic regions”. And, strategic development plans began to be made for economic regions. With the Metropolitan Municipalities Law (no. 5216) in 2004 and the Fourteen Municipality and Twenty-Seven Provinces Law (no. 6360) in 2012, on the one hand the authorities of district municipalities were transferred to metropolitan municipalities, and the rural areas and their natural features were included in Metropolitan boundaries, on the other. Having been turned into “neighbourhoods”, villages are no longer subjected to Village Law (no. 237, issued in 1924). Regulation and rescaling of authorities and boundaries also changed property rights of villages and properties of “common village areas”, which were used to belong to “villagers”, were transferred to different central authorities.

The role of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization is crucial in this respect. It was firstly endowed with the authority related to management, control and approval the plans on natural areas in 2011. Subsequently, its authorities about making upper scale and binding plans on the naturalized boundaries and administrative regions extended to the management and planning on the natural protection areas and special natural protection areas by the reregulation of related laws. The institution undertook also the authority related to the approval of the investments such as geothermal energy, wind farms, hydroelectrical power plans, quarries, etc. in the natural areas. The approvals should base on the Environmental Assessment Reports, related plan decisions and “public interest”. However, the regulation on

Environmental Assessment was changed, and its restrictions were decreased. Furthermore, the decision about the use of natural areas became more centralized. “Public interest” related to the investments is decided by the Council of Ministers. Lastly, in 2018, the decision about the “public interest” together with some other authorities of the Council of Ministries were transferred to the “Presidency” following the transition from Parliamentary system to Presidency system in Turkey.

### **Accumulation by Dispossession in Karaburun Peninsula**

Karaburun Peninsula is a specific place for unfolding the neoliberalisation processes and their consequences in biophysical and social world. Almost the whole Peninsula excluding urbanized parts is covered by natural conservation areas announced after 1990. It has a significant ecology with natural protection areas, natural areas and resources with its biodiversity and vegetation. Bird species, plants and mammals (such as Posidonia seagrasses, Audion gulls and Mediterranean monk seals) are under protection by international contracts such as Bern Convention and CITIES. The whole of the Peninsula and the Ildırı bay are defined as an important natural area by Doğa Derneği (which is the partner institution of Bird Life International). Also, they were proposed as biosphere reserve area. Lastly, the Peninsula and the Ildırı bay and islands there in were announced as special environment protection region by the decision of the Presidency. However, let alone being protected, natural areas of the Peninsula have been encompassed into capital accumulation through neoliberal policies. They were privatized and marketized through deregulations and reregulations especially after the 2000s.

On the other hand, there had been 13 settlements with village status. These villages were included in the metropolitan municipality boundaries and gained “neighborhood” status through rescaling by the Law on Fourteen Municipality and Twenty-Seven Provinces Law (no. 6360) in 2012. The local livelihood is still based mostly on agricultural productions (olive, mandarin, narcissus, artichoke, etc.), goat breeding and associated products (local cheeses, goat milk and hair). Rescaling and transferring most authorities to central institutions brought about profound changes at the expense of nature and livelihood of local people in the Peninsula. The transfer of use rights of common lands, forests, pastures and peasants’ private lands to private companies through leasing, allocations and expropriations resulted in dispossession of local people.

By the 1990s, the secondary housing development that had been delineated on the coastal line began as an early neoliberal activity in the natural areas. It was laid down with the strategies of Tourism Master Plan and Çeşme - Karaburun Coastal Environmental Plan (1989). The ensuing plans, strategies and regulated laws support the development of the tourism and the secondary houses on coastal line and natural protection areas. The amendment of the Tourism Incentive Law (no. 2634) in 2003, opened the way of allocation of natural areas for ecotourism, cruise tourism, health tourism and sport activities. The proposals of the current environmental plans support the development with suggested transportation links through yacht ports and highways. The current Izmir Regional plan (Izmir Development Agency, 2013), Izmir-Manisa Environmental Plan (Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2013) and the West Izmir Master Plan (Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018) support excursion tourism and alternative tourism activities in the Peninsula. Their strategies suggest to spread development in forests and Treasury lands. In this way, policies and plans which are carried out on naturalized boundaries provide the transferring of use right of the natural areas.

By the 2000s, industrial olive production, and the “sustainable” energy production from wind farms and their concomitant infrastructures began to spread through on unregistered or registered pastures. The amendment related to Forestation Regulation was announced in 1994. The regulation granted the use right of fertile agriculture lands for the forestation with special species like olive trees. An amendment in the same regulation in 2003 allowed the allocation of Treasury lands for plantation of these species under the name of “private forestation”. The pastures, whether

registered or not registered but having been used from immemorial past, are subjects of the law because they are classified as “agricultural land”. So, in the north of the Peninsula the unregistered pasture areas, which are Treasury or State lands and used by goat breeders in the winter, were transferred to private companies for olive cultivation. These areas were fenced. Goat breeders stated that their access to pastures, the water sources or to other grazing lands was blocked. Even their paths, which are owned by their ancestors, were closed. According to the accessible data, 1330.78 ha Treasury lands, which almost cover all pasture lands in the north of the Peninsula, and %3.51 of its total surface area, were allocated by private companies or entities (Figure 1). The agricultural statistical data shows a remarkable increase in the number of olive trees after 2006.

The project proposals for wind power generation in the Peninsula began in 2005. The allocation of Treasury lands and forestlands for “sustainable” energy investments became possible by the law on the Use of Renewable Energy Resources to Generate Electrical Energy (no. 5346) in 2005. Energy investments and their infrastructures began to be allowed in pasture areas by an amendment in the law in 2008. Also, by an amendment in the Environmental Assessment Regulation in 2014, the obligation of environmental assessment report for such investments was removed (Çoban *et al.*, 2015, p. 7). Some wind farms and their infrastructures started to be constructed and operated without completing, and even by violating, legal procedures in 2013. Positive environmental assessment report decisions were cancelled by the lawsuits based on expert reports stating that wind turbines have negative impacts on ecology and biodiversity of the Peninsula. Objections, lawsuits and legal procedures about environmental assessment report decisions, the licenses and plans of wind farms still continue. However, as it was witnessed in Yaylaköy, where pastures, agricultural lands, roads and paths to pastures and fields are occupied and destroyed by wind turbines and their infrastructure works, local resistance and legal procedures were blocked by the decree of Presidency announcing Yaylaköy as “disaster zone”. Through this decree, as the Lodos Energy Company’s director declares to Yaylaköy people, “after 20 years there would remain even no village called Yaylaköy” (Akdemir, 19.05.2019). For the decree on “disaster zone” requires the village to be evacuated and relocated.

There are 6 wind farms operated by private energy companies (Yaylaköy, Ayen, Çalık, Egenda, Öres-Fina) in the Peninsula. Existing 100 wind turbines are licensed and 46 not-licensed but under operation, or in the project stage (EPDK YEK list 2018, EPDK digital data 2017; Google Earth Satellite photos, 2018). Despite court decisions to cancel the operation of some companies, they continue to construct new wind turbines and infrastructures. The project areas cover %40 of the Peninsula, and the wind turbines are denser in Yaylaköy village. As shown in Figure 1, the wind farms and their infrastructure, especially roads, are located in forests, agricultural lands, pastures and natural protection areas, some of which are Treasury lands or property of Ministry of Forest, or private properties of villagers. At least 80 parcels of villagers were expropriated and allocated for the wind farm project. Indeed, as an officer from Karaburun Cadastre Office stated, there are more parcels allocated to wind farms, but all data about these parcels is not accessible (especially, in the Mordoğan Wind Farms, the Egenda and Ayen Energy Wind farms, and the parcels in Tepeboz and Bozköy as the parts of the Karaburun Wind Farms by Lodos Energy).

The conflict is not only between local people and wind energy companies. Industrial olive producers and wind farm companies are controversial about property and use rights on unregistered pastures, which are the property of Treasury. Some wind turbines were constructed in the Treasury lands, which olive producers had leased for private forestation previously by the way of allocation. Indeed, the constitution of wind farms in the areas allocated to olive groves seriously violates the law of Reclamation of Olive Cultivation and Budding of Wild Olive Trees Law. The law prohibits construction and industries less close than three kilometers to olive groves. Thus, deregulation is observed in the Peninsula besides reregulation practices for transferring rights of properties for capitalist activities on already privatized nature.



The wind farm areas almost wholly overlap with registered or unregistered pastures, and other natural areas. Wind farms are enclosed and the access of local people to forests, pastures, even to their agriculture lands was prevented. Cultivated fertile lands and the roads to agricultural lands were destroyed during the construction and infrastructure works. According to the data of parcel lists taken from Chieftaincy of National Property, Karaburun Cadastral Office and data from [www.parselsorgu.org](http://www.parselsorgu.org), the expropriated private properties are mostly agricultural lands. The enclosed olive groves, which had been reclaimed on the pastures allocated to private companies, had already cut the access to winter grazing lands. Wind farms prevented the access to the grazing lands which are used in summer period by goat breeders in Bozdağ mount and Yayla. Also, the goat breeders declare that milk fertility and the number of goats decreased because pastures and grazing lands have been narrowed down. The agricultural statistical data confirm the decreasing milk production (from 1038 tons in 1996 to 917 tons in 2015) in spite of the increasing number of goats (from 21470 in 1996 to 35600 in 2015). It is also observed in the agricultural statistics that the croplands, vineyards and fruit production decreased as citrus and olive production increased (TMOBB, 2012, Karaburun City Council, 2019).

Besides the lands of the Peninsula, the sea is marketized by the way of transferring the use right of the sea and coastal waters. In the west of the Peninsula, Gerence gulf and the Northern coast of the Peninsula through Parlak, are enclosed by fish farms. There are 34 fish cage groups in the areas which are run by 10 private companies in 2018 (Google Earth, 2018, Directorate of Provincial Agriculture, 2018) The fish farms have 42.590 tones production capacity. The companies (such as Agromey and Akuvatur incorporated companies) generally export aquacultural productions to other countries such as the Netherlands, Greece, United States, etc., and they have offices in these countries. The development of the fish farms began previously, in the early neoliberal period. However, coastal waters began to be privatized, and the fish farms began to increase gradually after the revision of Aquaculture Production Law in 2003. Then, the Potential Areas for Aquaculture Work Facilities Protocol defined the Gerence gulf as an aquacultural production area, and prohibited the local fisheries in the area in 2008. As a response to the protest and lawsuits, the fish farms moved to offshore in 2012. However, the East of the Peninsula is still prohibited for local fishery. In 1998, 13 villages and 248 houses were depending on the fishery activities in the Peninsula (see IZTECH, 2005). There are currently 6 settlements where fishing activities are carried out. The settlements are located in the west of the Peninsula, and some of them have urban characteristics (Karaburun Centre and Mordoğan neighborhood).

Some activities like mining are supported by the laws before the neoliberal period. The Mining law had already allowed mineral search and extraction in natural areas. Following the deregulation in mining sector, such activities in natural areas were further supported by the laws, as mentioned before. Currently, there are 3 companies and entities (Kulesan, Polat Mining and Ali Tekin) operating a mixed concrete plant, clay quarry and quarry. They are localized in natural areas, and near to olive groves or coasts in Mordoğan and Yaylaköy. The companies have international connections. Two quarries in Eğlenhoca and Kösedere were previously closed, in 2017 and 2018. Despite that the quarries violate the Reclamation of Olive Cultivation and Budding of Wild Olive Trees Law, they were approved without fulfilling the requirement of environmental assessment in 2012. The agricultural lands of local people are damaged during the construction or the mining operations. Also, the use rights on State lands are transferred to private actors. Thus, mining facilities which are integral to the global economy are carried out while the livelihood of local people is under the threat.

The current plans suggest both conservation and use of the natural areas and resources of the Peninsula. There are various proposals about the conservation status of the Peninsula in Izmir West Master Plan, Izmir-Manisa Environmental plan and also Integrated Coastal Plan for Whole Izmir, while plan decisions support the investments especially in wind farms and fish farms. Plan notes suggest improving wind energy potential of Izmir, and also of Karaburun without any specific restriction. It is only necessary to obtain opinion from the local government. All development and implementation plans about wind farms are based on these plan decisions. Also, Izmir West Master

Plan suggests moving the fish farms to anywhere in the Peninsula, although all coastal waters of the Peninsula is under conservation by Izmir-Manisa Environmental Plan and international conventions. The Integrated Coastal Plan for Izmir suggests a solution for logistics of fish farms which must settle on natural protection areas. However, the suggestion is not for the conservation of the natural areas, but rather for easing the operation of logistics of aquacultural production. Furthermore, the plan suggests the reregulation of the Forest law, and reduction of the classification of the first degree natural protection areas for the approval of logistic services and construction on these areas. Thus, the plan aims to transfer the use rights of coastal and natural protection areas to aquacultural production companies through reregulation in the laws. As a result, the plans in naturalized boundaries or regional scale support the investments, and propose reregulation and deregulation practices. Hence, they are defined as “eco-scalar fixes” to promote accumulation by dispossession in the Peninsula.

On the other hand, the rescaling processes which extended through the natural areas occur in the Peninsula. The policy making authority and management of the Karaburun and their natural areas were transferred to firstly Metropolitan Municipality by the laws no. 5216 and no 6360, and the status of the villages change into neighborhoods in 2012. Also, the situation about boundaries that are included in the Metropolitan area brought along some problems in common village lands and their property and use rights. However, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization has already undertaken the approval of the investments and management of the natural areas since 2011. As a result of the efforts in the last 5 years, the whole of the Karaburun Peninsula with Ildırı islands and bay were announced as Special Environment Protection Region with 823 numbered Presidency decision in 15th March 2019.

Although this decision seems to have increased natural protection, the legal background of the Special Environment Protection Regions is not so sufficient to prevent the investments and land allocations for neoliberal activities. The announcement brought along rescaling authorities and boundaries in these extended and naturalized boundaries. Authority of making plans, approval for investments, and the allocation of lands in these boundaries were transferred to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. Sustainable energy investments and their infrastructures in Special Environment Protection region, national parks, natural protection areas, etc. had already been approved by the revision in the law on the Use of Renewable Energy Resources to Generate Electrical Power in 2010. Besides, in Karaburun, deregulation process began to occur with starting newly purposed wind farms in Yaylaköy without doing management plan for the Special Environmental Regions. Although the law sets an obligation that “the whole scale plan must be done after the announcement of the Special Environment Protection Region”, the additional plans for newly proposed wind turbines and their infrastructure were not cancelled, and the construction of wind turbines has been continuing.



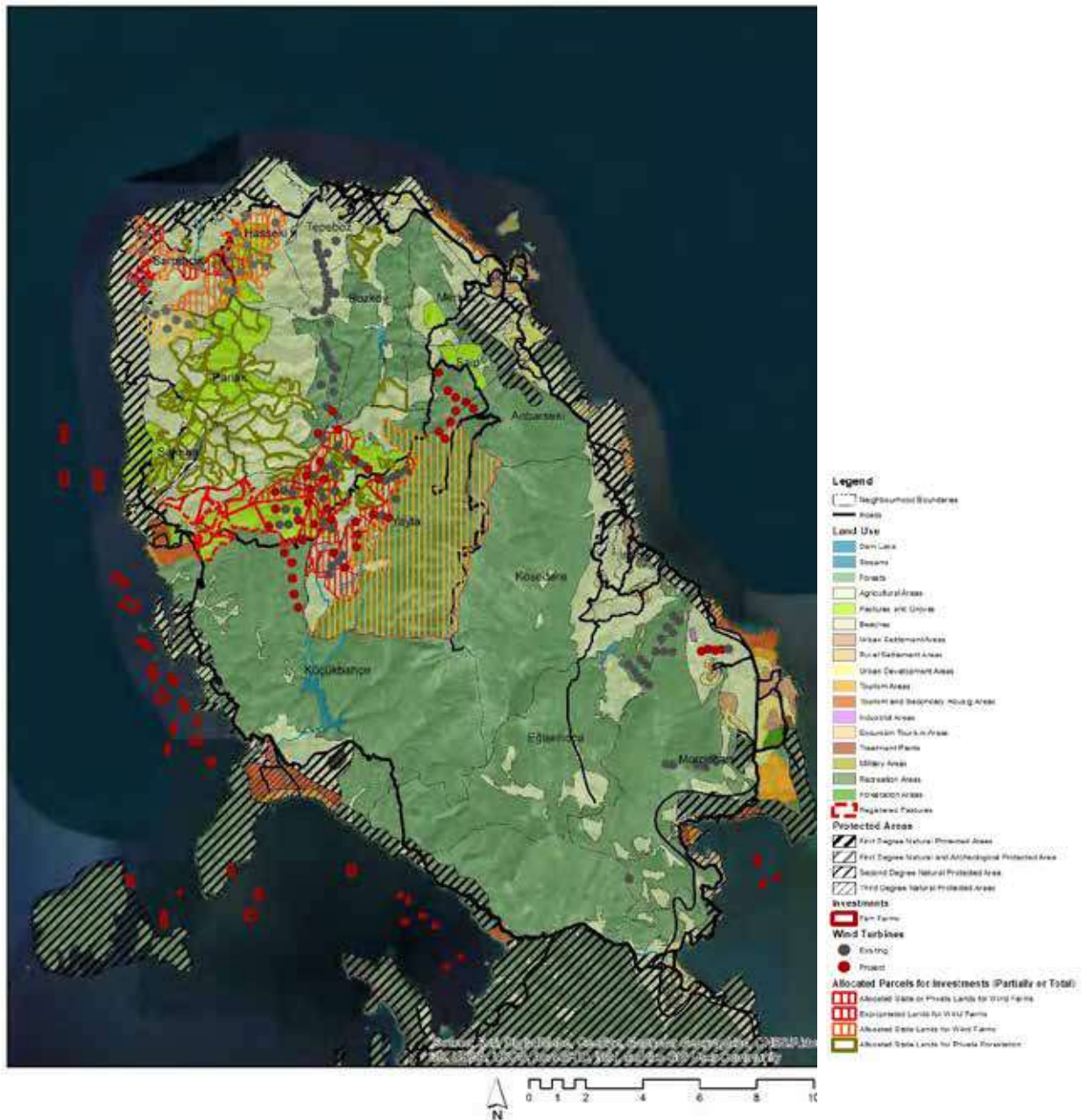


Figure 1. Investments, Natural Areas and The Parcels associated with Transferring Property Rights

Source: Produced by analyzing and processing the digital data of 2014-2023 Izmir Manisa Environmental Plan (2013), EPDK Wind Turbines KML Data (2018), listed parcel data by Karaburun Directorate of National Estate and Karaburun Cadastre Office (2018), Google Earth Pro 2018 by using ArcGIS by the authors

## Conclusion

The natural areas of the Karaburun Peninsula began to be marketized and privatized through the transfer of use rights to private companies under the auspices of neoliberal policies in Turkey. Conservation as well as use of the natural areas increased and intensified in parallel with deregulations and reregulations about natural areas. After 2005, the implementations of the neoliberal policies increased market proxies such as wind power generation companies. The coastal waters in the west of the Peninsula were privatized and marketized under the support of the reregulation in the Aquacultural Production Regulation and related regulations. Besides, olive groves reclamation narrowed down pastures used by the local goat breeders from immemorial past after 2006, and the local production in the Peninsula shifted to industrial production by private companies. Secondary housing has already developed on the coastal line, in the early neoliberal period; however, the support of alternative tourism investments increased by the proposals for new transportation links and strategies in current plans (after 2010) which are made in naturalized boundaries, or economic boundaries.

Reregulation of the laws corresponds to “environmental fixes” Castree proposed. They are tools and mechanisms operated to privatize the natural areas such as forests, natural protection areas, agricultural lands, sea and pastures. The natural areas of the Peninsula, which are non owned or communally owned lands such as unregistered pastures and forests, were allocated, and private properties of villagers were expropriated for capital accumulation, thus dispossessed the local people.

On the other hand, Cohen and Bakker (2014) redefine “environmental fixes” as “eco-scalar fixes” for the sake of emphasizing the scalar, spatial and naturalised characteristics of the “environmental fixes”. Karaburun Peninsula has been directly affected by the rescaling and restructuring of boundaries and authorities in Turkey. The nature of the Karaburun Peninsula is firstly delineated for tourism and alternative tourism development in the Izmir Regional Plan. Then, it was included in the Metropolitan area, and the boundaries were naturalized when it was announced as Special Environment Protection Region. Through this last decision, the authorities and management of use, and property of lands on natural areas and common lands (as unregistered pastures and common village properties) became more centralised. The Coastal Environmental Plan for Çeşme and Karaburun, the Integrated Coastal Plan for Izmir and future plans on Special Environmental Protection Region which are made on naturalized boundaries appear as “eco-scalar fixes” in the Peninsula. As the natural areas including the commonly used assets are harnessed to capital accumulation through “eco-scalar fixes”, so local people of the Karaburun Peninsula are dispossessed.

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