

**The impact of the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP) on displaced families:**

**Household livelihoods and gender relations**

**The impact of the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP) on displaced families:  
Household livelihoods and gender relations**

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## **Abstract**

The South-eastern Project or GAP (its Turkish acronym) is one of the largest dam and development projects ever planned in Turkey. The project includes agriculture, energy, irrigation, telecommunications, healthcare and education, investments and developments.

Beside its potential benefits the implementation of the GAP project has raised tensions, because it has been argued that the project, far from improving the well being of local people has caused problems for significant numbers of people displaced following the construction of dams.

The Birecik Dam was chosen as the focus for this study because it is the first and only example of a dam in this region for which a resettlement and rehabilitation project has been planned and implemented in order to minimise the effects of displacement on the effected communities. In addition Halfeti is chosen as a sample because it is one of the small towns that has been affected by the Birecik Dam and much of its population was resettled with government assistance.

This study shows that the building of a dam can have different impacts on different households. It is observed that the more assets people have, the more resilient they are to the challenges of resettlement. Nevertheless displaced households have considerable capacity to make changes to their livelihoods and this study focuses on the achievements of people who have increased their capabilities and who have created different livelihoods despite the difficult circumstances.

It was observed that resettlers have shifted from agricultural work to waged employment following the resettlement. In some households resettlement has fostered women's participation in wage labour. This was an important improvement for young women in particular many of whom were now better educated and had increased freedom to rebuild their lives and make their own choices.

*To the memory of my grandfather MEHMET KURT*

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## **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations**

AIHM	European Human Rights Committee (Turkey)
BAG-KUR	Social Security Organization for Artisans and the Self-Employed
BOT	Built Operate Transfer
CATOM	Multi-Purpose Community Centre
CARE	The Cooperative for Assistance and Relief
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
DFID	The United Kingdom Department for International Development
DSI	State Hydraulic Works (Turkey)
ECGD	Export Credits Guarantees Department
EEP	Extra Environmental Parameters
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations
GAD	Gender and Development
GAP	Southeast Anatolia Project
GAPGIDEM	Southeast Anatolia Project Entrepreneur Support Centres Project
GAPRDA	Southeast Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
ICOLD	International Commission on Large Dams
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Rehabilitation

IS-KUR	Turkish Employment Organisation
KHGM	General Directorate of Rural Services
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PKK	Kurdish Workers Party
RAP	Resettlement Action Plan
R&R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation
SAP	Social Action Plan
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SODES	Institute of Prime Ministry, the Planning Agency; Social Support Programmes (Turkey)
SSK	Social Security Committee (Turkey)
TOKI	Turkish Housing Committee
TUIK	Turkish Statistics Institute
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WCD	World Commission on Dam
WID	Women in Development

# CHAPTER 1

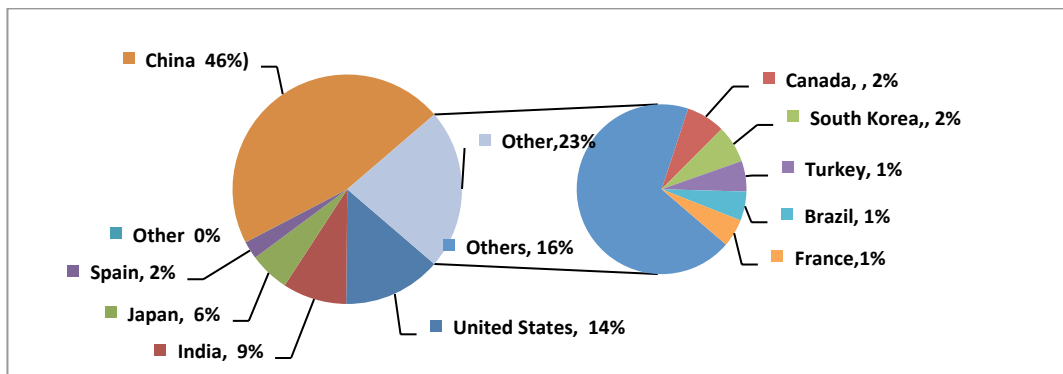
## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 The dam and the debate: Dams and development

It is estimated that at least 40,000 large dams<sup>1</sup> and 800,000 small dams have been built worldwide. Dams are built for a variety of reasons, many of which benefit the state and its population. These include flood management, the generation of hydroelectric power, and the supply of water for drinking or irrigation, all of which are vital services for the population (Altinbilek, 2002; WCD, 2000). To illustrate the point further; Altinbilek, (2002) estimates that 20% of global electricity, including almost all of the electricity generated in Norway and 80% of that generated in Brazil, is supplied by hydroelectric schemes.

Dams may be built as a means of addressing poverty, and are a necessary development option to meet the needs of a human population that is expanding beyond the capacity of the world's life support system (Scudder, 2005b). Therefore, some authors (Altinbilek, 2002; Cernea, 1997, Scudder, 20005b) argue that the construction of large-scale projects such as dams is 'inescapable'. Figure 1.1 illustrates the number of dams in different parts of the world.

**Figure 1.1:** Distribution of large dams in the world



Source: Adapted from (WCD 2000)

<sup>1</sup> Large dams are defined as impoundments more than 15 metres high or storing more than 3 million m<sup>3</sup> of water (WCD 2000)

As can be seen from Figure 1.1 China has the most dams (46%), followed by the United States (14%) and India (9%). The figure also demonstrates that South Korea and Canada each have two percent, followed by Turkey and Brazil both with one percent of the world's large dams (WCD, 2000).

### **1.1 Benefits of large dams**

Large dams can offer significant benefits. However, these benefits are only achievable with good planning and management. For instance, the World Commission on Dams (WCD) suggested that, by the year 2000, 19% of all electricity in the world would be generated using hydropower from large dams. It has also been estimated that large dams are responsible for irrigating some 30-40 % of land that relies on irrigation (WCD, 2000).

Other benefits associated with dams include the creation of jobs in new industrial sectors, enhanced regional development and support for the creation of an industrial infrastructure (WCD, 2000). In addition to these benefits, there is the sale of electricity generated from hydropower, revenue from cash crops and the profits gained from products produced by industries powered by hydro-electricity (WCD, 2000). Thus “clearly dams can play an important role in meeting people’s needs” (WCD, 2000). However, dams are not without their problems, as aside from their benefits for the population, dams can also affect communities adversely (WCD, 2000).

Building dams can have a negative impact on the environment as well as local people, even though there may be financial benefits for the country as a whole. Therefore, social and environmental stability should be core considerations for any project involving dam construction, and not just economic stability (Öktem 2002, WCD 2000). These issues have been widely discussed at a global level, yet they remain unresolved (WCD 2000). The following sections in this chapter discuss this debate in greater depth.



### 1.2.1 Environmental consequences

According to (Scudder, 2005a) “Dams are a flawed, yet still necessary development option” (Scudder, 2005a). However, the environmental cost of the dams cannot be ignored. The broad nature of the impacts of large dams on ecosystems, biodiversity and downstream livelihoods is well known (WCD, 2000). The WCD (2000) has highlighted the fact that dams can cause the ‘loss of forests, wildlife habitats and species’ due to the inundation of the reservoir area. In addition, fisheries and wetland ecosystems can be lost due to dam projects and also water quality can be diminished (WCD, 2000). For example the reservoirs created by dam construction give rise to methane and carbon dioxide emissions. At a global level these emissions represent 7% of the total manmade greenhouse gas emissions and therefore have the potential to impact on climate change (McCully, 2001). Moreover after the dams have been built, deficiencies in irrigation practices can cause salination problems in the soil (McCully, 2001). As an example to this Goldsmith and Hilyard (1984) refer to these practices as ‘salting the earth’ (Goldsmith and Hilyard, 1984). Figure 1.2 explains the main environmental impacts of dams.

**Figure 1.2** The main environmental impacts of dams

**A) Impacts due to existence of the dam and reservoir**

- i) Upstream change from river valley to reservoir;
- ii) Changes in downstream morphology of riverbed and banks, delta, estuary and coastline, due to the altered sediment load;
- iii) Changes in downstream water quality; effects on river temperature, nutrient load, turbidity, dissolved gases, concentration of heavy metals and minerals;
- iv) Reduction in biodiversity due to restrictions on the movement of organisms and because of changes i), ii) and iii) above;

**B) Impacts due to the pattern of dam operation - changes in downstream hydrology;**

- i) Change in total flows;
- ii) Changes in downstream morphology caused by altered flow pattern;
- iii) Changes in water quality caused by altered flow pattern;
- iv) Reduction in riverine/riparian floodplain habitat diversity- especially because of the elimination of floods.

Source: (McCully, 2001)

### **1.2.1 Political consequences and international relations**

The sharing or storage of water on trans-boundary rivers can create significant problems for countries. Generally, upstream countries are viewed as the more powerful stakeholders, as they have a greater influence over the rivers within their borders and can potentially reduce the flow to downstream countries by building dams to block rivers and fill reservoirs (WCD 2000, Haftendorn 2000).

Developments on waters which cross political boundaries face complexities brought about by tensions in riparian relations and exacerbated by institutional limitations. For instance; Wolf (1998) indicates that water has been a cause of problems between countries such as Saudi Arabia and Israel; India and Bangladesh; America and Mexico; and all ten riparian states of the River Nile (Wolf, 1998). Actually, if there is insufficient flow of water to the downstream countries than eventually conflict arises (Haftendorn, 2000). These issues require cooperation and mutual self-interest between the countries (WCD, 2000) and this cooperation is not easy to be obtained.

Some projects, including those in Turkey, provide similar examples of the political conflict that can arise when dams affect river systems across neighbouring countries. Dams on rivers, such as the Euphrates and Tigris, that cross international boundaries, have created tension in Syria and Iran. In shared river basins, there is a need for trans-boundary agreement on water use, so that the neighbouring countries retain sufficient water supplies and are not adversely affected by the construction of a dam in the neighbouring country (Kaygusuz, 2002). For example, when the Ataturk Dam was built on the Euphrates in the 1990s, disputes arose over issues relating to the allocation of water, dam construction, water quality, and the diversion of the river between Syria, Iraq and Turkey. Trans-boundary agreements relating to dam construction over contested rivers, are one of the most important international requirements that have to be met under World Bank guidelines in order to access funds from the World Bank in particular (Varsamidis, 2010; Cernea, 1988, World Bank 2001, WCD 2000)

### **1.2.2 Social consequences**

Although the environmental implications, as well as trans-boundary river problems, of large infrastructure constructions such as dams, are important, this thesis is concerned with the human consequences of large scale projects. Local populations may suffer when large dams are built, because they may either be displaced by the project, or they may become the host communities that must accommodate those people who have been displaced (Oliver-Smith, 1991). This process of displacement and resettlement is termed involuntary resettlement. It is involuntary because those who have been displaced have no choice but to relocate; and this involves resettlement because those affected must rebuild their livelihoods in a different location. Involuntary resettlement is therefore defined as the forced and permanent relocation of entire households (Croll 1999 in McDonald 2006) and can have serious consequences to the lives of the displaced populations.

### **1.2.3 Impact on women**

If planned carefully dam construction can have positive impacts on women, particularly in areas where the development is associated with improvements in services or access to services (WCD, 2000). However, it is argued that not enough research has been conducted in relation to the different impacts of dams for men and women (Tan et al., 2005; McCully, 2001). In fact according to Mehta (2008) displacement due to the dam constructions exacerbates inequalities and leaves women facing increased vulnerabilities and impoverishment because dam projects are too often built on the existing imbalance of gender relationships in communities; thus this balance is not given adequate consideration (WCD 2000 in McCully 2001), and, as a result, it is argued that in most cases women are affected negatively.

### **1.3 Involuntary resettlement**

Involuntary resettlement is one of the most important impacts of large dams; as such it can lead to impoverishment (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). Involuntary resettlement is impoverishing because it deprives people of many things, some of which are fundamental to their lives, including homes, productive assets, livelihoods, familial environments, community networks and a sense of belonging (Penz et al., 2011, Cernea and McDowell

2000). Due to the lack of planning people are often undercompensated, neglected or not given adequate support to help them rebuild their livelihoods. In many cases illness, malnutrition and mortality often increase. People find themselves in a position where they are discriminated against or in fact feel more vulnerable (Penz et al., 2011). In some cases those who have been displaced by the construction of large dams have suggested that their situation is not even recognised by the responsible authorities and they are therefore not included in the resettlement programmes (WCD, 2000). In other, more fortunate, cases compensation is provided, but this is often insufficient to restore the livelihoods of those displaced). The overall dilemma here is that whilst large-scale dam construction benefits national and regional economies, it also brings about both environmental destruction and human impoverishment (Scudder, 2005a). Therefore the question is why is there often a lack of capacity to cope with the involuntary resettlement and why is displacement still impoverishing (WCD, 2000)?

### **1.3.1 Displacement and the numbers**

Over the past decade, some 90 to 100 million people around the world have been relocated by large dam projects (Cernea and McDowell, 2000; WCD, 2000; Cernea, 1996). China, India, Brazil and Indonesia have displaced the greatest number of people (Bhattari, 2001 in WCD 2000). In Turkey the number of 350,000, linked to the construction of 19 dams in the Southeast region (Morvaridi, 2004). Globally, the number of people displaced purely by World Bank funded projects is reported to have risen from 450,000 in 1983, to 2.6m in 2000 (World Bank, 2002). These increasingly large numbers of displaced people, and the incidence of involuntary resettlement, deserve close attention, in particular within this thesis because dam projects continue to play a prominent role in development in the three countries where most of the world's current dam projects are still under construction - India, China and Turkey (WCD, 2000 in Öktem 2002).

#### **1.4 GAP project and displacement in Turkey**

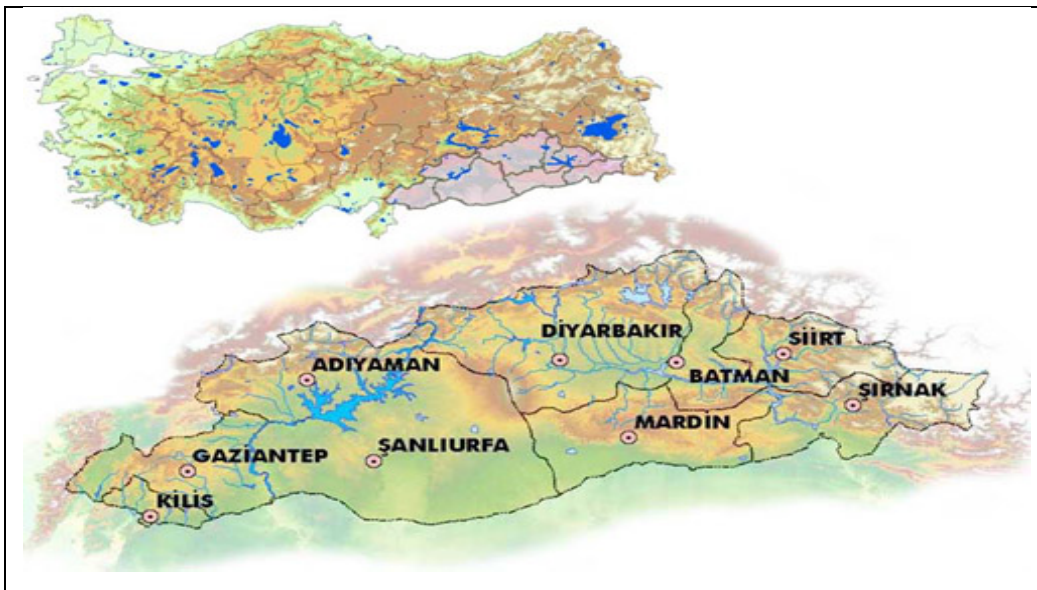
In Turkey, since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, more than 200 dams have been built. Most of these projects were small in scale and their economic impacts cannot be assessed, as their contribution towards improving the financial climate in the country was limited (Öktem 2002). Keban dam, the first large hydroelectric dam in the Southeast of Turkey, was completed in 1974. Since then 150 dam projects have been completed, and over 200 are still to be implemented (Öktem 2002) .

#### **1.5 The GAP project**

The Southeast Anatolia Project or GAP (its Turkish acronym) is one of the largest dam and development projects ever undertaken in Turkey. The Southeast Anatolia Project was created as a package of ‘Water and Land Resources’ developments on the Euphrates and Tigris river basins in the 1970s; and the first dam was completed in 1974 (Keban Dam). This water resources development programme includes the construction of 22 dams and 19 hydroelectric plants on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers in South-eastern Turkey (GAPRDA,1999b). The project incorporates ‘agriculture, energy, irrigation, telecommunications, healthcare and education, as well as associated infrastructure investments and developments’ (GAPRDA 1999a, 1999b).

The project area contains nine administrative provinces in the basins of the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers, (Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Sanliurfa and Sırnak) (Figure 1.2). The GAP Region covers a surface area of 75,358 km<sup>2</sup>, which corresponds to 9.7 % of the total surface area of Turkey. The population of the GAP region is 6,608,619, which corresponds to 9.7 % of the total population of the country 67,803,927 (2000 census) (Toybiyik, 2003).

**Figure: 1.3** Provinces of the GAP region



Source (Ahdieh, 2007)

Since 2006, the GAP project has sought to increase incomes and living standards in the region, to remove regional development disparities and to contribute to the national goals of economic development and social constancy. GAP planners set the objectives as:

“increasing levels of income; providing inputs for industrial enterprises in the region; creating employment opportunities in order to minimise out-migration; and encouraging export oriented production in the region and to support the sustainable development of the region,” (Açma 2005).

The region is the poorest in Turkey, where the Kurdish and Arabic populations are an ethnic minority (Açma 2005). When completed, the dams and power plants would irrigate 1.8 million hectares of land (21% of Turkey’s total irrigable land), generate energy amounting to 27.385 GWh (20% of its total energy potential) (Öktem 2002, Açma 2005).

Historically, the Southeast region has lacked state investment and is weak from an economic perspective. The lack of state investment in the region has worsened the economic conditions. Poverty levels have created an environment in which the PKK (the Workers party of Kurdistan) constantly wage war with the Turkish military, a conflict that has been on-going since 1980s. As a result of these factors, the region experiences massive out-migration for both personal safety and economic reasons.

Thus the GAP project represents a concerted attempt to solve these problems by seeking to address issues of economic growth and investment (Öktem 2002).

### **1.5.1 Criticism of GAP**

The implementation of the GAP project has raised tensions in the region, because it has been argued that the project, far from improving the well-being of local people and bringing peace, will actually create internal instability (Öktem 2002). The displacement of communities due to the dams has caused problems. Displacement has been an issue since the completion of the Ataturk dam in the 1990s, where the majority of people who were displaced were not resettled properly (Akyürek 2005). In addition Turkey's insistence on full sovereignty over the transnational riverbeds of the Euphrates and Tigris and its reluctance to cooperate with the downstream states of Iraq and Syria have been also criticized (Biswass 1994 in Öktem 2002). Despite these criticisms, the Turkish government is adamant that it will complete the project in its entirety.

### **1.6 Objectives of the study**

Taken all these criticism into consideration, this study evaluates the resettlement and rehabilitation of communities affected by the GAP project, by taking the Birecik Resettlement project as a starting point. Therefore, the intention is to study the resettled population in the region and to use empirical research on a case study settlement to discuss the ways in which people have re-established their livelihoods. This permits the re-assessment of the resettlement project and will shed light on how to achieve resettlement without causing human impoverishment - insights which could, in the future, benefit the economy and help to develop the region.

Thus the broad aim of this study is to investigate the social impacts of the Southeast Anatolia (GAP) project in rural communities in Southeast Turkey, but the study will also examine how the project has affected women in particular.

Additional objectives include:

- i) completing a critical examination of the resettlement and rehabilitation project implemented for the Birecik Dam;
- ii) identifying the livelihood assets of the resettled people and exploring how they have, or have not, rebuilt their livelihoods; and assessing how the building of the dam has altered or affected them; and
- iii) evaluating the impact of resettlement on intra-household relationships between women and men.

### **1.7 Organisation of the research**

This thesis is divided into two parts and nine chapters. In chapters 1 to 5, contextual information from secondary sources, and the relevant academic literature, will be presented and discussed; whilst from chapter 6 onwards empirical evidence will be presented and the findings will be discussed.

- Chapter 1 introduces an overview of the large dams and presents the GAP project. This chapter offers a rationale for analysing the impacts of dam construction on the resettled communities. The principal research objectives are given, as well as the justification for the research. Finally, the structure of the thesis is presented in this chapter.
- Chapter 2 reviews the literature with regard to the theoretical models that describe involuntary resettlement. The chapter begins by reviewing the most commonly discussed models of involuntary resettlement. This chapter discusses the reasons why resettlement has been counterproductive in the past. The World Bank and other donors' perspectives on involuntary resettlement are examined and a conceptual framework will be presented that can be used to analyse the empirical data.
- Chapter 3 introduces the background of the study area. Information concerning the socioeconomic and demographic changes in the Southeast region will be presented.
- Chapter 4 explains the resettlement and rehabilitation experiences in Turkey. The Birecik dam resettlement and rehabilitation project will be introduced.
- In Chapter 5, the methods adopted in this thesis are described. A broad overview of the information required for this research and the key methods used in its collection



are provided. The complexity of the research and the Halfeti district, and the reasons for selecting Halfeti as a target population, are also explored.

- Chapter 6 describes how the resettlers' livelihood assets have changed since resettlement. This empirical chapter will be divided, according to the sustainable livelihood frameworks asset pentagon, into five categories of assets; i) social asset, ii) human asset, iii) natural asset, iv) financial asset and v) physical asset. In addition, households are divided into well-being categories and their access to these assets is evaluated.
- Chapter 7 discusses the livelihood strategies and impoverishment risks in Halfeti. This chapter presents an analysis of the different livelihood strategies adopted by these resettled households in order to manage their household livelihood portfolios after the building of the dam.
- In Chapter 8, the gendered nature of resettlement is discussed. In order to achieve this the intra-household relationships between household members in Halfeti after the resettlement are considered. Household arrangements are also discussed and the ways in which household members take part in the decision making process will be explored.
- Chapter 9 is the final chapter of this study and the intention is to present a summary of the main findings together with some points for general discussion. Finally policy recommendations are given.

## CHAPTER 2

### KEY RESEARCH CONCEPTS: DISPLACEMENT, RELOCATION AND LIVELIHOOD STUDIES

#### 2.0 Introduction

Development projects such as dams often necessitate the displacement and relocation of communities. Eviction on this scale causes deep economic and cultural disruption for the individuals affected, as well as to the social fabric of local communities. This Chapter aims to explore displacement caused by dam projects and its impacts on the livelihoods of rural communities. Firstly, displacement is examined, together with the different perspectives taken by other studies in their approach to the subject. International policy guidelines on resettlement will also be discussed. This thesis is intended to engage with women's changing livelihoods following displacement. Therefore, a gender perspective on relocation is examined to identify the impact of relocation on women's livelihoods. Accordingly, sustainable livelihood research is introduced. Finally, a sustainable livelihoods framework is explored as a tool for analysing the resettlers' livelihoods.

#### 2.1 Definitions of displacement - definition of the debate.

The literature suggests that scholars use different terms to define displacement. This may be due to political factors or to their different approaches when considering the incidence of displacement. For instance, some use the word 'displacement' (Parasuraman, S. (1993); others 'forced eviction' (Dwivedi (2002); some use 'involuntary resettlement' (Cernea, 1998). Some also use the term 'resettlement and rehabilitation' (R&R) (Dutt and Ahmand 2006). There are some differences between these terms and all reflect a particular viewpoint in considering involuntary resettlement (Dwivedi 20002).

In the event of displacement, peoples' choices are limited if they stay; thus they feel obliged to move from their original location. This is different to voluntary resettlement where people make the choice to move. Thus, it can be said that displacement is forced and therefore involuntary (Muggah, 2003). The term 'displacement' or the stronger but similar term 'forced

eviction' can be defined as 'the act or operation of physically relocating people' (Dwivedi, 2002).

'Involuntary resettlement', on the other hand, is defined in the literature in simpler, political terms indicating only that the movement of people as a result of displacement is not voluntary. This presents displacement as somehow less damaging, and underestimates the risks attached to it. 'Involuntary resettlement' is perhaps less strong than the terms 'displacement' or 'forced eviction'. Because in 'involuntary resettlement'; the emphasis is on the 'resettlement' of people rather than the actual displacement itself and any associated damage (Dwivedi, 2002). However, it is this emphasis, which makes it a more important concern, worthy of further attention and focus. Involuntary resettlement implies that people have been resettled or that plans are in place for their eventual resettlement. However, this ignores the fact that in the past, and even now, millions of people worldwide have been displaced as a result of different development projects, including dams, but have never properly resettled (Dwivedi, 2002). On the other hand, the term 'resettler' can only be used to define an individual who has resettled or who is willing to resettle (Dwivedi, 2002).

According to Dwivedi (2002), many commentators are unwilling to use the terms 'displacement' or 'forced eviction' due to their strong emphasis, not just in terms of the use of state authorised powers, but also their historical association with eviction without any compensation. Therefore, some researchers prefer to use different terms. For instance, Cernea, the creator of the IRR model (section 2.7.3), commonly uses 'R&R' (resettlement and rehabilitation) (Dwivedi, 2002). It would appear that researchers who work with the World Bank and on related projects prefer the simpler term 'involuntary resettlement' (for example, Micheal Cernea). On the other hand, other researchers who work with the World Commission on Dams (WCD) would appear to prefer the term 'displacement' or 'forced eviction'; whereas World Bank researchers simply make reference to 'resettlers', perhaps ignoring the fact that "not all the displaced are resettled"(Dwivedi, 2002). For instance, Scudder (2005) and Parasuraman (1993) are examples of researchers who use the term displacement. However, in this thesis the terms will be used interchangeably, to reflect the relevant researcher's own use of the terms.

## **2.2. Consequences of displacement**

### **2.2.1 Impoverishment**

The different use of these terms by different researchers does not necessarily indicate that their perceptions are different. There is a common viewpoint that displacement causes disruption and trauma. For example, Colson (2003) argues that;

“..... the process of displacement is difficult and painful, engendering feelings of powerlessness and alienation, as people are uprooted from their familiar surroundings” (Colson 2003).

Cernea (1988) simply summarises the consequences of resettlement efforts around the developing world as:

“.. the impoverishment of local communities, the destruction of their productive assets and the disruption of their social fabric” (Cernea 1988).

In fact many studies have shown that impoverishment often arises when displacement occurs in less developed countries (Penz et al., 2011; McDonald et al., 2008, Tan 2008). In India, approximately 13.5 million people have been relocated (Tan 2008). It is argued that the affected families in India are far worse off today than before the dams were built (WCD 2000). Another example, is the Aswan Dam project in Egypt which forced an estimated 1,000,000 people to resettle (WCD, 2000). The number of people displaced by China’s ‘Three Gorges Dam’ is estimated to be in excess of 1,000,000. Similarly, in Turkey, due to the construction of the Ataturk dam (completed in the 1990s) approximately 45,000 people were displaced, and some populations were still waiting to be resettled in 2005 (Akyürek 2005).

Involuntary resettlement leads to impoverishment for a number of reasons. One such reason is that economic, social and cultural resources may be lost as the involuntary resettlement. People find it very difficult to plan their livelihoods and their future when they lose all their resources simultaneously. The flow of information is often a problem as the implementing agencies may withhold information about the move for fear of resistance from the

communities affected. This is in contrast to voluntary resettlement projects, where people typically have information in advance so that they are able to plan for the resources they will need (Tan, 2008). One example of voluntary resettlement is the resettlement scheme in Korup National Park in the south west of Cameroon. This is considered to be a ‘voluntary’ resettlement from a protected area as it was planned in advance, people were notified at the outset of the planning process and they chose to relocate (Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington, 2007).

Displacement also tends to leave disempowered those sectors of society that are already marginalised and have less control over their lives and less security (Dwivedi 2000). The resettled are often those who receive very few services from the state or are only able to access such services with difficulty. It is argued that people with more resources are more likely to resist involuntary resettlement and may become more involved in the process of determining where and how they are going to live, whereas poorer people who are already in a vulnerable position are more likely to be adversely affected (Tan, 2008). In other words, when wealthier people are displaced, they are more likely to have formal title to lost resources; hence they are more likely to be adequately compensated than the poor, who often have legally problematic ownership rights over the resources they use to make their living (Tan, 2008).

### **2.3 The World Bank viewpoint**

The issues of displacement and impoverishment have led international donors to take action. For example, the World Bank was the first such donor to develop a policy for the projects it finances and it was the first aid agency to work on displacement issues. In 1986, the World Bank’s 1980 policy was re-evaluated and updated. New elements were added and revisions were made based on previous experience, such as the lessons learned from prior and on-going relocation operations (Cernea, 1988, Scudder 2005). Finally, in 1990, the World Bank issued a further updated involuntary resettlement policy. The 1990 revision was the strongest that the World Bank has produced (Scudder 2005). The new policy (OP/BP 4.12) was adopted by the Bank Board in October 2001. World Bank projects today still apply the 2001 (OB/BP 4.12) policy (Scudder 2005). Versions of these guidelines have been adopted by the OECD

and other international organisations. Some countries, including Turkey, have also indicated that they have adopted these guidelines (Morvaridi, 2004). Therefore this research places greater emphasis on World Bank guidelines. The World Bank policy includes the following main points in Figure 2.1 (World Bank, 2001).

**Figure 2.1:** The World Bank international best practice policy guidelines

- i) Avoid or minimise involuntary resettlement through appropriate technical choices.
- ii) If displacement cannot be avoided, resettlement ought to be conceived and executed as a development programme, for which a plan ought to be prepared.
- iii) Community participation in planning and implementation ought to be encouraged.
- iv) Host communities, as well as the resettled, ought to be consulted to encourage integration.
- v) Compensation (including land, housing, and infrastructure) ought to be provided to the adversely affected and customary rights should be taken into account. Valuation of assets should be at replacement cost.
- vi) There should be a timely transfer of responsibilities from agencies to settlers to avoid dependency relationships

Source: (World Bank, 2001)

Actually, the World Bank's resettlement guidelines have had a major impact in terms of minimising the number of people requiring resettlement. They have also improved the planning and implementation process so that the majority of the displaced are less likely to be adversely affected (Scudder, 2005b). These policy guidelines have also been adopted by other international organisations and national governments (Penz et al., 2011; Scudder, 2005a). Although the guidelines have been instrumental in improving some outcomes, displacement and resettlement continue to be problematic and the guidelines cannot escape criticism because "the record on resettlement still remains unsatisfactory" (Penz et al., 2011; Koenig, 2001).

In fact, the World Bank is the first to admit that in the majority of cases, former income-earning capacity and living standards have not been restored (Scudder, 2005a). Moreover, the guidelines have been criticised for placing too much emphasis on compensation and monetary issues as opposed to development (Scudder, 2005a; Scudder, 2005b). According to Downing (2002b), the World Bank guidelines ignore social institutions and focus more on compensation and ecosystems (Downing, 2002b). Therefore, the guidelines can be considered as an attempt to put into practice an understanding of resettlement and the causes of impoverishment even though they may not provide an actual solution (Scudder, 2005b; Scudder, 2005a; Downing, 2002b).

## **2.6 Perspectives on involuntary resettlement and displacement**

### **2.6.1 Reformist-managerial**

Academics who have studied displacement and involuntary resettlement can be divided into two categories. These are the ‘reformist-managerial’ and the ‘radical-movement’ respectively (Dwivedi, 2002). The ‘reformist-managers’ are those who are actually like managers and prioritise the management of the displacement processes. Moreover, they constitute managers because they seek to manage displacement to minimise its negative impacts. Actually, they see displacement as a normal situation that can occur and that is also unavoidable. Thus, the results of the development projects are accepted as something that has happened in the past and that will continue to happen in the future. Therefore, the management process is crucial and should be the main priority. They usually focus on the technical advances of the development project because, for them, the development has to go ahead regardless of the consequences (Dwivedi, 2002). As Picotto, Director of the World Bank Operations evaluation Department, states

“Dams will continue to be built, .....they will be built at a slower pace than necessary, with great pain and higher human and environmental cost. Instead, win-win logic is needed, so that the history of dam construction can evolve from confrontation to cooperation” (Picciotto et al., 2001 in Penz et al., 2011).

The main concern for this group is to minimise the adverse outcomes of displacement however, opponents argue that there are more issues to consider in relation to large dam projects and the associated displacement of local populations (Penz et al., 2011). There is a need for greater emphasis on the actual roots of the issues, such as legal restrictions, as Penz et al., (2010) argues;

“.....as a result of the focus on technical issues, the past two decades have seen a wide array of new policy guidelines, evaluative techniques, legal restrictions and aid conditionalities enter the world of international development” (Penz et al., 2011)

One of the best known commentators of this approach is the World Bank researcher Michael Cernea (Morvaridi, 2004; Dwivedi, 2002). The next section introduces ‘radical-movementists’ as the other category in involuntary resettlement thinking because, unlike the ‘reformist-managerials’, this approach does not propose how resettlement can be managed better, but rather questions its roots (Morvaridi, 2004).

### **2.6.2 Radical-movementist**

The ‘radical-movementist’ approach sees displacement as an example of the ‘uneven’ distribution of the costs and benefits associated with development and ‘Radical-movementists’ advocate rights-based approaches to displacement and justice (Penz et al., 2011). They suggest that the political system works against the poor and that poor people cannot protect their actual rights and social well-being. Here, displacement is seen as evidence of development's uneven and unfair distribution in terms of costs and benefits. Thus, it is seen as the “ultimate ugly face of development” (Morvaridi, 2004). It is argued that instead of improving people's well-being, development, through displacement, causes disruption to existing ways of life for those who are already poor (Morvaridi, 2004). Such an approach does not place emphasis on how to manage an appropriate resettlement process, but raises more fundamental political issues of rights, governance and negotiation, which question developments that involve displacement (Morvaridi, 2004; Dwivedi, 2002).



Proponents of this approach are varied. Parasuraman, (1993) or Mehta, (2000) (who have studied displacement specifically from a gender perspective) can be considered as defenders of this movement. In addition, the leader of Narmada Baco Andolan (NBA), has written a letter to the Prime Minister saying;

“...The assessment of the large dams like Sardar Sarovar cannot be made on the basis of the displacement rehabilitation aspect alone; other equally important aspects like, displacement, distraction, cost benefit and the realistic analysis of benefits are some of the necessary parameters. It would be irrelevant to discuss merely the rehabilitation aspect of disregarding the strong challenge from our organisation to the claims about benefits from the dam. The dam will not solve the serious problem of water and drought of Kutch-Saurashtra regions, while the distribution of the benefits too is not equitable and just. Knowing this, it becomes important to ask why the peasants and labourers should sacrifice their life and resources. Instead of spending most of the irrigation allocations of the Gujarat on this single project, we appeal to concentrate all the resources and power for true, sustainable, decentralised alternatives without the problem of displacement” (Mahta Patkar 1999 in Penz et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, it is argued that regardless of their individual perspectives, researchers have studied the incidence of displacement but in different forms. As explained earlier, the lack of clear objectives, consistent procedures and adequate resources for addressing resettlement have resulted in serious adverse effects for those displaced, in particular women and marginalised groups. The next section therefore introduces some gender aspects of resettlement and explains why gender should not be separated from displacement.

## **2.7 Gendered perspective of involuntary resettlement**

### **2.7.1 The statement**

The social impacts of large dam projects have been extensively documented from different perspectives, particularly in relation to involuntary resettlement (Guggenheim, 1994; Scudder, 1993; Cernea, 1991). However, consideration of the gender dimensions of development projects such as dams often remains inadequate (Tan 2005). This is a

particularly important consideration for this research, because it is argued that displaced people are usually seen as a genderless entity, rather than as women or men with different interests and needs (Mehta 2002). The household should be seen as a place where women and men either “co-operate, or are in conflict, with each other” (Sen, 1990 in Tan (2008) Jackson, 2003; Kabeer, 1994). In reality, the construction of large dams entails significant changes in terms of the environment, social organisation (including family, community and kinship networks), natural and financial resources. It is argued that all of these changes have gendered perspectives (Mehta, 2000; Thukral, 1996).

As a result of relocation, women’s access to land or resources may be reduced, or in some cases even lost altogether. In most parts of Asia and Africa, women have rights of use in relation to land and forests, but social customs or traditions mean that they are rarely allowed to own or inherit land. In Turkey, the laws in the new Civil Code (from 1926) established women’s rights in terms of marriage, divorce, inheritance and property ownership. Equal inheritance rights for men and women, as well as women's rights to freely own and dispose of property, were granted as fundamental constituents of the adopted secular civil legislation (Gündüz-Hosgor and Smits, 2006). However, due to social customs, these formal rights for women do not always apply in practice in some parts of the world (Morvaridi, 2004). For instance, where a woman inherits a plot of land, tradition would require her to give it up and transfer it to her brother, so she may be obliged to do this for the well-being of her family (Mehta, 2000; Parasuraman, 1993).

### **2.7.2 Gender relationships**

Changes in production habits, activities caused by irrigation, relocation due to resettlement or changes in work-related systems due to the impacts of dams all cause important changes to social and gender relationships within a community. In some cases, the social impact of dams may lead to more equal gender relationships (for example, in a resettlement scheme in Zimbabwe women tended to be treated better by their husbands as they were no longer influenced by the cultural norms of their kinship networks (Koenig 1995). However, most studies indicate that the social impacts of dams tend to exacerbate, rather than ease, “gender

asymmetries” (Ahmad and Lahiri Dutt, 2006; Thukral, 1996; Mehat 2002). Women thus seem to be affected more adversely due to gender relationships.

Changes might also arise due to the division of labour. Depending on their social status, well-being, class or caste these changes may in some cases be experienced differently by men and women (Harris, 2008). For example, dependence on markets, finance can affect the division of labour, since some women do not know how to undertake some of the required tasks (Mehta, 2002). Household wealth might increase following the arrival of irrigation and this can lead to ‘double or triple the workload’ for some women. They could find themselves undertaking many more tasks on the land (Ahmad and Lahiri Dutt, 2006)

The change in the character of the community can have several types of impact on people’s sense of well-being. For instance, in the South Asian context women are less mobile than men and changes in the social system affect them more severely than men (Thurkral, 1996; Parasuraman, 1993). Displacement can have severe implications for the already restricted mobility of women, in a context where women are forced to spend more time in agricultural labour because of shrinking economic opportunities within their communities (Thukral 1996 Srinivasan, 1997).

### **2.7.3 Way forward**

According to Mehta (2008) and Tan et al. (2005), ‘displacement exacerbates inequalities and leaves women facing increased vulnerability and impoverishment’ (Tan 2005). Women generally have limited opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes surrounding displacement. As a precaution, resettlement policies need to incorporate a gendered policy perspective, ensuring that women and men are provided with equal opportunities to develop and utilise their skills, and to participate in decisions on their displacement and resettlement (Mehta 2008). New approaches and gender attachments within the relevant frameworks and models that analyse involuntary resettlement are necessary (Tan et al., 2005). The following section examines these frameworks and models and suggests a way in which involuntary resettlement can be studied more effectively.

## **2.8 Studying involuntary resettlement**

### **2.8.1 Models of involuntary resettlement**

As discussed previously, involuntary resettlement occurs in social, historical and political contexts and it may have various implications for those affected, in particular women and marginal groups. Models and frameworks have been created to help in understanding the component process. This part of the thesis will discuss some analytical models, which have had an important impact on understanding of involuntary displacement and resettlement. The discussion will focus on the concepts used within these models, and will identify both their strengths and limitations. This analysis of existing models will serve as the starting point for the subsequent examination of the resettlement process associated with the Birecik Dam, which will be presented in the discussion chapters of this thesis.

### **2.8.2 Early modelling approaches**

Over the years the processes associated with human settlement have been widely researched and various conceptual frameworks created (Scudder, 2005a). In the late 1960s, Chambers developed a three-stage general model for the evolution of land settlement schemes in Africa (Chambers, 1969). Subsequently, the work of Nelson (1973), on a settlement scheme in Latin America, supported Chamber's (1969) model. The work of Chambers and Nelson offers a broad basis for research into settlement issues, but tends to concentrate on the "conceptualisation of the institutional or organisational dimensions of 'managed' land-settlement programmes" (Scudder 2005a), whilst providing only an overview of the 'voluntary resettlers' experiences. However, this should be considered as a good foundation study, in particular for land settlement schemes in Africa (Scudder, 2005a; Scudder, 1993). These early modelling approaches have their good points, but they also have limitations.

### 2.8.3 Four-stage framework

Building on the earlier concepts of Nelson and Chambers, Scudder and Colson (1982) formulated a theoretical model of settlement processes, which identified four distinct stages. Scudder and Colson (1982) gathered data from a number of dam resettlement schemes and used them to construct an analytical model of how communities, households and individuals respond to resettlement. This model focuses on the psychological and social behaviour of the resettlers in the case of resettlement, and analyses their behaviour (Scudder, 1993; Scudder, 1981). It is suggested that every resettled community will have progressed through various different stages and processes; these are specific behavioural patterns and they are analysed in terms of stages. The four stages in this model are,

Figure 2.2

i)	planning and recruitment;
ii)	adjustment and coping;
iii)	community formulation and economic development;
iv)	handover and incorporation.

Scudder (1981, 1993,2005a)

Actually, this model was initially formulated to apply to voluntary resettlement processes. However, Scudder has later extended it to cover some involuntary resettlement processes as well. A basic explanation of the model is given in Figure 2.3

**Figure 2.3:** Stages of Scudder's model

**Stage 1** covers fundamental issues of the involuntary resettlement including the planning associated with the removal and the rehabilitation of affected communities. It stresses the importance of the early involvement of those who will be affected by the resettlement, in the planning and decision-making process. It also highlights the significance of providing development opportunities for resettlers and host populations, rather than emphasising compensation and income restoration as proposed by World Bank guidelines (section 2.5).

**Stage 2** deals with the physical process of resettlement and the years immediately following removal. Here the behaviour of the majority of those affected tends to be risk averse and living standards can be expected to drop, even in a well planned and implemented resettlement process. During this stage people will usually experience a certain amount of stress as they begin to think about and anticipate their uncertain future. According to Scudder and Colson (1982), such stress is a multi-dimensional phenomenon involving both physiological and socio-cultural components. In such situations, resettlers tend to adhere to familiar behaviours and act as if their socio-cultural system was a closed rather than an open system, avoiding experimentation with new behaviours and practices and instead turning inward to reduce stress (Scudder and Colson, 1982).

**Stage 3** deals with community and economic development, and at this point the majority of resettlers are able to improve their living standards. This stage may last for many years. It is characterised by a more enthusiastic attitude amongst those affected and an increase in alternative assets, such as children's education and small business development (Scudder 1981). During this stage new communities start to form in the resettlement locations. Communal facilities are also constructed to facilitate greater social integration (Scudder 1993).

**Stage 4** is identified as a difficult and complex process that involves an examination of the process of resettlement and resettlement planning. This stage incorporates the handover of production systems and community leadership to a second generation of residents, who identify with and feel at home in the new community. Once this stage has been achieved, resettlement is deemed a success adapted from

Source: (Scudder 1993)

#### **2.8.4 Problems with the four-stage framework**

The conceptual models of Chambers (1969), Nelson (1973) and later Scudder (1993) are of value and can be used by researchers to interpret their findings. These models can also assist with the development of settlement theories. However, according to Cernea (2000), they remain limited due to their lack of focus on impoverishment. In addition, it is suggested that early models were developed to explain the stages of 'voluntary' settlement, and were only later applied to some successful cases of 'involuntary' resettlement (Cernea and McDowell 2000). However, the majority of involuntary resettlement operations have been unsuccessful,

which means that the impact of failed resettlement cannot be ‘modelled’ using the Scudder-Colson four-stage framework (Cernea and McDowell 2000).

Muggah (2003) highlighted that Scudder’s model is “complex and politicised” (Muggah 2003). The model does not pay attention to differences within the communities. Not all resettlers are the same and they may, in fact, cope and adapt to the relocation differently. It can therefore be misleading to assume that all those affected by the resettlement are the same (Muggah, 2003). Also, in his latest book, Scudder himself (Scudder 2005a) highlights some concerns that have been raised when applying the model to real world cases of development. He accepts the fact that the framework has limited capacity to deal effectively with the differing behaviour and responses of individuals towards resettlement (Scudder 2005a).

More importantly for this particular study, gender roles and relationships are also missing from the model. This model suggests that resettlers are ‘passive victims’ in the process of displacement and resettlement (McDonald 2006). However, according to McDonald (2006) they are, in some cases, “capable of resettling themselves and reconstructing their livelihoods” (McDonald 2006). Thus, assuming that all displaced people are inactive members of the community can also be misleading. Gender and other factors should be included within any model for studying livelihoods.

In short, these conceptual models are intellectual tools that have been useful for the interpretation of field research. However, none of these models has highlighted impoverishment, or any means of avoiding impoverishment (McDonald, 2006; Tan et al., 2005; Dwivedi, 2002). Thus, the next section introduces a model that addresses these issues and highlights impoverishment in the resettlement process, together with its limitations.

### **2.8.5 Impoverishment risks and reconstruction framework (IRR)**

Dwivedi (2002) argues that the unhappy outcomes of failed resettlement strategies should be used to inform the development of better policies and new conceptual frameworks. As already mentioned, during the 1980s and 1990s it is argued that the Scudder-Colson ‘four-stage model’ was not appropriate for all resettlement situations (Cernea and McDowell 2000). This suggested that a new approach was necessary to explain the consequences of involuntary resettlement. Cernea developed his Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR) in response to this recognition. His model is considered to be one of the most important models for explaining and managing resettlement schemes. In contrast to the Scudder-Colson four-stage model, the IRR model does not attempt to identify different stages of relocation, but instead, identifies the potential risks in the resettlement process that actually threaten sustainability in economic and social terms (Cernea and McDowell 2000). In particular, the model stresses that forced displacement can lead to impoverishment for resettlers by bringing about eight risks – “landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality and community disarticulation” (Cernea, 1996,1997 Cernea and McDowell 2000).

Cernea (2000) recommends that the model be used as a tool to “anticipate the major risks of involuntary resettlement, to examine the behavioural responses of displaced communities, and to guide the reconstruction of the displaced populations’ livelihoods” (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Unlike Scudder’s (1988) four-stage framework, which also incorporates voluntary resettlement, the IRR model focuses primarily on involuntary community relocation. The eight typical short and long term risks, resulting from displacement, are identified as follows:



**Figure 2.4:** Impoverishment risks in IRR

**Landlessness:** expropriation of land results in displaced people losing their most fundamental productive resource. People depend upon land for agriculture, commercial activities and their livelihoods. This loss of both physical and manmade capital is the principal form of de-capitalisation and pauperisation of displaced people.

**Joblessness:** Loss of employment particularly affects people residing in urban areas but also occurs frequently in rural areas, displacing landless labourers and service workers, artisans and small businessmen. Creating new job opportunities is as difficult as finding vacant land. This can result in unemployment or under employment long after physical resettlement has been completed.

**Homelessness:** The loss of a house or shelter is temporary for most displaced people, but for some it remains a chronic situation, which in turn may lead to cultural impoverishment.

**Marginalisation:** This risk occurs when families lose economic power and slide downwards in the social scale. For example, middle income farm households may not become landless but instead become small landowners; small shopkeepers and craftsmen may lose jobs or income and slip below poverty thresholds. Relative marginalisation often starts long before the actual displacement occurs and may begin as soon as land is identified for future flooding. As well as affecting land values, such plans will lead to new public and private infrastructure investments being prohibited within the designated reservoir area. The provision of additional social services may also be affected owing to uncertainties about the future needs of the affected population.

**Increased morbidity:** Serious health impacts may result from relocation-related and psychological traumas. Vulnerability to illness may be increased and unsafe water supplies and waste treatment systems can help to spread infectious diseases such as dysentery or cholera.

**Food insecurity:** Forced displacement increases the risk of chronic food insecurity, defined as calorie and protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work. Sudden decreases in food crop availability and/or incomes are inevitable during physical relocation, and hunger or undernourishment tends to have on-going and long-term effects.

**Loss of access to common property:** For poor people, particularly for the landless and otherwise asset-less, loss of access to common property assets (e.g. afforested land, open water or grazing) belonging to the communities that are relocated, can cause deterioration in incomes and livelihoods that may be systematically overlooked and typically undercompensated within government schemes.

**Social disarticulation:** The dismantling of communities' social organisation structures and the dispersion of informal and formal networks, associations and local societies is a costly yet unquantified loss. This factor often goes unrecognised by planners or is simply discounted. However, it can be one of the most pervasive causes of enduring impoverishment and disempowerment

Source: (Cernea and McDowell, 2000)

The IRR model also recommends reconstructing the livelihoods and incomes of displaced populations based on eight distinct goals, as follows.

**Figure 2.5:** Recommendations of IRR

- |  |
|--|
| 1-From landlessness to land-based resettlement             |
| 2-From unemployment to re-employment                       |
| 3- From homelessness to house reconstruction               |
| 4- From social disarticulation to community reconstruction |
| 5- From marginalisation to social inclusion                |
| 6- From expropriation to restoration of community assets   |
| 7- From food insecurity to adequate nutrition              |
| 8- From increased morbidity to better health care          |

Source: (Cernea and McDowell, 2000)

The IRR model has been widely used based on the 8 risks of impoverishment. More recently the model has been expanded, by individual interpretation, to include the loss of access to public services (Mathur 1998, 1999; Mathur and Marsden 1998), loss of civil and human rights (Downing 1996) and temporary loss of access to education for school age children (Mapahatra 1999) in Scudder (2005a).

### **2.8.6 Limitations of the IRR framework**

Despite its contribution to research on involuntary displacement and resettlement, the IRR framework has not escaped criticism. According to Morvaridi (2004), IRR treats displacement as an inevitable consequence of past and future development. The model seems to focus on how to manage the resettlement processes and its inadequate outcomes (Morvaridi, 2004). In addition, the model tends to accord with the view that displacement is acceptable and good for people (Morvaridi, 2004).

While Cernea's classification of displacement risks has been used as an important 'diagnostic tool', the model has been criticised for only capturing losses and for not paying enough attention to issues such as violence or humiliation, which are often faced by women when resettlement occurs (Mehta, 2002). Furthermore, as discussed previously in this Chapter,

displaced people lose their assets, resources, livelihoods, institutions, networks, traditional values, identity, rights, entitlements etc. (Tan, 2008). Some of these losses can be negotiated and replaced, whereas others cannot (Tan 2008). For example, whilst a successful land-based policy can appropriately value and prevent landlessness, it may not be able to quantify the impact of the loss of communities, institutions, networks, values and traditional institutions. The measurement of these losses in terms of their economic value may be less effective for compensating the communities affected (Tan, 2008).

It can be argued that the participation element is also given insufficient attention. It does not provide the capacity for affected people either to define their losses in terms of their relationships to the resources in question, or to express their opinions on displacement. In addition, the IRR model seems to diagnose the problems from the viewpoint of the planner and fails to address the affected communities' needs, or even strengths, during the resettlement process (Scudder 2005a).

One concern with the IRR model, as highlighted by Tan (2008), is the lack of attention given to the host communities. Host populations are mentioned in the model, but there is no detailed examination of the 'host population's status' (Tan 2008). Therefore, the model is found to be less effective in evaluating the impact of the involuntary resettlement on host communities.

In actual fact, Scudder's Four Stage Framework and Cernea's IRR model are two approaches that look at the resettlement process from different perspectives. They suggest "a successful resettlement is possible, but only if planners adequately involve affected people and provide settlers and host communities with significant development opportunities" (Tan 2008). If combined into a single theory the two analytical frameworks can represent a way forward, and can perhaps be considered as a powerful tool for planning and implementing a more successful process for development-induced involuntary resettlement (Scudder 2005).

Finally, it is argued that the IRR model ‘focuses too much on impoverishment risks and fails to address the capabilities of the affected people’ (McDonald 2006). In fact, the displaced people might have the capacity to reconstruct their own livelihoods (McDonald 2006), but this is unclear in both models. Identification of assets, as well as capabilities, might open doors to understanding involuntary resettlement situations. Thus, Muggah (2000) sees the framework as ‘incomplete’, requiring additional approaches. This brings the livelihoods approach and sustainability considerations when thinking about involuntary resettlement. The following section introduces sustainable development thinking, followed by the livelihoods approach and suggests that a sustainable livelihoods approach can be used successfully to study and understand involuntary resettlement situations.

## **2.9 The emergence of sustainable development thinking and sustainable livelihood approaches**

Whilst IRR and the four-stage frameworks have been used successfully in cases of involuntary resettlement, since the 1980s sustainable livelihoods (SL) approaches have become one of the most common analytical tools used to plan development projects. The approach offers a way of thinking about poor people’s asset portfolios and the way in which they manage their assets to make a living in difficult circumstances (DFID 1999, Phonepraseuth 2012). The fundamental aspect of the sustainable livelihood approach is the ‘multi-dimensional’ side of poverty (DFID1999). In sustainable livelihood approaches there is also an emphasis on the ‘vulnerability and social exclusion’ (Phonepraseuth 2012). After considering livelihoods from a multi-dimensional perspective more focus should be paid to the different practices which either help people to make a living, or the constraints that affect people’s ability to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Chambers and Conway 1992; Scoones 1998). Recognition of these aspects may help to better understand poverty. The sustainable rural livelihoods approach actually originates from Sen’s (1981) study on famine. He suggested that “the ability to cope with famine is a result of not only the evident resources of a household, but also of household capabilities to access resources in times of need” (Chambers and Conway 1992; Ellis and Biggs 2001 in Small 2007). Thus, the root of the sustainable livelihood approach brings together the concept of Sen’s capability concept with ideas of equity and environmental sustainability (Small, 2007).

SL approaches have been used by a variety of NGOs and agencies. These include the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief (CARE), the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (Chang 2010). It is also argued in this research that SL approaches can be effectively used to analyse involuntary resettlement situations. In this thesis the DFID's livelihoods framework is taken as a reference framework and explored within the context of the study area. Before analysing involuntary resettlement using the SL framework, it is necessary to explore the DFID's SL approach and explain why it is suitable for this research.

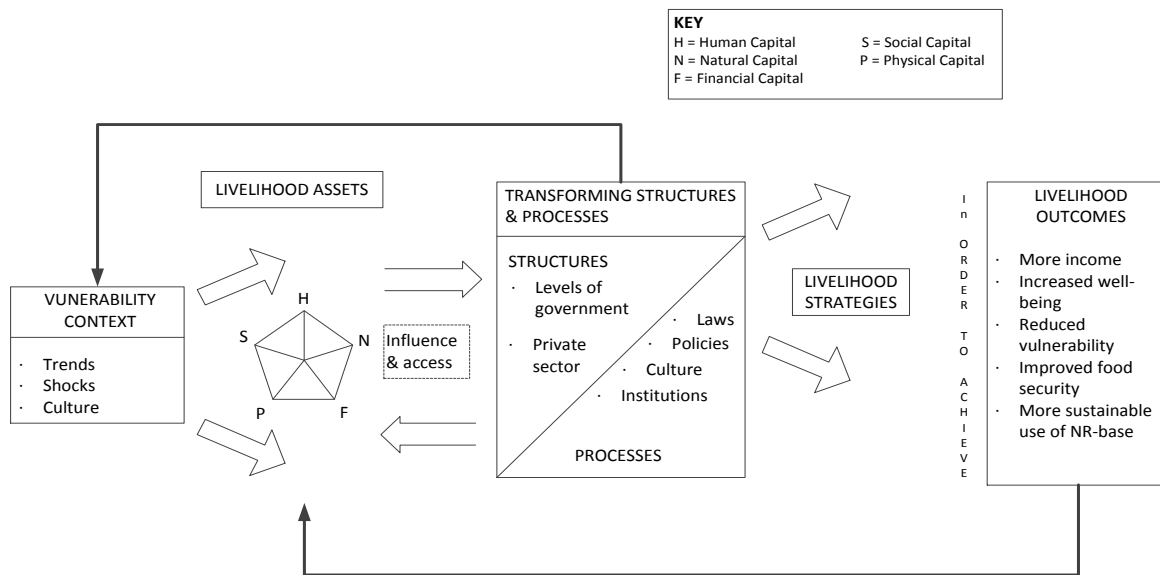
### **2.9.1 DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

The definition of sustainable livelihoods, modified by Chambers and Conway (1992) is given as follows -

“A livelihood comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and tangible and intangible assets. Tangible assets are resources and stores, and intangible assets are claims and access. .... A livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it maintains or enhances the local and global assets in which livelihoods depend, and has net beneficial effects on other livelihoods. A livelihood is socially sustainable, which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, and provide for future generations” (Chambers and Conway, 1991).

The DFID's sustainable livelihoods' framework is the foundation of SL approaches and it is known as a common tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods, particularly for the poor. The schematic form of the framework is illustrated in Figure 2.6

**Figure 2.6: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID)**



Source: Scoones (1998)

The figure above basically describes how poor people make a living and it is assumed that people are living within a vulnerability context (DFID 1999). Vulnerability here refers to the environment within which these people are exposed to external risks. This can involve shocks (natural disasters, financial crisis, wars, involuntary resettlement) or trends over time (population growth, market trends, technology transfers) or seasonal change (employment opportunities) (DFID, 1999). These shocks or trends can be negative as well as positive and they are all related to livelihood assets (DFID 1999).

Assets are human, social, natural, physical and financial and they constitute the foundation for an individual’s or a household’s livelihood (DFID 1999, Fernando 2010). These five assets form an asset pentagon. Within the framework it is suggested that people combine or substitute these assets to acquire, or gain access to, further assets and these assets are vital for achieving a sustainable livelihood (Scoones 1998, DFID 1999). For example, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, people may need financial capital such as savings or a regular income in order to gain access to human capital such as education; or sometimes social assets, such as a good relationship with friends and neighbours, may help people gain access to work

(human capital) and such access will eventually enable them to acquire financial assets (Chapter 6). These livelihood assets are illustrated in Figure 2.7.

**Figure 2.7:** Livelihood assets

<p><b>Natural asset:</b> land, water, forest and other biological resources</p>
<p><b>Physical asset:</b> infrastructure (roads, buildings), sanitation and communications</p>
<p><b>Financial asset:</b> cash and liquid assets (e.g savings and livestock), credit, transfers, remittances</p>
<p><b>Human asset:</b> education, skills, knowledge, and health, labour, power</p>
<p><b>Social asset:</b> social networks, trust, reciprocity, kinship, and organisations</p>

Source: DFID 1999

Furthermore, people develop livelihood strategies in order to make a living. In other words, livelihood strategies are options for using the assets that are available to them in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes to meet their own livelihood objectives (DFID 1999, McDonald 2006). People generally adopt livelihood strategies that maximise their livelihood outcomes and do this by managing their livelihood asset portfolios (McDonald 2006). In terms of this research, the detailed examples of the resettlers' livelihood strategies can be found in Chapter 7.

Moreover, as can be seen from Figure 2.6, 'institutional processes and organisational structures' are also central to livelihood strategies. Access to livelihood assets is influenced by structures and processes. These can be termed public and private institutions, organisations, policies and legislation etc. These shape the livelihoods of individuals or households (Scoones, 1998). In this research, institutional arrangements are detailed with special reference to gender roles (Chapter 8).

Finally, 'livelihood outcomes' are the achievements of the people (DFID, 1999). Analysis of the five key elements identified (increased well-being, increased income, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, sustainable use of natural resources) would provide some sort of conclusions to assess whether or not a livelihood is sustainable (McDonald,

2006). In addition, the livelihood outcomes will not always be in economic terms, they can also include the sense of being empowered or the choices or freedoms acquired (DFID, 1999).

When considering all these elements of the SL framework it becomes an important tool for analysing poor people, and, in fact, livelihood approaches have a valuable contribution to research and development. Even though the SL framework will be used to analyse resettlers' livelihoods, it is argued that the framework does have some shortcomings which also need to be considered.

### **2.9.2 Some shortcomings of SL approaches**

As explained in the previous section, sustainable livelihood thinking offers a systematic way of analysing how poor people survive under difficult circumstances. However, as well as their potential benefits, sustainable livelihood approaches are argued to have some shortcomings in different contexts.

First of all, it is argued that livelihood approaches do not give sufficient consideration to political aspects and power relationships (Krantz, 2001; Hussein, 2002; Scoones, 2009). However, it is also suggested that the 'transforming structures and processes' box (in Figure 2.6), representing policies, institutions and processes, is actually intended to reflect the social and political structures and processes that could potentially effect livelihood choices and outcomes (Phonepraseuth 2012 Scoones & Wolmer, 2003 DFID, 1999 Moose 1995).

There are also two further areas of criticisms, which this research covered within the discussion Chapters. According to Krantz (2001), Hussein (2002) and Carney (2003), the sustainable livelihood approach tends to take the household as the basic unit of analysis – and “does not pay sufficient attention to how different categories of household relate to different types of asset, to the vulnerability context, to markets, and organisations” (in Phonepraseuth 2012). This is particularly important because, as indicated previously, not all the households



are identical. This was one of the criticisms put forward when discussing the shortcomings of IRR and four-stage frameworks (section 2.8.3 and 2.8.5). Therefore, for the purposes of this research households are categorised into better off, middle income and poor households in order to examine their access to assets (Chapter 6).

Again relevant to the research undertaken, it is suggested that SL approaches towards analysing involuntary resettlement do not give sufficient importance to ‘impoverishment risks’. (McDowell 2002). Therefore, in Chapter 7 Cernea’s IRR risks will be acknowledged and the livelihoods of resettlers are examined through IRR risks (McDowell 2002).

With these shortcomings in mind the SL framework can be used to examine and understand various livelihood strategies employed by resettlers. The section below explains the potential for using SL approaches to study cases of involuntary resettlement.

## **2.10 The potential of SL approaches in studying involuntary resettlement**

Sustainable development thinking is recognised as complementary to involuntary resettlement research; and it is suggested that “it enables researchers to better understand the displacement process in terms of the causes and effects of displacement to livelihoods” (McDowell 2002, Phonepraseuth 2012). For instance, according to Downing 2002 and Murickan et al 2003, “resettlement studies need to integrate the sustainable development concept into livelihood restoration” (Phonepraseuth 2012 and Downing 2002). By this means it is suggested that the impoverishment risks can be prevented, and this may enable those affected to rebuild their lives faster and more sustainably (Fernandes 2000, Phonepraseuth 2012). Furthermore, the sustainable development approach needs to be included in resettlement cases because “sustainable development involves not only relocating and rehabilitating displacees, but assuring that resettled communities are better off than before and they are beneficiaries of the project that was responsible for their displacement in the first place” (Phonepraseuth 2012 Tan 2008, McDowell 2002, WCD 2000).

The SL framework can be useful in analysing the problems associated with involuntary resettlement because “sustainable livelihood is the ultimate objective of every resettlement project” (Tan, 2008 and as previously indicated, “the sustainable livelihoods approach focuses on a variety of factors, at different levels, that determine or constrain people’s access to resources” (Bui et al 2012, McDowell 2002). Identification of these factors is crucial when studying how resettlers have rebuilt their livelihoods or their livelihood strategies. This would, in turn, prove beneficial in addressing Cernea’s IRR risks.

As discussed earlier in this Chapter, involuntary resettlement creates many risks, in particular a reduction in income, as well as a decrease in living standards (Cernea1996, 1997, Cernea and McDowell 2000). A sustainable livelihoods focus can enable the researcher to “track these negative changes in a systematic way” (McDowell 2002). Alternatively, an SL focus can enable the researcher to explore asset portfolios after the resettlement, as well as the impact of these changes on the livelihood strategies of those resettled (Bui et al 2012, McDowell 2002).

There have been some studies that use or combine SL approaches to study cases of involuntary resettlement. More recent research has shown that SL approaches are useful for studying involuntary resettlement because it is argued that “much less is known about how those affected adapt, or try to adapt, to their new settlements, and also what factors help them to restore their livelihoods” (Bui et al 2012). For instance, Bui et al., 2012, in their research, which explores involuntary resettlement situations in Vietnam, focus on livelihood assets, strategies and outcomes for the resettlers by using the sustainable livelihoods framework. In this way they were able to identify “what changes in terms of livelihood assets and strategies contributed to the rehabilitation of households after resettlement” (Bui et al 2012). In accordance with Bui et al 2012, it is suggested in this research that a focus on sustainable livelihoods can be beneficial in cases of involuntary resettlement.

McDowell (2002) later outlined a framework for research on involuntary resettlement. He studied the socioeconomic and cultural impacts of involuntary resettlement and outlined a research methodology for this purpose. In doing so, he combined SL research with impoverishment risks of Cernea. Accordingly, (McDowell 2002) emphasises that a focus on institutions, as well as sustainability, would be helpful in understanding the impacts of involuntary resettlement, and, furthermore, this focus may shape the research. Following McDowell (2002), McDonald (2006) interpreted her IRSL framework (i.e. Impoverishment Risks and Sustainable Livelihoods) as resource strategies and outcomes, claiming that involuntary resettlement models only lag far behind when it comes to analysing this type of case.

Another series of studies by Wilmsen et al. (2011), on the other hand, in agreement with McDonald (2006), used the combined framework of McDowell's IRSL. They criticised the commonly used IRR as it can only be a descriptive tool in analysing involuntary resettlement, which only details the risks that people may face, and it is too focused on economics. Moreover, according to Wilmsen et al., (2011) more insights are needed in involuntary resettlement studies. Thus, they combined IRR with SL approaches and agreed that the combination provides an analytical structure that can detail the involuntary resettlement in terms of the resettlers' assets, strategies and outcomes (Wilmsen et al 2011).

In addition, Webber and McDonald (2004) also believed that SL insights into involuntary resettlement situations are important in order to come up with more accurate results. In fact, in one of their studies in Xiaolandgi, they argued that people in the study area were not homeless because they had actually been provided with a house. However, by adding SL approaches to studies on involuntary resettlement they were able to understand that although the resettlers in Xiaolandgi were not homeless, their capacity to produce decreased and this led to food insecurity, marginalisation and loss of income. This deterioration may originate from the loss of productive assets such as land, common property resources, jobs, health etc in the long term (Webber and McDonald 2004). These issues may not be adequately

addressed using an IRR focus. Thus, SL approaches are necessary in involuntary resettlement research to provide a more accurate analysis.

Moreover, Chimvou and Hulme (2006) decided to integrate livelihood approaches into resettlement thinking in their research into a resettlement situation in Zimbabwe. In addition to that, Fernando (2010) who studied the ‘impact of vulnerability after forced relocation in Sri Lanka (forced relocation after the Indian Ocean Tsunami)’ also decided to use sustainable livelihood integration to assess the livelihoods of the relocated people. Even though his approach is not identical to most of the impact studies within the literature, his study is rooted in two main research areas - displacement and relocation research; and vulnerability and livelihoods research. As well as housing, common infrastructure and other services, he investigated household capital and livelihood strategies by using SL as one of the analytical tools (Fernando 2010).

Finally, Phonepraseuth (2012) advocates the use of SL approaches in involuntary resettlement studies. He suggests that IRR and SL approaches actually have many similarities. In his study of resettled populations in the Nakai Plateau in 2012, he also adopted an SL framework to analyse his findings, and he concludes that each impoverishment risk can actually be inversely related to sustainable livelihood outcomes (as McDowell 2002 also suggested). For instance,

“joblessness is the inverse of more employment opportunities or even greater income. Increased morbidity and mortality are the inverse of increased well-being; food insecurity is the inverse of food security; marginalisation and social disarticulation are the inverse of reduced vulnerability” (McDowell 2002, Phonepraseuth 2012).

He also suggested that avoiding such risks is actually essential to providing sustainable livelihood outcomes for the resettlers. His research proofed that unlike studies that suggest involuntary resettlement impoverishes the affected people, the Nakai resettlement plan actually has the potential to strengthen local capacities (Phonepraseuth 2012). He was able to

see these strengths when adopting an SL framework for his study. As can be seen in many cases, SL approaches can be effectively used in involuntary resettlement research.

## **2.11 The Way Forward: The use of Sustainable Livelihood Approaches in analysing livelihoods in Halfeti**

In accordance with (Phonepraseuth (2012) Chimvou and Hulme (2006) McDonald (2006), and others, in order to discuss the findings of this research it is suggested that an SL approach is used to understand the resettlers and the ways in which they have reconstructed their livelihoods. In order to do this, it will be necessary to focus on the livelihood assets, outcomes, and strategies of the affected people in Halfeti. As explored in the studies mentioned above, this will involve a focus on the capacities and real vulnerabilities of the resettlers, as well as the economic and physical changes brought about by the resettlement. Thus, this research will elaborate on these aspects in relation to the people of Halfeti. In addition, it will also be necessary to examine these aspects through an IRR lens (Chapter 7) and by this means it will be possible to see the real impoverishment risks for these people. The following livelihood tools will be used as a focus.

### **2.11.1 Livelihood assets focus in Halfeti**

Resettlers' asset portfolios in Halfeti are important. Because "when there is a lack of capacity to adapt to a changing environment as resettlers move to a new location, people become vulnerable" (in Phonepraseuth (2012). Thus, it is also important to assess the ability of the resettlers to turn their assets into successful livelihoods. (Gutman (1994), Cernea (1996, 1997, 1998) and Downing (2002) in Phonepraseuth 2012) among others have pointed out that "during displacement and resettlement, people often lose natural, physical, human and social capital. This loss will further affect their livelihoods and may affect their capabilities and freedoms to adopt successful livelihood strategies" (Phonepraseuth 2012). Therefore, an emphasis on people's asset portfolios is particularly important in analysing the resettled Halfeti. Throughout the research I have sought to identify the livelihood resources (assets) that are required for the pursuit of different livelihood strategies by resettled populations. How do different people gain access to different resources? Has the asset base for the people

of Halfeti reduced or increased and for whom has it increased or decreased? This will be an important differentiation within the analysis. The answers to these questions, in addition to a detailed asset examination for the resettlers, can be found in the discussion chapters of the thesis.

### **2.11.2 Livelihood strategies and Capabilities focus in Halfeti**

People adopt livelihood strategies in order to maximise their livelihood outcomes. They actually adopt these strategies by managing their asset base. In Halfeti, it will be crucial to assess how people adopt these livelihood strategies and to determine who adopts which types of strategy. What are the constraints and what actually helps them to rebuild their livelihoods more sustainably and more quickly? In addition, section 2.8.6 explained that Cernea's IRR risks are less effective in analysing poor people's capabilities in reconstructing their livelihoods (also in McDowell 2002). However, it is important to study resettlers' capabilities, because capabilities are "what persons are able to do and to be within their society" (Robeyns, 2005). Thus it is crucial to examine the real freedoms of resettlers and the ways in which these have changed after resettlement in Halfeti. The real capacities and the freedoms of people in Halfeti can be found in Chapter 7. This may not be possible when using IRR in isolation.

### **2.11.3 Institutions and transforming structures focus in Halfeti**

It is argued that SL approaches and the IRR model both acknowledge the importance of institutions (McDowell 2002). In Halfeti it is more likely that the former institutional and livelihood arrangements are altered. More importantly, SL research asks: who is barred entry; who sets the rules; and what are the implications of this for the management of the environment and the pursuit of sustainability? It may be possible to analyse power relationships, changed behaviour and similar patterns through an institutional focus, because institutions are rooted in power structures and are concerned with the formation and value of routines and norms. The institutional approach therefore represents the best means to examine power and power relationships within households in Halfeti and this will be assessed in greater depth in Chapter 8.

## **2.11 Conclusion**

Research into involuntary resettlement has grown rapidly during the last two decades. Researchers from different disciplines have studied various resettlement events and have generated theoretical frameworks to explain the complicated and dynamic process of involuntary resettlement. These, especially the more recent IRR model, provide us with valuable approaches and methods that can be applied to study the human displacement associated with the GAP project in Turkey.

However, approaches to the study of displacement, such as IRR only, do not place sufficient emphasis on gender, regardless of the fact that the literature indicates that there is a need to focus on gender when studying displacement. Research has shown that women are adversely affected by displacement; and treatment of the household as a “black box” has different implications for different women. It is also necessary to examine the transformation of institutions around which the assets revolve. In addition, IRR remains less effective in exploring the capabilities of resettled people.

Moreover, the sustainable livelihood approach to understanding rural livelihoods can enhance research on involuntary resettlement, with a particular focus on people’s asset portfolios and what they do with these assets. The potential for bringing gender into the research, as well as a greater focus on institutional processes, may be enhanced by the sustainable livelihoods approach and can benefit research on involuntary resettlement in Halfeti. This could have many implications for policy and represent the means to achieve the ultimate goal of resettlement: sustainable livelihoods.

## CHAPTER 3

### GAP PROJECT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESULTS IN THE AREA OF IMPLEMENTATION

#### 3.0 Introduction

Chapter 2 explored the literature on involuntary resettlement. This chapter presents the GAP project and its objectives, followed by more recent statistics for the GAP region in relation to its socio-economic status since the implementation of the projects. In this chapter it is aimed to outline the progress of the GAP project in the Southeast Anatolia region of Turkey against its objectives, as defined in the master plan and formulated within the context of sustainability. The subsequent chapters will present the empirical data, following which the final conclusions will be drawn.

#### 3.1 Southeast Anatolia project (GAP)

The South-eastern Anatolia Project (GAP) is one of the largest power-generating, irrigation and development projects of its kind in the world. The GAP water development programme comprises a dam construction and development project that incorporates 19 dams and 22 hydropower projects, located on the Euphrates and Tigris river basins in Turkey (Altinbilek, 1997). When completed, it is expected to affect the entire structure of the Southeast region, in economic, social and cultural terms, through a process of transformation triggered by agricultural modernisation (Altinbilek 1997, Kaygusuz, 2002; Kaygusuz, 1999).

The development feasibilities of the Euphrates and Tigris river basins have been under consideration since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 (Altinbilek, 2004). The project started out as a major hydro-electric project in the 1970s to provide energy for the country and then became a regional development programme in the 1980s. A master plan was prepared in order to determine, and ultimately realise, the GAP region's potential - this being the least developed region in the country. The first master plan was prepared, setting out objectives, and this was to be re-issued every five years, with the focus on improvements in areas such as irrigation, health, education, and infrastructure which would, in turn, develop



the region. In addition, the GAP Regional Development Administration (GAPRDA) was established in order to undertake management, coordination and implementation in the region (GAP, 2011; Toybiyik, 2003).

### 3.1.1 Objectives of GAP

The basic objectives of GAP are “to eliminate regional development inequalities, by improving living standards and income levels; and contributing to such national goals as social stability and economic growth, by enhancing productivity and employment opportunities in the rural sector”(GAP, 2011).

According to the GAP master plan, the six pillars of the project are;

**Figure 3.1:** Six pillars of the GAP project

- |   |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1- To improve the economic structure of the region, thereby reducing the regional disparities;</li><li>2- To develop and manage water and land resources, both for irrigation and for urban and industrial use;</li><li>3- To improve land use, by introducing better farm management, agricultural practices and crop patterns;</li><li>4- To encourage manufacturing industries, by giving special weight to agriculture-related and local resource-based production lines;</li><li>5- To improve social services and urban infrastructure facilities, to better respond to the needs of local people and to attract and retain qualified personnel within the region;</li><li>6- To stabilise population growth and to enhance rural-urban migration</li></ol> |
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Adapted from; (Toybiyik, 2003)

### 3.1.2 Social action plan

The Southeast Anatolia region was in need of development on a number of fronts. Following the publication of the master plan, five social studies were conducted in the region, between 1990 and 1994, by relevant departments of GAPRDA and with the involvement of some Turkish universities (Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Harran University in Sanliurfa) and sociology departments (GAPRDA, 1994a; GAPRDA, 1994b; GAPRDA 1994c). The purpose of these social studies was to identify expectations from the project and to determine the problems in the region faced by women, children landless and the poor. A GAP social action plan was then prepared (GAPRDA, 1999; Toybiyik, 2003).

The intention was to introduce and implement sustainable human development in the region. In 1997, the Program for Sustainable Development in the GAP Region was then prepared, in cooperation with the UNDP. The main objective of this programme was to eliminate socio-economic inequalities in the region, as well as to focus on the human dimension, access to education, healthcare and housing. Social action plan (SAP) was prepared as a result of these studies. GAP Planners defined the social action plan as follows; (GAPRDA, 1999b).

**Figure 3.2:** Objectives of GAP social action plan (SAP)

- 1- To hasten the development process and to establish social stability, by encouraging economic growth with social improvements;
- 2- To diminish the disparities between the GAP Region and other regions, by increasing the effectiveness of social services for the GAP Region;
- 3- To identify methods for improving the acceptance of technological development;
- 4- To achieve integration of people from different social groups and levels in the region, through the development process;
- 5- To minimise the adverse effects of development;
- 6- To encourage participation by the public in the planning, implementation and monitoring stages of the development, using suitable methods for realising the conditions of sustainable development;
- 7- To carry out strategies for highlighting the planning and implementation units' vision.

Adapted from; (Akyurek, 2005)

In order to meet the sustainable development goals, for some of the projects, the GAP authorities put in place centres where people could participate. In order to encourage participation “Multi-Purpose Community Centres; Rehabilitation of Children Working on the Streets; Youth to Youth Social Progress; Resettlement, Employment and Economic Investments of People Affected by the Birecik Dam Construction; Enhancement of Employment and Capacity in Urban Informal Sector; GAP Region Public Health Project” were implemented (Akyurek, 2005; Toybiyik, 2003).

In economic terms, by the time the project is completed, the aim is to generate 55 billion kWh of electricity per annum, which constitutes 45% of the total economically exploitable hydroelectric potential; as well as irrigating a land area of 3 million hectares, which amounts more than 10% of the total cultivable land in Turkey (Kaygusuz, 2002). Thus, when completed, the GAP project will play an important role in the development of Turkey itself (Kaygusuz, 1999).

So, has progress been made? Has the objective of improving livelihoods been successful? The next section presents the GAP planners' attempts to integrate sustainable human development across a number of parameters. Statistical data from the Turkish statistical institute (TUIK) as well as some census data, will be used alongside some related academic research in the region.

### 3.2 GAP Region

#### Introduction to the GAP region

The Southeast Anatolia region in Turkey, where the GAP Project has been implemented, is known as the GAP region. Thus, the term 'GAP region' will be used interchangeably in this study. It is estimated that; after the project has been implemented, major changes will occur in the region - in social, economic and environmental terms (Bakis, 2005; Tortajada, 2000). To start with the evaluation, Table 3.1 illustrates some of the updated variables for the GAP region, and for Turkey as a whole.

**Table 3.1:** Comparison of GAP variables with Turkey

<b>Variables</b>	<b>GAP Region</b>	<b>Turkey</b>	<b>Ratio</b>
Total Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	75,000	780,000	10%
Population (x10 <sup>6</sup> )	6.6	67.8	10%
Water budget (billion m <sup>3</sup> )	52.9	186.1	28%
Irrigable land (x10 <sup>6</sup> ) hectare	1.82	8.5	20%
Hydropower potential	27.5	122	23%

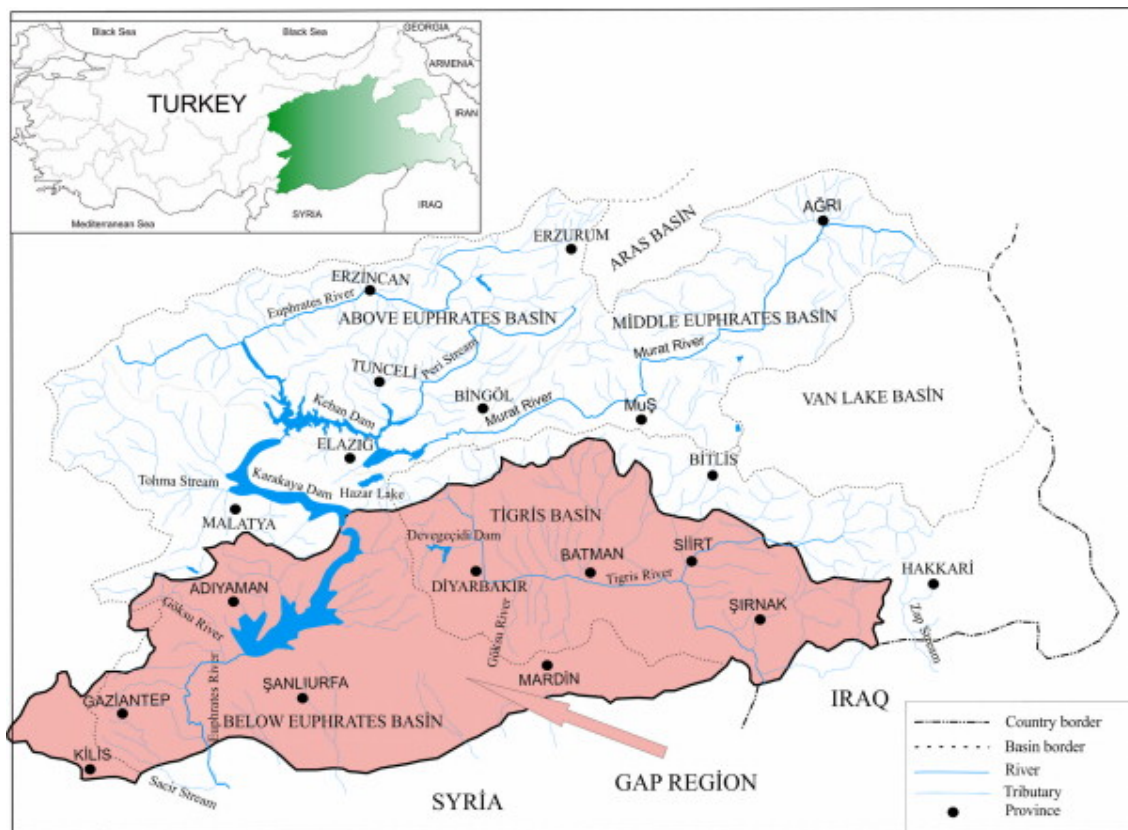
Source: GAPRDA 2005

As can be seen from Table 3.1; the GAP region constitutes 10% of the entire country; with 10% of the Turkish population living within the region (2000 census). Table 3.1 illustrates the region's potential, by making a clear comparison with the country as a whole. According to Akyurek (2005), 20% of the irrigable land in the country is located within the GAP region. The region also has the advantage of having 23% of the country's hydropower potential (Akyurek, 2005). In addition, it is important to highlight the latest irrigation statistics, as one of the objectives of the GAP master plan was to turn the region into an agricultural zone (Altinbilek, 1997). As can be seen in Table 3.1, 20% of the irrigable land is within the GAP Region.

### **3.2.1 Location of the GAP region**

Southeastern Anatolia is located in the north of the border with Syria and Iraq. The Mediterranean Sea lies to the east of the region. There are nine provinces within the region, with an approximate land area of 75.000km<sup>2</sup>. These are Adiyaman, Kilis, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Batman, Siirt and Sirnak. Historically, the region is part of Upper Mesopotamia - the cradle of the ancient Mesopotamian civilisation (Unver, 1997b). Figure 3.3 shows the location of the GAP region and Turkey as a whole.

**Figure 3.3** Map of Turkey and the Southeast region



Source:(Akpınar and Kaygusuz, 2012)

The Euphrates and the Tigris are the two major rivers in the GAP region. The Euphrates has its source in the eastern region of Turkey and flows through Syria and Iraq. Taken together, these rivers represent over 28% of the state's surface water supply (Unver, 1997b). The Euphrates River (*Firat*) lies in the western part of the GAP region. The Euphrates is known as the longest river in south west Asia (27,000 km). The Tigris River (*Dicle*) lies in the east of the GAP region. It drains a catchment of 38,000 km<sup>2</sup> upstream of the Syrian border, of which 30,000 km<sup>2</sup> lies within the GAP region (Unver, 1997b).

### 3.2.2 Population and demographic changes in the GAP Region

The total population of the GAP region is 7,476,893; and the overall population in Turkey is 73,722,988 (2010 census) (TUIK, 2012a). As illustrated in Table 3.1, this means that more than 10 % of the overall population lives in the GAP region (GAPRDA, 2010). When looked back to the 1980s, when the GAP project commenced, it can be seen that the total population in the region has increased from 4.35 million in 1985 to 6.6 million in 2000; and to 7.5 million in 2010.

The on-going increase in the population can be explained in terms of the ethnic characteristics of the region. It is argued that nearly 65% of the population of the Southeast Anatolia region are Kurds, and this makes the region the only Kurdish majority region in Turkey (Harris, 2002). High fertility rates are a characteristic of Kurdish nomadic or semi-nomadic families in the Southeast Anatolia Region (Harris 2002). Thus the nomadic families seem to contribute to this growth (Harris, 2002). Despite the recent changes in household characteristics in the region in terms of the small decrease in the household sizes; the high fertility rate (Table 3.2) is still a reality (Erçin 2006) and this leads to higher population growth.

In Turkey, the fertility rate per woman in 1970 was 5.3 %; by 1995 this number had decreased to 4.30%, before increasing once again, in 2000, to 4.86%. The increase in the fertility rate in the GAP region is given in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2** Total fertility rate (%)

	1980	1985	1990	2000	2009*
<b>Turkey</b>	3.41	2.59	2.65	2.57	1.73
<b>GAP Region</b>	4.63	4.02	4.37	4.86	2.72

Adapted from (TUIK, 2012c; Elmas, 2004)

As can be seen from Table 3.2 , between 1980-1990 fertility rates began to decline in the GAP region, as well as in Turkey overall. However, a small increase was observed, both for the GAP region and for Turkey as a whole, between 1985-1990, but total fertility within the GAP region was much higher in comparison - for example, 1.91% in the Marmara region and 2.1% in the Aegean region (Yildiz, 2008).

The Black Sea region in the West of Turkey represents a good example with which to compare population growth in the GAP region. In 1995-2000 the population growth rate in the Black Sea region was only 3.65%, whereas for the GAP region it was 20.77% and 19.17% for Turkey as a whole. Thus, it is clear that the GAP region has experienced higher population growth than other regions in Turkey. However, as can be seen from Table 3.3, the overall population growth rate for Turkey has only changed marginally year on year, yet for the GAP region the rate is still higher than for the country as a whole (Erçin 2006) Table 3.3 illustrates the recent population growth rate in both the GAP region and Turkey.

**Table 3.3:** Population growth rate in Turkey, and in the GAP region, between 2000 and 2010 (rates %)

	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	*2000-2005
Turkey	21.71	17.52	19.17	18.28
GAP Region	34.12	28.69	20.77	24.79

Source: (Erçin 2006) \*(TUIK, 2012e)

It is also important to mention that in 2000 the urban population growth rate was 36.8%; whereas the rural population growth rate was only 7.3%, and the overall population growth rate for the GAP region was 24.79%. Table 3.4 illustrates the urban and rural population totals and growth rates in the GAP region in 2000.

**Table 3.4:** Distribution of population in the region in 2000

<b>Region</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Total</b>
GAP	4,154,588	2,444,647	6,604
Population growth	36.85	7.3	24.73
Rate (%)			

Source: (Arslan and Ay, 2007)

It can be seen in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 that the population growth rate is higher for the region in 2000, whilst rural population growth is low. In addition, as can be seen from Table 3.5, the cities have a rapidly increasing population.

**Table 3.5,** Population in the GAP cities, of Gaziantep, Diyarbakir, Sanliurfa

<b>City</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>*2011</b>
Gaziantep	808,697	1,140,594	1,285,249	1,753,596
Diyarbakir	778, 150	1,094, 996	1,362, 708	1,570,943
Sanliurfa	602, 736	1,001,455	1,443,422	1,716,254

Source: (Demir, 2003b). \*(TUIK, 2012e)

Gaziantep, Diyarbakir and Sanliurfa are the largest cities in the region, in terms of population. Almost two thirds of the total population in the region lives within the Gaziantep, Diyarbakir and Sanliurfa Provinces. Since 1980, population growth within the region's cities has been high - 24.05 per thousand in Gaziantep; 21.87 per thousand in Diyarbakir; and 36.55 per thousand in Sanliurfa. Adiyaman exhibits the lowest population growth, at 6.4 per thousand (GAPRDA, 2010). According to the 2000 census, the urbanisation rate in the Southeast Anatolia Region is 62.69 %; the proportion in Gaziantep is 87.93 %; and the lowest urbanisation rate is 55.6% in Sanliurfa; with Mardin and Adiyaman at 57% (GAPRDA, 2010; Demir, 2003b). Actually in Turkey as a whole the urbanisation rate is 64.9 %. This demonstrates that the population in the urban areas in the GAP region has been increasing sharply compared to the country as a whole. In terms of urbanisation, Gaziantep appears to have taken the lead, whereas Mardin and Adiyaman have much lower urbanisation rates.



The household size is also bigger in GAP, in the GAP region's cities, the largest household size in 2008 was 8.2 in Sirnak, 7.7 in Mardin, and 7.6 in Batman (GAPRDA, 2010).

Yildiz (2008) suggested that the population of the GAP region will continue to increase over the next 10-15 years (Yildiz, 2008). One dimension is that the high population growth rate in the region has a negative impact on sustainable urbanisation. In the GAP region it is suggested that infrastructure development in the cities is insufficient to accommodate this growth (Erçin 2006). One of GAP's objectives, as outlined in the master plan (2000-2008), is to control the population and provide employment opportunities in the region. However, according to updated statistics of Turkish Statistics Institution (TUIK), the population growth rate has been slowly diminishing in the region, although it remains higher than for Turkey overall. It would appear that the objective to address high population growth in urban areas by encouraging people to remain, or settle, in rural areas has not yet been achieved.

### **3.2.3 Migration statistics in the region**

It is a popular trend in Turkey to migrate from rural areas to the industrial cities in search of work. Other reasons for this type of migration include natural disasters, as well as resettlement caused by Dam projects or terrorist attacks in the GAP region. The difference between net migration and in and out migration is explained as;

(Erçin 2006)

“Net migration is the difference between in-migration and out-migration for a specific area. If in-migration is more than out-migration, net migration is positive. Otherwise, it is negative. The net migration rate is the number of net migrations per thousand persons who are able to migrate” (GAPRDA, 2010).

As mentioned previously, one of the reasons for implementing the GAP project was to control migration from the region to Western cities, as well as from rural areas to cities within the region. However, based on the migration statistics, it would appear that the project has been ineffective in increasing rural migration. Although it is evident, at first glance, that since 2001, when the Birecik dam was completed, out-migration has been reduced radically in the area. Despite this 'slow-down', it can be seen that the in- and out-migration rates have

not been in balance since 1980, yet one of the objectives of GAP was to control out-migration from the rural areas. Thus it can be said that this objective has not been met yet. Recent population movements can be found in Table 3.6.

**Table 3.6:** Population movements in the region from 1987-2002 within GAP

	<b>In- Migration</b>	<b>Out- Migration</b>	<b>Net migration</b>	<b>Net Migration Rate (%)</b>
1975-1890	111,721	203,866	-92,145	-34
1980-1985	160,180	240,836	-80,656	-22
1985-1990	211,653	355,816	-144,166	-33
1995-2000	280,095	485,673	-205,578	-34
2000-2005	212,424	422, 425	-209,890	-31.8
2009	165,855	219,154	-53,299	-7.14

Source; GAPRDA (2010)

### 3.2.4 Economic parameters in GAP

The economic development of a region is, as a rule, expressed in terms of its gross domestic product (GDP) (Elmas 2004). As previously indicated, the GAP region has been one of the least developed regions in Turkey. However, there has been a slow increase in economic development over the years (Elmas, 2004). Table 3.7 illustrates GDP per capita from 1988 to 2010.

**Table 3.7:** GDP per capita (US Dollars) year (2004 prices)

	<b>1987</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>
Turkey	1.629	2.655	2.727	2.948	2.146	2.584
GAP Region	981	1.569	1.498	1.532	1.132	-

Source: Elmas (2004)

As shown in Table 3.7, the GDP improved from 1987 to 1990, both for the country overall, and for the region. However, since 2000 GDP in the GAP region has decreased slightly, as well as in the country as a whole. There are two reasons for this - one being the continued population growth (see above); and the other being the economic crisis faced by Turkey in 1994 and 2001, which decreased the GDP rates for the whole country, including the GAP region (Elmas, 2004). However, it is necessary to look at the employment rates to gain a clearer picture for the GAP region and the country as a whole (section 3.2.6).

### 3.2.6 Employment rates of GAP Region

High unemployment is a very big issue, and long-term high regional unemployment differentials are also a serious problem. Both of these issues apply to Turkey (Filiztekin, 2009). One of the main objectives of GAP was to create employment opportunities for the residents and eliminate regional disparities, by creating new industrial sectors and jobs. Table 3.8 below illustrates the dynamic status of unemployment over the years in Turkey, as well as in the GAP region.

**Table 3.8** Comparison of unemployment status in Turkey and the GAP region (1980-2010)

Average	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000*	2005	2010
Turkey %	3.6	4.7	8.0	7.6	6.5	10.6	11.9
GAP Region %	4.3	6.1	7.8	10.4	-	12.1	12.4

Source, (Varsamidis, 2010), (TUIK, 2012b)

As we can see from Table 3.8, unemployment in the region, as well as in Turkey itself, has been increasing. It is evident that the employment objective within GAP has not yet been achieved. As can be seen from Table 3.8, the unemployment rate in Turkey has increased from 3.6% to 11.9%. Similarly, in the GAP region, the rate has increased from 4.3% to 12.4%. It would appear that there has been a slow improvement in employment within the GAP region by 2010. However, even with this slow improvement, it would seem unlikely

that the goal of creating ‘3.8 million jobs’, as stated in the GAP reports (GAP, 2011) has been achieved (Varsamidis, 2010) since the unemployment rate within the region remains high.

In terms of participation within the workforce, Table 3.9 demonstrates that, in 2003, 68.4% of men in urban areas participated in the workforce, whereas for urban women this figure was as low as 18.6%. According to Elmas (2004), female and male participation rates have always been notably different in urban and rural areas of Turkey. In rural Turkey women are active in the workforce, as unpaid family workers (Gülçubuk and Fazlıoğlu, 2003, Elmas 2004). Thus, as can be seen in Tables 3.9 and 3.10 below, the female participation rate in rural areas is 42.5%, but it is still lower than for men, at 75.9%.

**Table 3.9:** Workforce participation rate, 2003

	Women	Men	Total
Turkey	27.9	71.2	49.5
Urban	18.4	68.4	43.5
Rural	42.5	75.9	58.8

Source: (Elmas, 2004)

**Table 3.10** Workforce participation rate, 2010

	Women	Men	Total
Turkey	36.0	71.6	48.8
Urban	35.1	70.1	46.8
Rural	38.6	75.9	53.5

Source: (TUIK, 2012b)

Tables 3.9 and 3.10 indicated that whilst there was little change to the male workforce between 2003 and 2010, the female workforce increased in urban areas.

Since 2002 GAPRDA has launched employment and professional consultancy services, as well as community work programmes, to increase employment in the region with the help of GAPGIDEM (Entrepreneur Support and Guidance Center) and UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (GAP, 2011). In 2008, there were indications that 795

unemployed people benefited from these services (such as through training or consultancy) (On the other hand, 11,951 unemployed people attended the training programmes in 2009, yet it is not clear how many of these attendees were subsequently able to find a job (Varsamidis, 2010). It can be said that GAPRDA has made a recent attempt to address the unemployment situation; however the objectives have not yet been met according to the latest employment statistics.

### **3.2.6 Public and industrial infrastructure in the GAP Region**

One of the objectives of GAP was to improve the manufacturing sector by improving agriculture, as well as developing social services and urban infrastructure activities in the region. It was by this means that living standards were to be improved, thereby encouraging the local people to stay in the region (Toybiyik, 2003). We can see from the data that there has been a steady improvement in terms of infrastructure in the GAP region.

GAPRDA has launched several projects in order to improve infrastructure in the region. In 1985, in the GAP region, only 66.8% of rural areas had electricity, whilst 35.6% had access to clean drinking water. In 1991 GAPRDA established 134 projects to achieve infrastructure improvements (Varsamidis, 2010). In addition, recycling projects launched specifically for the increasing urban population, to tackle the growing problem of waste management in the cities (for example, Treatment of Urban Wastewater in Small and Medium Size Settlements and its Use for Agricultural Irrigation in the GAP Region). Moreover, there were improvements in terms of telecommunications and transport, more than 25% of the village roads are asphalted and nearly more than 95 % of the village roads are linked to the main road Vasamidis, 2010). Finally, it should be noted that, there are airports currently operating in Adiyaman, Batman, Sanliurfa, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Mardin, and Siirt; all of which have been opened since the GAP project commenced.

### 3.2.7 Manufacturing

It should be noted that there have also been improvements in terms of the manufacturing and textile industries in the GAP region. Table 3.11 illustrates the increase in the number of manufacturing establishments between 1980 and 2009.

**Table 3. 11:** Number of manufacturing establishments by Province in the GAP Region

Province	Number of establishments	
	1980	2009
Gaziantep	4696	9961
Diyarbakir	1051	2913
Adiyaman	577	1846
Sanliurfa	1642	3908
Mardin	878	1283
Batman	226	900
Kilis	na	636
Sirnik	13	434
Siirt	325	360

**Source:** Varsamidis (2010)

In terms of infrastructure and industry, there is a clear improvement in the GAP region. The increase in the number of manufacturing establishments appears encouraging. In addition, GAP Entrepreneur Support and Guidance Centres (GAPGIDEM) have been established. These aim to provide information, and achieve consistency for local, national and international entrepreneurs who plan to launch investments in the region (Toybiyik, 2003). However it should be stated that the secondary data do not explain who has benefited from this institution or consulted it for support.

### 3.2.8 Agriculture and irrigation in the GAP Region

With its access to rivers creating huge potential to increase fertile land area, and with an underemployed population, the GAP region looks to be a typical candidate for irrigation development and agricultural modernisation (Toybiyik 2003). Thus, one of the targets of the

GAP master plan was to transform the region into an ‘Agriculture-Based Export Centre’ (Toybiyik, 2003). One viable solution towards realising the potential of the region was to maximise agricultural production and create jobs. With this purpose in mind, various projects would be established to attract private sector investment in the region, and to enhance employment opportunities in terms of agriculture and related sectors (Toybiyik, 2003).

Irrigation can be considered as the direct result of increasing agricultural production. GAP authorities promised to irrigate 1.8 million hectares of land. However, since 1994, the project has demonstrated slow progress in terms of irrigation. Table 3.12 demonstrates this progress with regard to irrigation. The region’s economy is largely agro-based, but, historically, productivity has been low. In 1997, per capita income in the region was only half the national average (Unver, 1997b). To date, 236,019 hectares of land in the region have been irrigated. However the physical realisation of GAP irrigation investments was still only 13.7 % at the end of 2005 (Varsamidis, 2010)

**Table 3.12:** Irrigation networks opened over the years.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Irrigation area (ha)</b>	<b>Net irrigation area opened in each year (ha)</b>
2002	198,854	4,758
2003	206,954	8,100
2004	224,604	17,650
2005	245,613	21,009
2006	262,335	16,722
2007	272,972	10,637
2008	287,295	14,323
2009	300,397	13,102

Source: (GAPRDA, 2010)

It can be seen from Table 3.12 that a substantial increase in irrigated land area took place between 2002 and 2005. However, the irrigation projects have since slowed down, from an increase of 21,009 ha in irrigated land area in 2005 to an increase of only 13,102 ha in 2009. By the year 2009, only just over 300,000 ha of land had been irrigated (GAPRDA, 2010). If

the region was intended to be an agricultural centre, GAPRDA and the Government should focus on completing irrigation projects in the region.

**Table 3.13:** The physical realisation in terms of irrigation investment

Land to be irrigated	1,82million ha
Irrigated area (in operation)	300,397 ha (16.5%)
Under construction	72,093 ha (4%)
Planned	1,448,556 ha (79.5%)
No of dams completed	15

Source: GAPRDA, (2010)

Despite its slow progress, irrigation has had benefits for the Harran plains, which were the first plains to be irrigated in the vicinity of the Ataturk dam. Before the irrigation in Turkey, water was a constraint on crop production. Today the impact in the area has been significant (Harris, 2008). Prior to irrigation in 1994, the land used for crop production was 30,000 hectares; but it increased to 53,420 hectares (1995). Actually, after irrigation, the plain was used for cotton production and this increased from 21% in 1994 to 45% in 1995.

However, irrigation networks need to be well managed in order to avoid long term issues. For instance, the Harran plain, where the majority of the residents are of Arabic or Kurdish origin, was the first area in the GAP region to receive irrigation in 1995, following the completion of the Ataturk dam. 120,000 ha of the land in this specific area will eventually be irrigated. The GAP authorities anticipated that the residents' incomes would improve and livelihood opportunities would increase as a result of the potential for crop diversification (Harris, 2008). However, after the irrigation systems became operational, concerns with salinity and sodicity increased, as well as drainage problems due to the excessive application of irrigation, the topography and drainage deficiencies (Kendirli et al., 2005).

There are other significant implications where irrigation is implemented in an area and the residents are negatively affected. Harris (2008) argues that in an area with predominantly



Kurdish residents and a land tenure system that disadvantages the majority of landless people, irrigation would not bring equal benefits to the population as a whole. For instance again in the Harran Plain residents faced problems with increased expenses as well as increased workload. Dramatic losses in terms of animal husbandry were also observed and this has a major impact on landless people (Harris, 2008, Akşit and Akçay,1997).

Nevertheless, as can be seen from Table 3.13, 79% of the irrigation networks are still at the planning stage. Increases in the agricultural sector can lead to employment opportunities, as well as economic gains for people living in the region. Such benefits have the potential to reduce migration and improve the well being of people in the cities. It is therefore extremely important that the GAP authorities complete the irrigation network projects in order to improve the agricultural sector and then followed up with job creation.

There have also been important losses in terms of animal husbandry, since the implementation of the GAP developments. This has significant implications for landless people whose livelihoods are heavily dependent on animal husbandry. Harris (2002, 2008) highlighted the decline in animal husbandry in the Harran plain and its implications for landless peasants. (Unver, 1997a) also predicted the current decrease in animal husbandry in the region. Table 3.14 presents the results of the recent findings in terms of animal husbandry.

**Table 3.14:** Changes in animal husbandry in the GAP region between 1990-2008

	GAP REGION			TURKEY		
	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
1990	786,545	5,799,494	63,680	11,377,000	40,553,000	1,279,000
2000	649,080	3,909,000	41,270	10,761,000	28,492,000	373,000
2005	469,951	3,603,069	17,497	10,526,440	25,304,000	232,966
2008	657,081	4,133,906	17,000	10,859,942	23,947,971	158,000
Change (%)	-17	-29	-73	-4.5	-41	-88

Source: GAPRDA (2010)

Table 3.14 indicate that there has been a sharp decline in animal husbandry since the construction of the Ataturk dam and the opening of irrigation networks which needs significant consideration.

Improving agriculture is one of the objectives of GAP, and when the GAP master plan was reviewed in 2008, attention was given to agriculture and animal husbandry and emphasis was placed on the objective to turn the region into an agricultural centre. However Tables 3.12, 3.13 and 3.14 indicate that no improvement has been achieved in the animal husbandry sector - in fact, there has been a significant decline in animal husbandry since 1990. In addition, irrigation projects were still on hold, and salinity and drainage have proved to be problematic issues for those areas that have been irrigated - in particular, the Harran plain.

### 3.2.9 Education

The literacy rate is low in the region. However it is known that there is a strong relationship between education and socio-economic development (Erçin 2006). In this section it is intended to evaluate the literacy rate (i.e. the number of individuals who know how to read and write per 100 individuals aged 6 years of age and over), as this will indicate the level of education in the region (Erçin 2006). Because raising the level of education in the region was one of the objectives of the GAP project.

In the 1980s the literacy rate for the GAP region was 42.4%. This increased slightly to 55.39% in the 1990s and to a greater extent in 2000 when it reached 72.2%. For Turkey as a whole these figures are 67.48% in 1980, 77.45% in 1985, 80.49% in 1990, and 87.32% in 2000. A sharp increase in the level of education has been observed since the implementation of the project (Erçin 2006). In Turkey overall, in 2006, the literacy rate was 88.6% – male literacy was 96.0%, whereas female literacy was 80.4% (Erçin, 2006). Literacy rates in Turkey and in the GAP region can be found in Table 3.5.

**Table 3.15:** Literacy rates in the GAP region and in Turkey

<b>Years</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2006</b>
Literacy rate (%)	42.4	55.39	57.53	72.20	-
<b>In GAP Region</b>					
In Turkey	67.48	77.45	80.49	87.32	88.6

Source; (Ercin, 2006)

In terms of the Provinces, Gaziantep has the highest literacy rate (Ercin, 2006). In Diyarbakir the literacy rate is 69.59 % and in Şanlıurfa 67.74% (Bakis, 2005). The reasons for higher levels of literacy in Gaziantep, in comparison with the other six provinces, might be due to the fact that the city is the most industrialised in the region, and one of the most industrialised provinces in the country as a whole (Varsamidis, 2010). It should be noted that the literacy rate has almost doubled between 1980 and 2000 in the region as a whole. The literacy rates for the GAP cities can be found in Table 3.16 (Erçin 2006)

**Table 3.16:** Literacy rates for the population in GAP cities

	<b>1980</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>
Adiyaman	43.95	61.90	67.36	79.87
Batman	-	-	57.62	70.97
Diyarbakir	41.18	52.24	56.26	69.59
Gaziantep	57.42	70.97	73.91	83.78
Mardin	36.23	48.07	54.12	71.22
Siirt	36.07	51.22	53.97	68.66
Sanliurfa	38.00	47.92	56.21	67.74
Sirnak	-	-	40.08	65.75
<b>GAP</b>	42.14	55.39	57.53	72.20
<b>Turkey</b>	67.48	77.45	80.49	87.32

Source: (Erçin 2006)

Moreover, the literacy rate in terms of gender has also been changing. It can be seen from Table 3.17 that the very low levels of literacy amongst women in 1985 (29.28%), in comparison with men (65.38 %), has improved substantially to 55.6% for women and 81.8% for men in 2000.

**Table 3.17:** Literacy by gender in the GAP region (%)

	<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Total</b>
1985	29.28	65.38	47.92
1990	38.66	72.79	56.21
2000	55.6	81.8	67.74

Sources: (Elmas, 2004)

The provision of education also appears to have improved, in terms of the teacher-student ratio. In 2000, at primary school level, there was one teacher per 40.55 children and, in 2006, one teacher per 36 students. By 2009, the ratio had improved to one teacher per 28.56 children in the GAP region (Erçin 2006, Akyurek, 2005). Taking into account the data in Tables 3.16 and 3.17 in accordance with evidence from the education sector in the GAP region, it would appear that levels of education have improved because literacy rates have increased in recent years. In particular, the literacy rate for women is the highest it has ever

been in the region. The Turkish state seems to have paid particular attention to improving literacy rates in the GAP region. In primary schools, in particular, there has been a substantial improvement with regard to teacher-student ratios (Erçin 2006).

### 3.2.10 Healthcare Sector

Improving the living standards of residents was the main objective of the GAP project. The number of hospitals, as well as the number of medical staff, is a good indicator of change in terms of the healthcare sector within the region.

To illustrate the change in healthcare provision the results of two studies by the state planning organisation in the region undertaken in 1996 and 2003 can be examined. According to the 1996 study, the Southeast Anatolia Region had one of the least developed healthcare sector of all the regions in Turkey. Table 3.18 provides some figures for healthcare provision in 1996.

**Table 3.18:** Healthcare services in the GAP region and Turkey in 1996

Per 1000 People	GAP	TURKEY
Number of Doctors	4.51	10.87
Number of Dentists	0.55	1.89
Pharmacies	1.42	2.36
Hospital beds	9.6	21.9

Source: TUIK (2012d)

**Table 3.19:** Healthcare services in the GAP region and Turkey in 2003

<b>Per 1000 people</b>	<b>GAP</b>	<b>TURKEY</b>
Number of Doctors	5.49	12.70
Number of Dentists	0.52	2.22
Pharmacies	1.85	2.94
Hospital beds	13.26	23.04

Source: (TUIK, 2012d)

In terms of healthcare provision the Region was, once again, below the average for Turkey. According to Varsamidis (2010) the state has placed a strong emphasis on the construction of the hospitals themselves, rather than on employing adequate numbers of personnel to staff them.

### **3.2.11 Literacy and gender issues in the GAP region**

Education is one of the tools with which the GAP project aimed to improve the status of women. The most important objective in this sector was to improve the literacy level of the population of the Southeast Anatolia region – with a particular focus on women. The aim was to develop the productive skills of women, as well as helping them to generate income and become active members of their community (Gulcubuk and Fazlioglu, 2003).

Studies conducted to determine the status of women in the region found that women's participation in the workforce was very low (less than 4%), when compared to Turkey as a whole (19.9%); yet the participation rate for women in Turkey was already considered to be very low compared to European Union standards. It was determined that the region's economy was not growing fast enough to create employment opportunities for either women or men (Varsamidis, 2010). In addition socio-economic barriers, education, lack of experience in business, and inequitable access to finance were the main issues that needed to be overcome (Gulcubuk and Fazlioglu 2003).

In order to improve the status of women in the GAP region Multipurpose Community Centres (CATOM) were established in 1994 (see chapter 6 for the implications of the centre for the study area). These centres were intended to further support women to increase the female literacy rate, as well as providing them with skills training, opportunities to work and generate income and access to social services. CATOMs have been operational since 1994. CATOM'S are considered to be the most successful of the GAP initiatives.

However, these centres have attracted some criticism. As explained in the discussion chapters of this study, CATOMs are important as they have a significant impact on women by enabling them to feel comfortable and socialise in these venues. However, it has been argued that the centres cannot sustain the needs of women, and despite their objective of helping women to generate income, the products made by the women at these centres (handicrafts, lacework etc) cannot be sold, due to the lack of a market or demand for them. Thus the proposed income generating opportunities for women were found to be 'overly optimistic' (Harris and Atalan, 2002). There is a need for the provision of 'follow-up job opportunities' for these women, to enable them to apply their skills and generate income. In addition to knitting, sewing and handicraft courses, these centres should also include training in some farming practices, for women who live in the rural areas, or training in financial accounting or other relevant skills which could be used to generate income in the urban areas (Harris and Atalan, 2002). Today there are around 30 CATOMs currently in operation as training centres in the different provinces of the region and they have reached approximately 120,000 women (GAP, 2011).

### **3.2.12 Social fabric**

The region can be described as ethnically mixed, where the majority of the population still speaks various dialects of either Arabic or Kurdish. The social structure and land tenure system are different from the rest of the country. The system of land distribution in the region is inequitable. There are large numbers of sub-regions in the area that differ in terms of their social mix. Tribal families that were nomadic almost two centuries ago have become landlords. These tribal leaders have exclusive power over the land due to their position in society. However, the other members of the community either are landless tenants or

sharecroppers. On average, 37% of the farmers are landless; 43% own between 1 and 5 ha; and 4.3% own more than 20 ha (Unver, 1997b). The majority of farmland is dependent on only a few landlords (Kudat and Bayram 2000, Harris 2008)

Important social features include patriarchy, traditional leadership structures, and semi-nomadic heritage, making the region different to the rest of the country. Therefore it is argued that because of these characteristics the integration of the population requires special effort (Kudat and Bayram, 2000). Polygamy still exists in the region, as it is in keeping with traditional norms, despite the existence of the Civil Code which strictly prohibits polygamy 84% of marriages in the region are arranged through the payment of a dowry (Kudat and Bayram, 2000, Harris 2008).

In the Southeast of Turkey, Kurdish families maintain the tradition of the bride price, whereas Turkish speaking families have the dowry as their significant tradition. In the Kurdish villages, research by Harris (2008) indicated that bride prices have become increasingly important in areas where there is a high demand for agricultural labour. In the irrigated areas, labour needs are higher and thus the bride price may increase. However, in Turkish speaking areas, or perhaps in cases where people have been relocated, but lost agricultural opportunities due to the inundation, or moved to new settlements where there is no requirement for agricultural labour, this tradition has a less significant effect. In these families, household size decreases and the bride price tradition is replaced by the dowry. It is important to evaluate the changes in agricultural activities, as well as the Kurdish population and their integration within the development (Harris, 2008). There is also a need to focus on the smaller Turkish speaking population, who live as a minority in a minority area. It is important to examine these changed livelihoods, where there has been a shift from agriculture to waged labour; and to examine the implications of this shift for women and men, where it has resulted in changes to the social customs.



### **3.3 Conclusion**

The GAP project is the largest regional development project ever undertaken in Turkey and the Turkish government is adamant that the project will be completed. The GAP project was planned and implemented in accordance with a long-term master plan and a social action plan. The GAP master plan was prepared as a multi-sectoral, integrated, regional development project for the period 1989-2005; the objective being to increase the speed of socio-economic improvement within the GAP region.

The broad objectives of the GAP project, as set out in the master plan, are to achieve improvements in the region in terms of certain aspects where it lags behind the rest of the country. Its aim is to stabilise the population, avoiding out-migration from the rural areas to the cities by improving economic opportunities in the agricultural, industrial and manufacturing sectors. Developments in the health sector, as well as education, were also considered to be priorities in the 2008 revised master plan.

The secondary data suggests that there have been massive socio-economic changes within the region, in addition to the possible institutional transformation. The statistics show that the impressive progress of infrastructure development and transport, as well as telecommunication networks, should not be ignored. The secondary data available indicates that there has been an improvement in these sectors since the implementation of the project in the region. Education and healthcare provision have also improved. Although still below the national average rates, education improved in the region, in terms of women's literacy, but the numbers remain low. However, the unemployment rate and the low level of female participation in the workforce are still major issues. The GAP project has also failed to achieve its intended migration balance. It is clear that the GAP master plan gave greater importance to economic development than social development in the region. It would appear that a significant gap exists between what was promised in terms of some sector developments and social objectives and the progress made to date.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION IN TURKEY**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

Chapter 3 described the GAP Project's objectives and its implications for the region. This Chapter introduces resettlement and rehabilitation practices in Turkey, and the way in which GAP planners have sought to achieve the highest international standards in their efforts to complete the project. Ataturk dam and resettlement practices are introduced; followed by the Ilisu dam, which has been put on hold due to the resettlement problems. Moreover, the Birecik Dam and resettlement project are discussed as an example of an attempt to resettle a population. Finally, expropriation and resettlement laws in Turkey are explained.

#### **4.1 Major projects in GAP**

Since it was first conceived as an idea in 1954, the GAP Project has completed 19 major developments. This represents significant progress; however, in these projects involuntary resettlement has been an on-going issue, which seems to remain unresolved. Gaps in the legal framework have not been fully addressed and, as a result, the final project, i.e. the Ilisu dam, has been put on hold (Morvaridi 2004). The following section explores one of the main projects in GAP and the issues that arose during its completion. Before that Table 4.1 briefly outlines the timeline of the GAP project and the significant events which have taken place to date.

**Table 4.1:** Timeline of GAP project

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<b>1954:</b> DSI established to investigate the features of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers
<b>1977:</b> Southeast Anatolia Project created as a package of ‘Water and Land Resources development’ on the Euphrates and Tigris Basin
<b>1974:</b> Keban Dam completed
<b>1987:</b> Karakaya Dam Completed
<b>1989:</b> Southeast Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration (GAPRDA) established
<b>1992:</b> Ataturk Dam completed
<b>1995:</b> GAPRDA included sustainable development approach within its development plans
<b>1997:</b> Birecik Dam Resettlement and Rehabilitation Projects prepared with UNDP, FAO and GAPRDA
<b>2000:</b> Birecik Dam completed
<b>2007:</b> Ilisu Dam construction commenced
<b>2007:</b> Ilisu Dam construction delayed due to the lack of funding
<b>2010:</b> GAP Project scheduled to be completed, but the deadline postponed until 2047 (The report 2009)

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#### **4.2 Resettlement and the Ataturk Dam**

The GAP project is particularly associated with the Ataturk Dam that completed in 1992. This project presents the biggest of the GAP developments so far. Given the scale of the dam, it also had a major impact on a wide area and a large number of people. Its reservoir affected, in total, 143 villages. Approximately 45,000 people have been affected by the project, in one way or another due to the expropriation works. This is the largest expropriation project in Turkey and covered 81,700 hectares of land (Tortajada, 2000).

In terms of institutions the KHGM (Rural Development Department) and DSI (State Hydraulic Works) as well as GAPRDA were responsible for the expropriation and resettlement associated with the Ataturk Dam. (Although after 2004 the KHGM closed and Rural Development Office KKDP was opened in 2008). However, there was no appropriate resettlement plan and the implementation was badly organised (Morvaridi 2004). Of the 45,000 people affected, 1,131 families requested government-assisted resettlement; 169 families have undergone rural resettlement; and 315 families have undergone urban

resettlement; 416 families have been provided with land to construct new houses; and the remaining 231 families finally obtained their houses in 2004, after almost eight years (Akyurek, 2005).

The problem with the Ataturk dam was that the majority of the displaced people were impoverished as a result of requesting cash compensation prior to relocation (Morvaridi, 2004). In many cases compensation payments were delayed, or people wasted the monies on gambling and the purchase of luxury items, or invested it unwisely. People who chose to put their compensation in the bank as an investment, found it to be significantly devalued when inflation rates increased (more than 100 percent) in 1994, due to the economic crisis (Morvaridi, 2004). Moreover, by 2004 there were still people awaiting resettlement (Akyurek, 2005).

On the other hand, surveys from international sources indicate that 80% of those displaced did not receive compensation at all, were not provided with a house as compensation for their lost homes, or the compensation was found to be inadequate. Because of the problems as such affected people took the DSI, as the responsible agency, to court to claim the proper compensation amount, and 90% of them won their cases (Harris, 2002, Morvaridi 2004).

After the alarming problems resulting from resettlement, the Turkish government revised their Resettlement and Rehabilitation Law after 2000. It had become evident that self-resettlement often resulted in impoverishment; so government-assisted resettlement packages were considered more suitable. The new resettlement law would encourage this option (later in the Chapter). As a matter of fact, international guidelines established by the World Bank (1990) and the OECD (1992), as well as the World Commission on Dams (2000) advise against cash compensation and highlight the need to shift the resettlement package from cash to land, with a preference for government-assisted resettlement options (Morvaridi, 2004). It is essential to address these issues and meet recognised international standards, in order to help people to re-establish their livelihoods, as well as to obtain international funding to complete the project.

**Table 4.2:** Population displacement - area of land expropriation by the type of resettlement in the GAP Area

DAM	Total population displaced	Population opting for government-assisted resettlement	% of total	Population opting for self-resettlement	% of total
Ataturk	55,300	2,508	5	52,792	95
Birecik	31,971	6,500	20	25,471	80
Karakaya	45,000	3,999	9	41,001	91
Keban	30,000	6,487	22	23,512	78
Total	162,271	19,494	14	142,776	86

Adapted from (ECGD, 2002)

Table 4.2 indicates that the displaced population in the GAP region mostly opted for self-resettlement. When considering the major dam construction projects as a whole, 86% of those affected opted for compensation monies and chose to resettle on their own. In particular, for the Ataturk Dam this number was as high as 95%. In the case of the Birecik dam, even after the revisions had been made to the Resettlement Law and proper resettlement plans had been prepared, still only 20% of those affected opted for government resettlement. It would appear that the government resettlement agencies, such as the DSI or the KHGM, do not present people with sufficiently advantageous packages for them to choose government-resettlement over self-resettlement.

### 4.3 The Ilisu Dam Case (expected completion 2013)

The Ilisu Dam will be the second largest dam, after the Ataturk Dam, in the GAP region. Ilisu will be built on the Tigris River for the purpose of energy production, with a total capacity of 1,200 MW. A large number of villages will be affected, thus, compulsory resettlement became inevitable for a lot of people (Morvaridi 2004). The project will relocate 16,000 people and affect a further 20,000 people (Morvaridi 2004). Various criticisms have arisen with regard to involuntary resettlement. It is argued that GAP planners are proud of the engineering achievements and the potential benefits of the Ilisu project and have not paid

adequate attention to the social dimensions of the project (Morvaridi, 2004). It is also argued that international guidelines have not been observed for this project. For instance, studies in the area have suggested that, in common with the past Ataturk Dam resettlement, a high proportion of households (78%) would prefer to opt for self-resettlement (cash compensation), whereas only 17% are likely to opt for government-assisted resettlement, and 5% for government credit-assisted resettlement (ECGD, 2002). Morvaridi (2004) argues that Iisu planners have been unsuccessful in encouraging people to opt for government-assisted resettlement options, regardless of the past problems with self-resettlement (Morvaridi, 2004).

Furthermore, in particular for this project, DSI has not yet produced a comprehensive resettlement plan for the affected communities and there is a lack of coordination between the institutions and the people, in terms of implementation (ECGD, 2002). This is a difficult objective to achieve and it requires public participation at all stages. People have been waiting for 20 years to be properly informed about the resettlement. For all these reasons, despite being scheduled for completion in 2013, the dam has been put on hold due to the lack of funding.

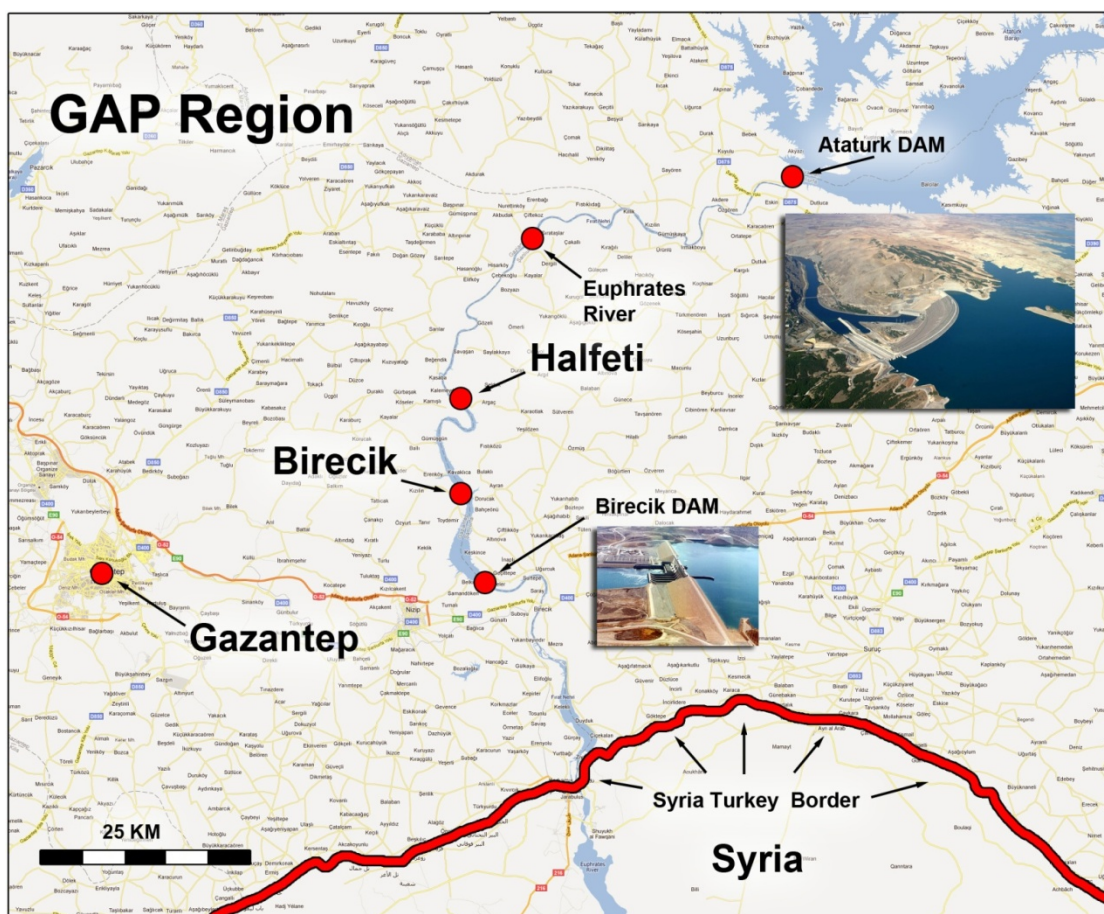
#### **4.4 Birecik Dam**

After the problems escalated within the Ataturk Dam resettlement scheme, the Turkish Government decided to pursue a different strategy for resettling those affected by the Birecik Dam. The Resettlement Law was revised, a resettlement plan was prepared and efforts were made to encourage people to resettle with government help. This study thus examines the Birecik Dam and the population affected by its construction, in order to assess the governments' efforts.

The Birecik Hydroelectric dam is part of the GAP project's development and is located on the Euphrates River, 96 km downstream from the Ataturk Dam. In contrast to Atatürk Dam, the Birecik Dam has been financed by the private sector under a Built-Operate-Turnover (BOT) method – the first time such a method has been utilised for GAP developments. BOT

means that private parties construct the dam and are responsible for its maintenance for a period of 15 years, after which time this responsibility reverts to the Turkish government. Under this arrangement the Birecik dam will be transferred to the government in 2015. The construction of the Birecik dam commenced in 1996 and was completed in 2000 with the cost of US\$1.3 billion (Akyurek, 2005). The Birecik hydropower plant has a capacity of 672 MW and it is intended to irrigate 92,700 hectares of land. The maximum water elevation is 385 m and the reservoir area is 56.25 km<sup>2</sup> (New Energy Foundation, 2006). Figure 4.1 illustrates the location of the Birecik Dam in Turkey and the areas inundated.

**Figure 4.1:** Birecik Dam inundations



Source: Google maps

The Birecik dam impoundment started in December 1999 by affecting Nizip, Yavuzeli and Araban, which are administrative districts of Gaziantep Province; Birecik, Halfeti and Bozova, which are administrative districts of Şanlıurfa Province; central and Besni, which are administrative districts of Adiyaman Province. Accordingly, there are nine villages fully inundated, whereas three villages and the Halfeti district centre have been partially affected

by the impoundment. Also 31 villages have been affected by the inundation of their agricultural land. In total 44 administrative districts were affected, either fully or in part, by the dam (Akyürek, 2005).

The GAP Administration intended to improve consultation with those affected by the Birecik dam. Public participation was made a priority and people's needs and views were sought so that resettlement could be implemented more efficiently. For this reason the document 'Project on Planning and Implementation for the Resettlement, Employment and Socio-Economic Investments of People Affected by Birecik Dam' was prepared to help the affected population to resettle and to facilitate their adaptation to their new environment, in social, economic and cultural terms (Tigrek, 2004 in Akyürek, 2005). The resettlement project commenced in 1997 and finished in December 2000. The project was also part of the Sustainable Development Program in the GAP Region, which is supported by the United Nations Development Program (Akyürek, 2005).

At the outset, it was estimated that 31,750 people would be affected by this project. Furthermore, from this population, 850 households would need to be resettled by the government (upon request), comprising approximately 6,500 individuals. A consultancy office was established in Halfeti to organise and resettle this affected population (Akyürek 2005).

This case was considered by the Turkish authorities to have been successful in terms of resettlement and compensation; on the basis that they had allegedly learned lessons from previous experiences, such as the Ataturk Dam. For instance, it has been argued World Bank guidelines have been used as key objectives for the resettlement (GAPRDA 2002). As mentioned in Chapter 2, World Bank Guidelines are based on a number of principles relating to government responsibility, resettlers' rights and participation, the protection of the interests of the host population, and a clear definition of the objective of the resettlement. In terms of participation by affected people several objectives were established, as illustrated in Figure 4.2.



**Figure 4.2:** Objectives of public participation in Birecik Dam

- High counsel for coordination among related organisations;
- Steering committee at regional level for monitoring and decision making;
- Social studies on affected settlements;
- Community meetings for local participation;
- Workshops on sites;
- Information centre and multi-purpose community centre;

Source: GAPRDA, (2002)

Participation in project implementation was initiated and a consultation office was established in Halfeti. This office was to operate as a centre where the process would be agreed and the affected people would have the opportunity to participate at all stages, in terms of what they wanted and how they wanted matters to progress. Thus the intention was to help people to choose their resettlement options or to rebuild their livelihoods (GAPRDA, 2002). In addition, implementation activities intended to be planned and these comprised three components as stated in GAPRDA 2002. Figure 4.3 presents the three components of the resettlement project prepared for the Birecik Dam.

**Figure 4.3:** Components of project on resettlement, employment and socio-economic investments of people Affected by the Birecik Dam

- **Social component:** this relates to social and recreational activities to help people adapt to their new life and environment. Multipurpose Community Centres were established.
- **Economic component:** this relates mainly to funds paid out as compensation, and the aim is to channel these funds into productive investments. Also included is the introduction of new crop types and non-agricultural sources of income to compensate for what has been lost as a result of dam construction and impoundment. Training, demonstration and support services were offered for the introduction of new income-generating activities (beekeeping, greenhouse, cucumber and mushroom culture, fishing, turkey farming, etc.)
- **Spatial component:** In this component, the first principle was to identify new settlement areas in the same region, in line with the preferences of the people. Then, with the participation of people, new places of settlement were determined. Actual settlement in these places took place, depending upon the preferences of the people concerned, through technical and/or credit support to those constructing their houses, or settlement, by means of the State.

Source: New Energy Foundation (2006a).

Moreover, to support the economic structure in the region the GAP Entrepreneur Support and Guidance Centres (GAP-GIDEM) were established and, with the support of the Banks, the public and private sectors, the aim was to create projects and improve the economy in the region (GAPRDA 2002).

As outlined above, objectives were established and projects planned by the Government in order to demonstrate that lessons had been learned from past experiences. However, there is insufficient detailed data available to track the progress of these components and objectives. For instance, in terms of the economic component, the only information which could be obtained from GAPs web page ([www.gap.gov.tr](http://www.gap.gov.tr)) related to the construction of two greenhouses in Meteler Village, and the distribution of 100 animals (cows, sheep) to inhabitants of Asagicardak Village in Nizip. It is also stated that two workshops were organised with the support of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), in order to improve entrepreneurship in the area. However it is not possible to obtain data to illustrate how many people actually attended these workshops or to indicate the success, or otherwise, of economic ventures in the area. In addition, as mentioned in the public participation objectives of the GAPRDA, one CATOM was opened in Halfeti district centre. However the CATOM in Halfeti closed in 2000 after the submergence of the old town, and is still not in operation.

In terms of social components ‘public participation’ was introduced for resettlement projects associated with the Birecik Dam. GAPRDA (2002) reports that 1307 household interviews were conducted in 13 settlements in the area surrounding the Birecik Dam. However, in total, 30,000 people were affected by the dam and 6,500 of these people were entitled to government resettlement (GAPRDA, 2002). It would appear that the number of interviews and meetings was insufficient considering the size of the population affected. For instance, the meetings in the 13 settlements seemed to be generalised in terms of the expected outcomes and people’s opinions. It has been indicated that the population structure and the livelihood activities of people in the Southeast region are very different. It may be problematic to assume that the results of 1,307 household interviews will apply to the entire effected population of 30,000. In addition, GAPRDA is unable to provide detailed

information with regard to the interview guidelines, or the number of people who actually participated in these interviews. It is extremely important that these numbers are made available to the public and researchers. For instance, the set of objectives, components and future plans for the project can be found in the GAPRDA reports; however, there is insufficient information available on the follow-up progress to enable the current situation to be tracked against the established objectives.

It was also revealed that people who were interviewed after the resettlement complained about their dwellings and the compensation procedure. People were unhappy with the poor quality of the housing with which they were provided. Expenses increased in the new settlements and the resettlers found it expensive to purchase utilities such as water. In addition, most of the villagers had enjoyed regular incomes from local fisheries before resettlement, but this income generation opportunity ceased after the relocation (Miyata, 2002). Another study, based on 44 villages affected by the construction of the Birecik dam, conducted by Özer and Taluğ (2008), illustrates similar concerns. It is claimed in that research that 82.5% of the population were worse off after the resettlement. They again reveal that housing conditions have deteriorated in comparison to the houses in the old village. In addition unemployment, which was not an issue before the resettlement, is now a significant problem in these new settlement areas. Before the resettlement, options existed to generate income from multiple sources, whereas afterwards most families were either unemployed or left with only one source of income. Özer and Taluğ (2008) found infrastructure to be adequate; the resettlers were enjoying access to telecommunications, electricity and roads. Miyata (2002) also outlined the concerns with regard to poor dwellings and the associated problems in the Birecik Dam area. There were concerns with regard to public participation, and participation was considered to be inadequate. Thus, regardless of the attempt to better resettle the affected population, it looks like resettlement projects still negatively affect people's livelihoods.

## **4.5 Land Acquisition and resettlement in Turkey**

### **4.5.1 Institutions involved**

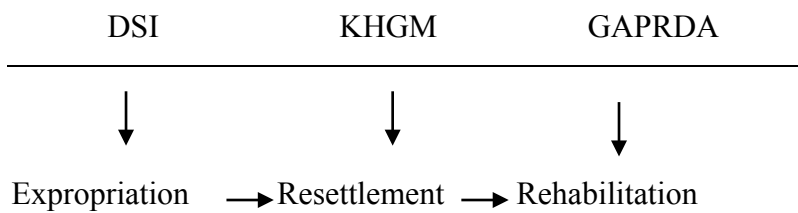
As discussed in Chapter 2 in the case of involuntary resettlement, a development project necessitates the relocation of people against their will. Therefore, it is called involuntary. In the case of involuntary resettlement the expropriation of areas and the resettlement are related processes. In GAP developments three main government institutions are involved in the expropriation and resettlement process. These are the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (DSI), the General Directorate of Rural Services (KHGM) and the GAP Regional Development Administration (GAPRDA). (However since March 2005, resettlement processes have been under the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs) (Akyürek, 2005).

The DSI's Estate and Expropriation Directorate is responsible for the implementation of expropriation and compensation for immovable assets in reservoir areas. It works with the Ministry of Public Works, the Directorate of Registration and Cadastral Surveys as well as the Valuation committee during the expropriation process (Akyürek 2005).

In the 1990s the KHGM was responsible for resettlement, which includes preparing sites and infrastructure (construction of housing, roads, and so forth) for the arrival of displaced people. In addition, the accumulation of information, registration of the population and organisation of the local resettlement commissions are all the responsibility of the KHGM. Currently with the resettlement law changed in 2000s the responsibility of these actions are the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs (Akyürek, 2005).

The DSI and KHGM work together throughout the entire process. The GAP regional Development Administration will co-ordinate the different institutions working in the project area and assist with programmes related to the socio-economic development of the area (Morvaridi, 2004). Although the GAPRDA acts as the project coordinator, their links with the DSI seem to be weak (ECGD, 2002). Figure 4.4, illustrates the institutions working on the resettlement process in Turkey.

**Figure 4.4:** Main institutions involved in the resettlement process



#### **4.6 Resettlement and Rehabilitation process in GAP**

Today resettlement is regulated by two main laws - the expropriation law (No 4650) and the resettlement law (No 2519), which make provision for state-assisted resettlement in both rural and urban areas (ECGD, 2002).

##### **4.6.1 Expropriation Law: 2942**

“Expropriation is the acquisition of an immovable asset or resource for public welfare in order to carry out a public service by an advance payment” (Altinbilek et al., 1999). In Turkey, the Expropriation Law was established in 1983 (Law No: 2942) and has been in operation for 18 years, until it was superseded in 2001 by Law No: 4650 (Altinbilek et al 1999).

Expropriation Law 2942 (before it was modified) was used to implement major resettlement schemes such as the Ataturk Dam, as well as the Birecik Dam. Thus, in order to illustrate the issues Law 2942 will be presented and its weaknesses outlined in the next chapter.

##### **4.6.2 Expropriation process (Law No: 2942)**

Resettlement in Turkey starts with the expropriation process. The following steps were taken during this process.

**Figure 4.5:** Basic steps in the expropriation process

**1 Public welfare decision**

Public welfare decisions are taken with regard to the affected communities at the outset of the process, with the involvement of the DSI, Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources. Once public welfare has been considered the process commences.

**2 Expropriation arrangements and preparations**

After making public welfare decisions, related studies are undertaken in and around the inundated and affected areas, cadastral surveys are conducted, maps or detailed cadastral studies are completed. The Directorate of Registration and Cadastral Surveys is responsible for carrying out these studies.

**3 The expropriation decision**

The expropriated areas are determined, followed by the determination of immovable assets. The expropriation plans are prepared and registered. Budget allocation plans are finalised.

**4 Valuation process**

The DSI and a special valuation committee (a group of expert consultants) determine the values of the lands which are to be expropriated. A number of considerations are taken into account when valuing the immovable assets of the affected people. These include the nature and size of the land and buildings and characteristics and qualities which might affect the value of the asset, such as its location, age, suitability etc. The valuation of immovable assets assumes that a property is valued realistically, rather than at its current market value (ECGD, 2002). The expropriation law was revised to address problems with the process. The valuations were found to be too low and there were delays in terms of the compensation payments (section 4.9).

**5 Holding of the expropriation funds in the bank**

When the valuation committee decides a price, and if the resettlers agree to be resettled with government assistance, then their expropriation monies are held in a national bank. In the case of the Ataturk Dam most people took the Turkish government to the European Court of Human rights (AIHM) on the grounds that their compensation payments had been underestimated. Under the new revised Law No (4560) this process has been expanded. If an affected person believes his assets to have been undervalued by the valuation committee, then there is an opportunity for them to appeal and apply for a negotiation committee. The affected person can also reject the government resettlement offer; which was not the case under Law No 2942.

After the valuation process, the DSI finally transfers the funds to a special Resettlement Fund in a national bank. The funds will be managed by the General Directorate of Rural Services (KHGM) to cover the resettlement costs.

**6 Official Registration**

Under this process, registrations are made and people are faced with two options: either to withdraw their compensation monies, or to accept a government resettlement offer, in which case their monies are held unconditionally in the special resettlement fund and the DSI and KHGM, respectively, manages the resettlement for them.

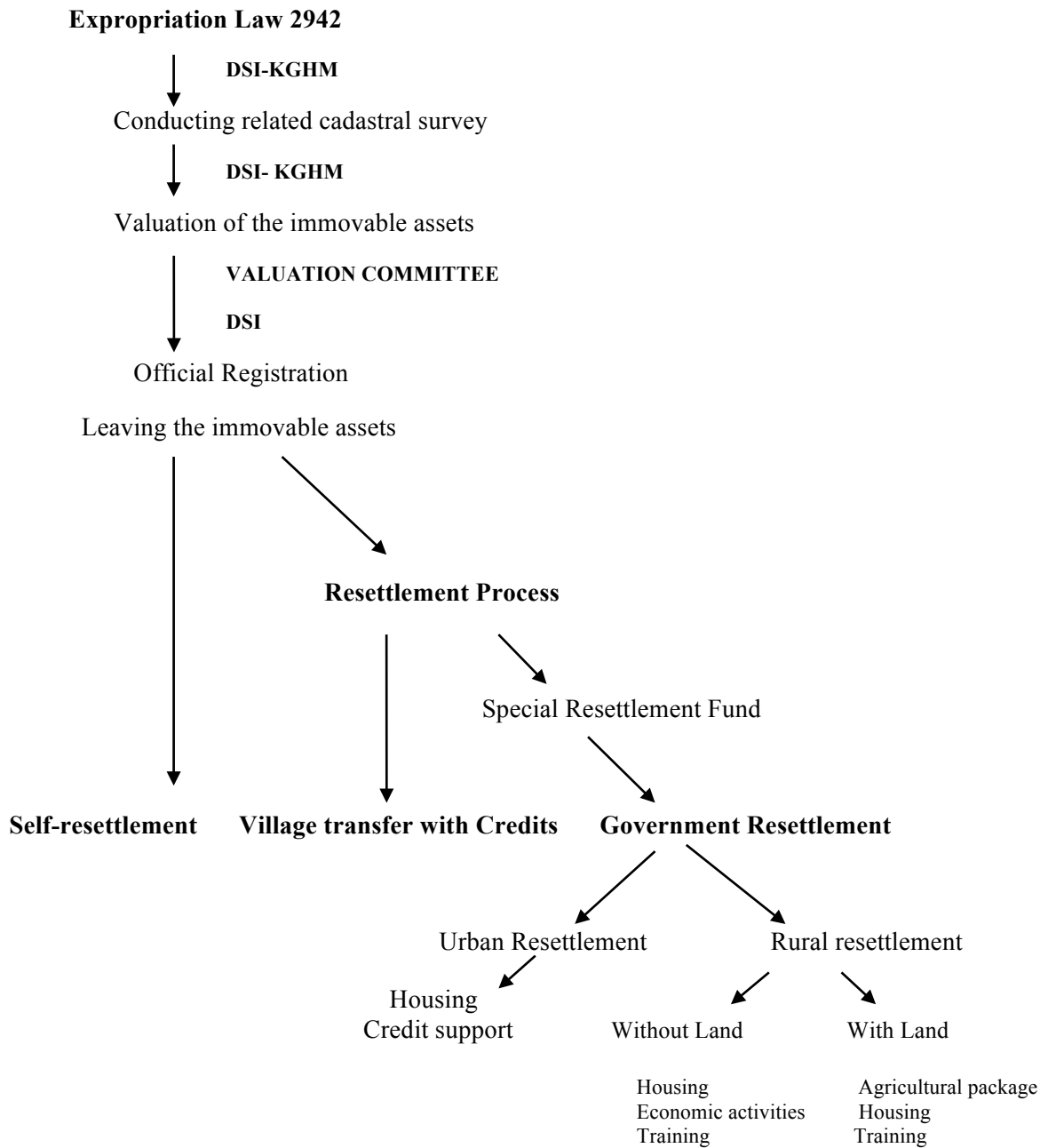
**7 Leaving the expropriated area**

At this stage it is the governmental administrative leader's responsibility to guide the people towards leaving the project area.

Adapted from (Akyurek, 2005; Ozkalayci and Icten 2005; Altinbilek et al., 1999).

The process of expropriation and resettlement, and an indication of the main agencies involved, can be found in Figure 4.6.

**Figure 4.6:** Expropriation and resettlement process in Turkey



#### **4.7 Problems with Law No 2942**

The Expropriation Law No 2942 was revised in 2001 and the new Law No 4650 is now in operation (Arpa 2001). However, a discussion of Law No 2942 is introduced in this study because the Birecik Dam Resettlement and Rehabilitation Project was implemented, taking Law No 2942 into consideration. There were several reasons for the change in the law. A number of problems were encountered with the operation of the law in practice. For instance, when budget allocation studies were made, these were done in line with the DSI's annual budget. This created a lot of problems. In particular, delays occurred in the payment of compensation to affected people for expropriated lands due to the DSI holding insufficient funds (Arpa, 2001). This is evident in both the Birecik and Ataturk Dam resettlement processes. This delay had significant implications for the affected people and impacted on livelihood restoration processes. The process was also criticised as being too long, especially the time taken for official registration and the large amount of paperwork required, which further lengthened the process (Arpa, 2001).

Another issue was that affected people had little choice if they did not accept the valuation price. This issue was revised in Law No 4560; and people are now permitted to negotiate if they believe their assets have been undervalued, and can choose to reject the government offer if they no longer wish to be resettled by the Government. In the past, due to the problems with valuations, some people took the Turkish Government to the European Court of Human Rights; and the Government was forced to pay out substantial amounts of compensation (Akyurek, 2005). Along with these changes, the basic revisions from Law 2942 to Law 4650 can be summarised as follows:



**Figure 4.7:** Changes in the Law from No: 2942 to Law No: 4650

The expropriation process for any project will not commence until sufficient compensation funding has been allocated specifically for that project, by the Government.

The initial valuation of acquired immovable assets will be undertaken by the government commission, including members from the project implementation administration.

The purchasing of assets should be handled using conciliation processes.

In the case of disagreement between the government and land owners, the Government sues, seeking an assessment of the properties by the Turkish courts, without any further opportunity for action. All legal expenses are paid by the government.

Source:(Akyurek, 2005)

#### **4.8 The resettlement process**

After expropriation of lands, resettlement is the second step of the process. People in Turkey who are affected by development projects, and are required to relocate, have three options available to them. Figure 4.8 illustrates these options.

**Figure 4.8:** Resettlement packages in Turkey

**Self-resettlement:** where people resettle to a place of their own choice, and receive compensation for their lost assets. The compensation payment is based on a valuation made by the State Hydraulic Works (DSI).

**Government-assisted resettlement:** this is a package of support that includes housing and land in a designated urban or rural receiving area (financed through expropriation compensation and loans, as necessary) and assistance towards income restoration.

**Village transfer with credit support:** a package that allows people to keep their expropriation compensation and also take out a mortgage.

Source: (Morvaridi, 2004).

As mentioned previously, DSI is responsible for the expropriation and land acquisition processes relating to water projects. In terms of the resettlement and rehabilitation aspects, the KHGM and GAPRDA (Southeast Anatolia Project Administration) work with the DSI

with the aim of assisting people as they resettle. After the revision in expropriation Law from No 2942 to Law No 4650, revisions were also made to the Resettlement Law. In 2001 this law change incorporated ‘sustainable human development’ as a key objective of resettlement. From 2001, social support has become the focus when resettling people; and the project authorities are expected to support those displaced by restoring their living standards to at least their former level. This is in accordance with the World Bank international resettlement guidelines reported in Chapter 2 (Akyürek, 2005).

#### **4.8.1 Self-resettlement (cash compensation)**

As presented in Figure 4.6; In Turkey resettlement can occur in two ways; one is resettlement with a cash option, where the displaced people request cash compensation for their lost assets, and resettle without further support. In cash compensation cases, the government does not help with the actual resettlement itself, in terms of where the people choose to live or the subsequent rehabilitation process. In this scenario the displaced people make individual choices as to where they wish to resettle and rebuild their livelihoods (Altinbilek et al., 1999).

#### **4.8.2 Government –assisted resettlement**

Government-assisted resettlement means that the government manages the resettlement facilities and takes the responsibility for helping the displaced population to rebuild their livelihoods. This is the second option available to the affected people. Depending on the type of resettlement, assistance by the government generally theoretically includes facilitating agricultural activities in the area, providing land, jobs and houses which are constructed by government agencies (KHGM in this case); or provision of financial assistance such as loans, so that the resettlers have options for rebuilding their livelihoods.

The provision of loans is formulated as the average cost of resettlement. For instance, if a resettler is awarded 10,000 TL in compensation, this money is held in a special reserve fund. At the resettler’s request, the government provides a 40,000 TL loan to cover the cost of housing and land. The resettler then has to pay 30,000 TL back to the government over 20

years, after five years from the resettlement, and with minimal interest. When a resettler's expropriation value exceeds this amount, then the difference is paid back to the resettler (Altinbilek et al., 1999). Figure 4.9 formulates the resettlement costs.

**Figure 4.9:** Example of resettlement cost

Average resettlement cost per family in a rural area	70,000 TL
The cost of housing and land	70,000
Expropriation compensation	10,000
Deposited in Special Reserve Fund	
By DSI	
.....	
Remaining payment by a resettler	30,000
Repayment in 20 years after 5 years: $70,000:20=4000$ per year, 35 TL per month	

Source; adapted from ECGD, (2002)

People requesting government-assisted resettlement will also have the option of rural or urban resettlement, whereby the government helps to resettle the population on their terms.

### 4.8.3 Rural resettlement option

Rural resettlement is available to people who own land and were practicing agriculture in their previous settlements, and where this in particular agricultural land has been affected by the project. People opting for rural resettlement have two options available to them, depending on their asset status. These people can opt to resettle in a rural area with land provided for them, or other alternative without land provided but with job opportunities (Akyurek, 2005).

The rural resettlement with land option involves the resettlement of people in an area where the quality of land is suitable for agriculture, and has been assessed as such by a related government agricultural agency. Housing is also provided for the resettlers. This type of

resettlement includes credit support for animal husbandry, the necessary equipment for crop production, as well as free counselling support and agricultural training. Rural resettlement also seeks to achieve relocation near to the resettlers' original village so that they have some familiarity with the area (Ozkalayci and Icten, 2005).

The option for resettlement without land is for people who wish to resettle as a large group. These resettlers are not provided with agricultural land in this case. People whose houses are affected by the inundation, but whose farmland remains unaffected, can also request this option. In this case the Government provides a mosque, school and medical services, but no farmland. These resettlers are provided with a house and offered job opportunities outside agriculture. Such opportunities may include training courses in beekeeping, greenhouse production, etc (Akyurek, 2005). It is important with this type of resettlement that the government provides income generation activities, so that resettlers are able to rebuild their livelihoods. The order of priority for rural resettlement is as shown in Figure 4.10;

**Figure 4.10:** Rural resettlement priorities

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| i)   | People whose livelihoods depend on farming and whose houses and lands are affected by the project, people whose livelihoods depend on farming and whose houses are not expropriated but their lands are affected; |
| ii)  | People whose lands are partially expropriated, but the remaining area is insufficient for their economic survival;  |
| iii) | People whose houses are expropriated and who do not own any land, but work on land that is affected by project;   |
| iv)  | People who assist a farmer in return for a share of the crop and who do not have any immovable assets;  |
| v)   | People who work on the farms but do not have a house to be expropriated.  |

Source; (Akyurek, 2005)

#### **4.8.4 Urban resettlement option**

Under this option the Government provides the resettlers with a house and available credit and training support in a designated urban area. People who opt for urban resettlement may be families, who have not been engaged in agriculture in their previous settlements; these

people may be shop owners, restaurant owners, artisans etc. No farmland is provided for these families as they are expected to rebuild their livelihoods within the urban area (ECGD, 2002).

There are also some restrictions within these schemes. For instance, under the urban resettlement option, people who used to own a farm or engage in agriculture are not permitted to opt for urban resettlement. They tend to be resettled in a rural area, so that they remain in a familiar environment and have less difficulty adapting to the relocation. In addition, people who had no immovable assets in their previous settlements (e.g. landless people, sharecroppers, wage earners) are able to opt for urban resettlement, but cannot receive cash compensation from the government (ECGD, 2002).

In GAP resettlement schemes Government-assisted resettlement is not seen as the preferred option by the resettlers because, under the new law, where government-assisted resettlement takes place, the resettlers are required to put all their compensation monies into the accounts of a related government agency in order to receive government support. The government agencies then manage the compensation monies to effect appropriate resettlement (Akyürek, 2005). Thus, this is not a popular option.

#### **4.8.5 Village transfer with credit support**

This type of resettlement, is the most popular resettlement option for the DSI, as well as the affected population (Ozkalayci, 2005). In this case the resettlers are willing to move to another place as an entire village, specifically because they want to move as a community (they often comprise groups of families and friends and do not want to mix with another community). The houses and basic facilities of the village are constructed by the KGHM. Resettlers repay the Government for their houses and lands over five years in five equal instalments. Under this type of resettlement, the resettlers' compensation monies are not held in a special fund; they cannot benefit from the government organising the resettlement for them, but they are free to establish a job, or undertake agriculture or any other activities in their newly constructed villages. According to Ozkalayci and Icten, (2005), it is generally the

poorer or landless people who opt for government resettlement and the people with larger land holdings who seem to apply for village transfers with credit support (Ozkalayci and Icten, 2005).

#### **4.9 The search for a new model and critique of the resettlement process**

Cernea (2006) published a report concerning the problems of Turkish resettlement policies, followed by a critique of the Ilisu dam Resettlement Action Plan (RAP). He has identified many issues. For instance according to Cernea 2006 Turkey considers itself as one of the first developing countries to have established a detailed expropriation law. However, it would appear that this law has not been adequately revised as it does not appear to take into account recent developments in terms of the international legislation. It is argued that the policies should be equivalent to international norms and practices (Cernea, 2006).

In spite of the revisions to the expropriation law in 2001, Cernea (2006) still finds the revised law to be deficient in terms of its inadequate resolution of the social and welfare issues associated with current Turkish resettlement and expropriation procedures. It is argued that resettlement plans are rather ambiguous or provide people with promises rather than constructive solutions (Cernea, 2006).

It is argued that ‘RAP in Turkey is not a legal document’ (Cernea 2006). Therefore, the promises made in the Resettlement Action Plans are not respected (Cernea 2006). Cernea (2006) suggests two options to improve the Turkish legislation for the resettlement process in general. One is to pursue the revision and updating of general Laws for resettlement or, secondly, to issue a new special regulatory framework which can be used, in particular, in the Ilisu Dam case, (Cernea, 2006).

A system with separate expropriation and resettlement laws (Figure 4.6) would appear inefficient and there is a need to integrate the two processes making them equally compulsory. Because “International standards require full integration and demand that every

expropriation be implemented together with the entailed resettlement and economic reconstruction” (Cernea, 2006). These critiques suggested that resettlement law and practices are still ineffective in meeting the needs of the affected population.

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

Resettlement and rehabilitation projects are new in Turkey. The rehabilitation projects designed for the resettlers affected by the Birecik dam project were an attempt to help resettle the affected people. A national policy legal framework governing involuntary resettlement is now in operation; and, at least in principle, this makes adequate provision for resettlement. However, there is evidence that implementation is problematic. Secondary data revealed that, despite attempts by the government to improve the living standards of those affected by the Birecik dam, there have been concerns in relation to unemployment, compensation and housing conditions. There is a need for greater public participation, as well as for the government to prepare detailed resettlement plans. In addition, secondary data indicate that there is a need for the institutions to work together in adopting a more inclusive approach. In the next Chapter research methods of this study is explained.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RESEARCH FRAMEWORK**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This Chapter outlines the methodological framework adopted for undertaking this research. First of all, the objectives of the study are reviewed followed by key concepts and considerations. Data collection tools are also presented, as well as fieldwork procedure. These comprise qualitative research tools such as in-depth interviews, participant observation and focus groups, all of which have been used to gather data. The sample of 29 people is presented and the way in which they were selected is described. My position as a researcher in Southeast Turkey is outlined, together with some of the advantages I gained and the disadvantages I overcame. The final section of the Chapter explores the ethical issues involved in the research.

#### **5.1 Objectives of this research**

The primary objective of the research is to investigate the social impacts of GAP in rural communities, with a particular emphasis on how the project has affected women. Secondary objectives are;

- i) To undertake a critical examination of the resettlement and rehabilitation project implemented for the Birecik Dam;
- ii) To identify the livelihood assets of the resettled people and explore how they have, or have not, rebuilt their livelihoods following resettlement, and to assess the impacts that the dam has had on them; and
- iii) To evaluate the impact of resettlement on intra-household relationships between women and men.

#### **5.2 Key concepts and considerations**

The main purpose of this thesis is to explore the daily routines and the changing life patterns of women and men in the Southeast of Anatolia in Turkey, as a result of the GAP project and post-resettlement. Resettlement due to GAP developments is expected to have had an impact



on household livelihoods as well women's status and roles, both inside and outside the household, due to the changed environment.

This research is designed to examine how the resettlement has affected the resettlers' livelihoods and how they have rebuilt their livelihoods. In addition, household relationships are taken into consideration. The aim is to explore household relationships between family members and determine the effect of resettlement on women and men, and the ways in which they interact with each other. By making people central to the study, this research is designed to focus on the resettlers' intra-household relationships, some resettlers lives have changed as well as their daily routines. This study explores this transformation and aims to achieve to an understanding of how the resettlers adapted their lives as a community and within the households.

### **5.3 A note on feminist research**

My empirical study draws principally on qualitative research. As highlighted in section 5.1 and 5.2 this research particularly concerns women's changing lifestyles, and the strengths and weaknesses arising from this change, I believe feminist research deserves a mention here, when it comes to framing my research because feminist research is based on individual lived experiences of women and this tends to be based on qualitative methods (Harding, 1987). Going back to Chapter 2, with the inclusion of SL Framework to involuntary research it has been hypothesised that resettlement may affect women differently. So what are these women's experiences? What kind of difficulties do these women face? What are their strengths? Are they benefiting from the changing society? These questions will be based in my interviews.

As also highlighted previously in the literature, whilst there has been considerable research on involuntary resettlement, the gender dimensions of the issues are often 'overlooked' (Mehta, 2002). Therefore, my intention is to look at the women and their lived experiences, in particular during the resettlement process in Halfeti, giving a voice to people. In this context, these people are women affected by the resettlement process in Halfeti.

To illustrate the points further; being a woman had a great impact on my research in the Southeast. Feminist research can be considered in terms of “consciousness raising for the participants” (Jagger, 2008). Being involved as active members of the research process gives women the space to question and critically assess their own experiences. In my research, I conducted focus group discussions with women. This provided a comfortable environment for women to discuss relevant issues with their neighbours and friends.

The goal of feminist research is to change the inequity between men and women (Kumar, 2005). As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the Southeast of Turkey, many women are unpaid family workers, contributing to the work in rural areas, in almost every area. Nevertheless, their roles often go unrecognised and, as a result, men generally control the production and decision-making mechanism (Gülçubuk and Fazlıoğlu 2003) With the emphasis on women and their daily lives after resettlement, the feminist approach is the best way to create a foundation for research to explore the issues. Are traditional routines being continued, or has the construction of the dam had any affect in terms of changing these routines?

Finally, feminists in general share the same goals - such as gender equality and social justice for women. In the Southeast of Turkey, rural women participate in production activities at every level and they are highly active in agriculture as well as play an important role in the domestic sphere; however they are also affected by both social and cultural clashes and gender inequalities. I wanted to illustrate this in my research and this is strongly related to the feminist standpoint.

#### **5.4 Process of sampling /Case study selection**

Before beginning of the actual fieldwork, I conducted several visits to the Southeast region and stayed there, at separate times, for four months in total, visiting more than 50 villages between 2007 and 2009. Some of these villages were resettled as a whole, some were partially affected and some were only indirectly affected by the dam as their neighbouring villages were displaced. The region as a whole represented a study area with different

potential topics for research. These primary visits enhanced my knowledge about the region in terms of social fabric, agricultural activities as well as daily routines.

Actually these initial visits to the region not only enhanced my knowledge and interest in the region but I became familiar with the area and started to meet people who were living, working, or otherwise had an interest in the region. They were valuable commentators and key informants for me from the start. Moreover, I was able to rent a flat close to my study area, and moved to the city of Gaziantep in December 2009 for a period of three months to undertake my fieldwork. In the meantime I characterized my sampling frame to inform my sampling strategy. For this study Halfeti district is chosen as a case study between effected 44 affected villages.

Case selection is the process that some cases are chosen for case study research (Gerring 2004). (Gerring 2004) separates the meaning of ‘case’ and ‘case study’ in his work. “A case is a spatially grounded phenomenon...observed at a single point in time or over some delimited period of time” (Gerring 2004). ‘A case study’ on the other hand is “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units”(Gerring 2004).

Halfeti was selected for the case study, as it illustrates complexity with a variety of affected people located in one place, thereby representing a single unit. It can also shed light on the south east region as a whole. In total, 220 households were relocated to new settlements and, for this research, 29 households within the case study area were selected for interview. The reasons for selecting Halfeti can be found in section 5.4.1. Later I will explain why I chose these particular 29 households out of the 220 households affected (Section 5.4.2).

#### **5.4.1 The reasons for selecting Halfeti**

- 1) Kurdish or Arabic is a common language spoken in the south east of Turkey. Halfeti was selected for this research, because, within the town, unlike many other villages I have visited, the main language spoken is Turkish. At a practical level, this factor was important for my understanding and also would enable me to have more in-depth conversation and dialogue with the locals.
- 2) I am interested in Women and their daily life in Halfeti and Halfeti has a variety of training courses located within it. As outlined in Chapter 3 and 6 respectively, these centres were established for women and men for training purposes. It was important to select a location where these training courses existed, as this would provide a good entry point to the fieldwork and the opportunity to meet women, in particular, who were working or attending these training courses.
- 3) Characteristics of the mixture of livelihood activities is also one of the reasons that I chose Halfeti to study. The high proportion of waged workers in the Halfeti district is an unusual feature in a region where the most common employment is agriculture, usually involving largely unpaid family labour. Local wage workers in Halfeti prior to resettlement included agricultural labourers, public sector workers, shop assistants, waiters and artisans in addition to the government wage workers. There were also jobs spatially distant from Halfeti and entailed seasonal, or long-term, migration. Here migratory wage labour includes those who travel to work in a nearby village or town such as Sanliurfa. Thus, I wanted to examine the current daily activities of this community which used to have a range of different livelihoods.
- 4) In addition to the other livelihood activities, agriculture also played important role in some people's livelihoods in Halfeti. However, after the resettlement this activity has ceased. Varieties of seasonal crops were grown; commencing in April with plums and apricots, with pistachios harvested at the end of August, and olives in December (Açikalin, 1998). In terms of their labour needs, large farms hired workers from the town or nearby villages, whilst for smaller farms additional labour is generally available, if needed (for example during harvesting), from neighbours. This livelihood activity provided income for poorer landless households (Acikalin, 1998). Thus, in addition to the farmers, I wanted to focus on those people who used to work on these farms, without owning land themselves and who have now lost this opportunity due to the inundation.

Selecting a place such as Halfeti would allow me to observe the households who used to engage in all these different livelihood activities in one town.

- 5) Many households in Halfeti kept livestock in addition to their other activities (Acikalin, 1998). This was women's responsibility and women were highly engaged in this activity before the inundation. Milk and eggs were the most important animal products. At least half of the milk and eggs produced were self-consumed. Livestock keeping was seen as a secondary means of income generation for all types of household. Currently with this livelihood activity no longer available for women, due to the new town rules which do not permit the keeping of livestock, I wanted to examine the alternative options for these women in terms of income generation.
- 6) Halfeti is different in terms of its population structure. Halfeti comprises a small Turkish population living within a Kurdish area, and the town has the smallest household size in the region. This makes Halfeti a unique settlement; and it appeared interesting to investigate the reasons behind this different structure. In addition, the public sector workers living in the region make it a highly literate town, thus I wanted to observe the relationships between literate households and illiterate households and their interactions.

In short, in Halfeti, there are ranges of livelihood activities, which can be examined within the framework of resettlement impacts as a single unit. People who engaged in agriculture, waged employees, as well as the self-employed were all represented in Halfeti and could therefore offer different insights for my study and provide an alternative approach to existing studies, which mainly focus on agriculture and irrigation.

#### **5.4.2 Sampling strategy**

The Halfeti district was partly affected by the Birecik dam (houses and some agricultural land was affected) and it was included within the resettlement plans. Under the Birecik dam resettlement schemes, displaced people were faced with two resettlement options. They could either opt for monetary compensation for the loss of their assets, known as 'self-resettlement'; or they could opt for 'government-assisted resettlement'. The latter comprised a package, which included new housing in an area selected by those affected and help to

restore their livelihoods in terms of income (Altinbilek et al., 1999) (see Chapter 4 for details).

Those 220 households affected in Halfeti took the second option, which involved government support during the resettlement. Resettlement studies usually focus on people who request financial compensation and resettle on their own or rural resettlement and the agricultural change. In order to evaluate the government efforts, it would be useful to analyse the government-assisted packages and assess their value, as well as their sustainability for the livelihoods of the local people. Halfeti came into this category, as 220 households requested government-assisted resettlement, were resettled 8km away, near the Karaotlak District, where a new town was built by the government.

These 220 households had different features in terms of how they resettled. They were either partially or fully affected by the Birecik Dam. Those partially affected included those for whom only their house or a proportion of their land was submerged, or in some cases access to their land was blocked by the inundation, so they were relocated from their original homes. In other cases, people were fully affected losing both their homes and all their land as a result of the inundation. Within these 220 households there are also landless people who used to work as agricultural labourers on farms owned by others, or who worked in the local market, and had been living in Halfeti for more than three years, so were also entitled to resettlement. All these 220 households were identified as the first resettlers in Halfeti.

Rather than random sampling, I used a purposive sampling method when selecting my households, as I wanted to talk to people who could give me richer and more detailed insights in terms of their experiences. With this type of sampling people are selected because of their relevance to understanding the social phenomenon in question (Bryman, 2008). “Very often the researcher will want to sample in order to ensure that there is good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics” (Bryman, 2008). Similarly, Stake (1995) suggests that “a case may be

purposively selected by virtue of being, for instance, information-rich, critical, revelatory, unique or extreme” (Stake 1995).

With this particular type of sampling, research participants are sampled on the basis of the research questions, rather than the population in general. My objective in this research was to explore the livelihoods of the resettled population in Halfeti, to assess how they rebuilt their livelihoods and the ways in which this has affected the intra-household relationships between women and men. In accordance with the purposive sampling technique I therefore identified people with different (and in some cases unique) experiences and who I thought would be able to provide richer and more detailed insights for the purposes of my research.

From my previous investigations, I wanted to illustrate a variety of different resettlement experiences from different perspectives. I have focused on a range of different people and I wanted to concentrate on the people who could provide me with the deepest information. In total 220 households moved to Karaotlak; however I have focused on only 29 households. The criteria for selecting these households were as follows:

- 1- People who opted for a government resettlement package;
- 2- People who used to be farmers in the old town;
- 3- People who used to work on land owned by other farmers;
- 4- People who have a regular and fixed wage;
- 5- People who are seasonal migrants;
- 6- People who had wanted to settle on the other side of the town, but who had to relocate to Karaotlak, because this location was chosen by the majority.

These people had a range of interesting stories to tell and were willing to share their experiences with me. I wanted to include educated households as well as the illiterate within the 29 households chosen. I included within my sample former land-owning farmers, subsistence farmers, waged labourers, households who receive regular/irregular incomes or remittances, people who were landless - all of whom had opted for a government-assisted resettlement package and eventually settled in Karaotlak.

### **5.5 Secondary data collection**

I conducted my research in three tiers, in order to take into account the benefits and limitations of individual data collection methods. The first tier included collecting background information on the study area, as well as the use of secondary resources. In terms of obtaining secondary data, to support the findings of my empirical work, I have gained information from many different books, handbooks from Turkey and statistics from various government institutions such as the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), the State Hydraulic Works (DSI), and the Southeast Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration (GAPRDA) (The list of data obtained from government sources can be found in Appendix 1). In addition, some statistical data such as literacy census and employment rates have been obtained from official web sources. I found there to be a lack of research on gender and resettlement, in the Southeast region, in particular in Turkish villages. I also found a lack of government and monitoring reports on this particular area and subject. Thus, I wanted to use my empirical study to address this gap.

In one of my previous visits to Turkey, in the early part of July 2009, I visited Gazi University to collect data from the University's archive in Ankara. This is when I met Dr Gulen Elmas in the faculty of administration, economics department. She has a personal interest in women's issues in the Southeast in particular. Whilst Dr Elmas was keen to provide me with any published data on this matter, she also put me in touch with several people from whom I have benefited, both during my fieldwork and afterwards.

### **5.6 Location of the Study Area**

The Halfeti district is located to the North West of Sanliurfa and is 120kms away from the city centre. Halfeti has a land area of 646 km<sup>2</sup>, with a total population of 36,168 (1990 census). The town itself has 2560 residents, but the majority of the district's population live in the nearby villages. After the inundation, the Basbostan neighbourhood of Halfeti was completely submerged and the Cekem, Simaliye and Rustiye neighbourhoods were also affected to a large extent. The Karaotlak district was chosen by the affected people for the establishment of the new town (GAPRDA, 2002). Also a picture of Halfeti before the dam being built can be found in Figure 5.1



**Figure 5.1 :** Halfeti district, before the resettlement (Old Halfeti)



### **5.6.1 Household size and population growth of Halfeti**

Chapter 3 outlined the reasons for the high population growth rate in the GAP Region and the fact that the GAP authorities have sought to control this growth through GAP developments. The Halfeti district, on the other hand, shows a different pattern in terms of population growth and household size. According to the 1990 census, the population in Halfeti District was 2560. In 1990, household size in the GAP region was around 6.8: ranging from 4.7 in urban areas to 7.9 in rural areas (GAPRDA, 1999a). Within this area, Halfeti district had the smallest mean household size at only 4.4; this compares with a mean household size as high as 7.9 in the nearby village of Irmakboyu (GAPRDA, 1999a).

Three possible reasons for this low mean can be suggested. First, is the ethnic make-up of Halfeti. The new town post resettlement is a mixed Turkish and Kurdish community by Karaotlak the host community being Kurdish; however, before resettlement Halfeti was predominantly a Turkish community, with very few Kurdish households (typically larger, than Turkish ones) a factor that might explain the low mean household size at that time (Essen et al., 1998). Second, is the relatively high number of government officials living in the village. Typically, these individuals have a higher level of education and tend to have smaller families (GAPRDA, 1999a) perhaps because they do not need to rely on income from

land worked using family labour. When the children of these better-educated households reach maturity they are assumed to be more likely than children from less well-educated households to move to the city in search of employment (GAPRDA, 1999a). Third reasons can be the migration rates, where migration to cities or abroad has been a trend in Halfeti for years.

### **5.6.2 Social and technical infrastructure in the study area**

In Halfeti, before the relocation, there was one high school with 159 students and 14 teachers. In addition, there were three primary schools with 275 students and 15 teachers. In total, 46 students were transported to the district from the surrounding villages (Seldek, Ortayol, Durak). There was one health centre with three doctors. The closest settlement was Birecik at a distance of 22.5 km (GAPRDA, 2002).

### **5.6.3 Education**

Essen (1990) revealed that in Turkey, the literacy rate for men was approximately 88.7% (with a growth of 2.2% in 5 years), whereas the literacy rate for women was 71.9 %. The figures for Southeast Anatolia Region were lower - with a literacy rate of 77.5% for men and only 44.3% for women (GAPRDA, 1999b). Statistics suggest that Halfeti was one of the most educated districts in the region; and before inundation the literacy rate in Halfeti was 88.1% (GAPRDA, 1999a).

The higher literacy rate in Halfeti might be explained by the relatively high proportion of educated public sector workers who lived in the settlement. As mentioned previously, such households are more likely to value education and their influence could encourage other households to do the same, thereby increasing the level of education in the district.

In Halfeti, before resettlement, the single high school taught 159 students with 14 teachers. In addition, the three primary schools had 275 students and 15 teachers. Pupils were drawn from

Halfeti and the surrounding villages. In total, 46 students came from the surrounding villages of Seldek, Ortayol and Durak (GAPRDA 1990).

Halfeti has a high literacy rate however it is not possible to determine separate literacy rates for men and women. Literacy rates in 1990 for the GAP region, and Turkey as a whole, can be found in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1:** Literacy rates in Turkey (1990)

	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>
Turkey	88.7%	71.9%
GAP region	77.5%	44.3%
Halfeti	88.1%	-

Source: (Essen et al., 1998)

#### **5.6.4 Employment status**

According to research conducted in the 1990s (GAPRDA, 1999b), almost half of the rural households in the GAP region contained individuals who earned all or part of their income from employment in the public sector. These public sector workers usually required specific skills or education. In fact Tables 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate employment status in the GAP region. Moreover Açıkalın (1990) reported that 51% of the residents in old Halfeti were public sector workers.

**Table 5.2;** Employment status in Halfeti

<b>Employment status</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Public sector workers	25.3%
Employers	10.6%
Self Employed	13.3%
Family workers	47.7%

Source: (Essen et al., 1998)

**Table 5.3** Public sector workers in GAP villages compared to Halfeti

<b>Districts</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Halfeti	36.7%
Elifkoy	9%
Ayran	6.3%

Source: (Essen et al., 1998)

As can be seen from the Tables 5.2 and 5.3 the livelihood activities are vary in Halfeti including the high numbers of government sector workers as well. Actually all these features made Halfeti unique for this research.

### **5.7 Entry to the field**

I started my fieldwork as soon as I moved to Gaziantep and conducted daily trips from the city to Halfeti after my first day in the city. I started the field work in December 2009 and completed in March 2010. I had already identified the village headmen and a couple of key informants from my previous visits. I entered the field by visiting the village headman who introduced me to the more relevant key people for my study. He knew my research topic and my interest in women's status and relationships in particular, so I was introduced to Miss M, who is 22 years old a single young women and who was working in the knitting course in the town as an assistant to the instructor. She helped me from the outset, and I have benefited a great deal from her views.

The first week was an intensive 'getting to know people' week. I met all my contacts and most of my interviewees during the first week. I also regularly attended the knitting course during the day, in the afternoon and sometimes after the lunch hour. I visited places and met new people every day during my visits. Table 5.4, illustrates the profiles of the participants I met during the first week.

**Table 5.4** Basic information about the key participants

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
Miss M	22	Working in the knitting course
Mr Y	61	Owens a boat in Halfeti
Mr N	32	Public Education Centre administrator in Halfeti
Mr M	47	Mayor of Halfeti
Mr M	40	Assistant in the Public Education Centre

Source; Fieldwork

I started my household visits in week two; I also continued to attend the knitting course for half the day. By the end of the second week I was able to complete my household data cards, which I had prepared to gather basic profile information about the households. Household data cards enabled me to gain tangible information about each household, and as a first step it was useful to identify what each household was doing and who was part of the household (see section 5.9.3 for the details of data cards). From week two I also started to interview the local officials, such as the mayor and the former mayor of the town; with regard to the inundation about the general resettlement process and their view on it (please refer to Appendix 2 for the discussion topics with the local officials).

I made two trips to Ankara to talk to two former GAP officials and one official in DSI (State Hydraulic Works). The DSI general manager was interviewed twice. In addition, I interviewed an officer who explained to me the resettlement process in the GAP region using a Power Point presentation which was particularly valuable. I am grateful to the officials for their helpful approach. Interviews with Ankara officials, as well as one minister, went very well and I gained valuable insights such as future plans of DSI and I gained deeper knowledge on the changed resettlement law and the former related procedures on resettlement in Turkey.

When I returned to the town I had established a routine after the first two weeks. I went to the knitting course everyday early in the morning, during which I had a catch-up session with

Miss M. After that I met the women on the knitting course and drank tea with them. After our catch up every day, we generally started the course at 10am every morning.

After spending a few hours on the morning course, we ate lunch together with Miss M at her house. On some of the days I brought lunch from the city for both of us; on other days she would not allow me to bring food, as she wanted me to try some different food that she or her mother had prepared the previous evening. I found these lunch times particularly useful, because I was able to talk to Miss M's mother, and got to know other women who were her mother's friends and the neighbours. After lunch, I would interview my participants. In total I was able to talk to 29 participants, both men and women, and all the interviews were conducted in an informal and friendly manner. They very much welcomed me and wanted to talk and participate in the research.

The days proved very long and sometimes I stayed at Miss M's house overnight, if it was too late to return to the city. When I stayed with M and her family, I generally helped the boys with their homework. On other occasions we would go to visit Miss M's or Miss O's friend's houses, or they would come over to meet and chat with me.

Staying at Miss M's house was particularly useful as it allowed me to better understand the daily lives that lay behind some of the behaviours of these people. I came to understand some special household arrangements, and I was also able to see how they interacted with each other, at times when all the household members were at home, eating, watching TV and entertaining friends. I found some of the 'ways of doing things' interesting. Some girls were able to go out visit their friends in the evening, their father went to pick them up when they wanted to return to the house. This situation was different to what I had expected. I had always imagined that these children grew up in a very strictly controlled environment, where, especially for daughters, it would be impossible to go out in the evenings or have any say in the household. For instance, Miss O one day came to Gaziantep with me on an afternoon when I had finished my daily tasks in the town. She wanted to buy some goods for her upcoming wedding, and she even stayed in my flat, when she could easily have stayed with

her aunt who also lives in Gaziantep. This showed me an element of freedom in the town which surprised me.

I was at a significant advantage being a woman. The town was very welcoming; I could stay in people's houses and talk easily to both men and women. People were very forthcoming and everyone was respectful towards me. Men, even though in some cases they were older than me, called me *abla* which means older sister. I also became involved in people's special celebrations and took part in Miss O's engagement event. I helped to prepare food and took photographs for her during the ceremony (please refer to Appendix 3 for pictures from the ceremony).

### **5.8 Difficulties**

Living in Gazinatep Province and travelling to Halfeti every day (around 100 km in total) was hard work. I was travelling to the study area by car and it took me almost an hour to get to Halfeti (sometimes longer, depending on the road conditions) and a similar time to make the return journey. This was a difficult task. After a couple of weeks, I started to stay in Miss O's and sometimes Miss F's house for a few days each week. Although it was a difficult and boring journey, I listened to my interviews on the way, and this helped me to reassess some of the problems and gave me a good overall view of the district. Although I had to read the interviews after the fieldwork had finished, I found that listening to the interviews was very useful as it gave me greater insight. I was able to evaluate the fieldwork as I progressed with the research. Therefore, apart from the difficulty, the drive was useful and saved me some time in the evenings.

The second problem I encountered during the fieldwork was time constraints. When I was not staying overnight in Halfeti and had to drive back to Gazinatep I aimed to finish work by 4pm to enable me to get back to the city at 6pm. As I conducted my fieldwork in December when the days are shorter, I had to return to the city before it got too late in the evening, to ensure my own safety. During the interviewing period, I found it very difficult to adjust the time spent with the interviewees. I could not stop in the middle of an interview, nor could I

ask the participants to resume the interview following day. Although every single participant I interviewed gave me a genuine insight, some elderly people, for instance, were inclined to forget what they had said, would repeat themselves or just want to have a break to make tea. These issues made some of the interviews very difficult to complete in the allotted time. However, the views of the elderly people were particularly important for the study, as these people had strong memories of the old settlement and very interesting and valuable stories from old Halfeti, so it was important not to hurry them through the interview. The quality of the information I obtained and the help I received from them more than compensated for the inconvenience of a few hours. I also had the chance to stay over at Miss O's or Miss F's house whenever I wanted to. Mr M, Miss O's father for instance, wouldn't let me travel after 4pm and they asked me to call the family back every day as soon as I arrived at Gaziantep to let them know that I was safely home. Even though I thought this routine unnecessary in the early weeks, I soon realised that this created a strong bond between the family and me.

## **5.9 Research tools selected**

This study adopted qualitative methods to gather data. These methods comprised participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions.

### **5.9.1 Qualitative research**

The methodology behind this research is qualitative. Qualitative is a broad term that includes various approaches to answering research questions that require understanding of a given phenomenon within its own context. Qualitative methods “focus on the way people interpret their experiences, and the world in which they live” (Bryman, 2008). The focus of qualitative research is similar to my own. It describes peoples experiences, from the perspective of those who actually live them; it has a focus on society and culture (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Therefore the objectives of this study fit within a qualitative research framework that focuses on the experiences of the local people and their perspectives, as well as exploration of the society and culture of Southeast Turkey. I was interested in perceptions, habits and changed behaviours; and this can be achieved with qualitative techniques. Statistics or numbers cannot satisfactorily explain the attitudes or experiences of local people. Instead they require an approach using verbal communication, listening and interpretation, involving the people



who are actually experiencing the changes. My primary attention in this thesis has been to provide a culturally sensitive analysis of the way women and men in Halfeti, live, interact with each other whilst they the way they do things. Therefore, my objective and the way in which I achieve it, fits into the qualitative research framework, in which the “data is generated from local people and where theory is based on the interpretation of the individuals” experiences of their lives (Bryman, 2008).

### **5.9.2 Participant observation**

Participation in local life in the district was a crucial part of my research. As a researcher in the field, I constantly lived with the project, observed what was happening around me and participated in activities. Being familiar with the language, I undertook all of the work myself. Although this was a tiring job it helped me considerably, as I adapted to doing things quickly and I have gained a better understanding of the issues as a result. In participant observation, “the researcher observes and to some degree participates in the action being studied, as the action is happening” (Lichterman, 2002). I also found participant observation useful, in understanding family relationships and the ways in which family members interact with each other. In addition, I gained a better understanding of participation in decision making processes and the division of labour between household members.

My participation entailed a variety of activities. I went to courses with the women, ate and watched TV with them; on a few occasions I stayed overnight and spent the evening and the following morning with them, making preparations for the day. Shopping in the nearby villages, sometimes to buy milk, and negotiating with the locals helped me to understand their daily routine. Much of this information I would not otherwise have known. However, as indicated previously, all of these interactions were, to some extent, limited. There is obviously a limit to the researcher’s ability to participate fully, but “observing” alone is clearly not enough. It was important for me to be involved in the daily tasks. Trying to complete the course this task taught me a considerable amount about the resettlers in Halfeti and the problems they are facing, as well as the strengths of their daily lives. They got used to me by seeing me every day and when I went to Ankara for a week, I had many phone calls

from them, asking me when I was to return, and telling me how much they missed me on the course.

### **5.9.3 Household data cards**

In livelihood studies, researchers tend to use the household as an analytical unit (McDowell and Haan, 1997), and my research was no exception. Households in my sample were asked for their opinion as to what the term 'household' meant to them. Thus their definition formed my understanding of the household. In my sample, in accordance with these opinions, households are considered to be families who live under the same roof and are responsible to each other in terms of welfare. In all but two cases, the households generally comprised a father, as the household head, and a mother with children – although in some cases the children were at university or married and living in another location. In the other two cases these included either a grandfather or a grandmother living within the household. Thus families generally live in the same household; they are blood relatives and care about each other's welfare.

I prepared household data cards so that I could identify each household by their names, job, income, education etc. This information formed the basis for my interviews. When preparing and undertaking interviews I found it particularly useful to have these basic demographic details as background information for each household on a single piece of card. (An example of the household data form is given in Appendix 4). I prepared household data cards for each of the households I interviewed. All 29 households completed the data cards, but after a while I found I no longer needed them as I had memorised almost everyone in the town. Within a very short time, I was able to get to know all the households in my study, including the individual household members' names and their backgrounds.

### **5.9.4 Triangulation**

In order to ensure the validity of my results I wanted to make use of a number of techniques. In the end I used triangulation, which actually applies multiple techniques for data collection and testing. It is important to use triangulation in qualitative research because this method

checks the validity of the actual fieldwork, because it enables researchers to analyse the research questions from different perspectives (Johnson 2003). In this way the results from the surveys, focus groups or interviews can be compared in order to determine their relevance (Guion et al, 2011). This is particularly important when the research involves social patterns because complex situations might occur, and these need to be ‘double checked’ (Bryman, 2008). Thus, I chose to use multiple methods and triangulate them to provide a better understanding of the complex lifestyle of the resettlers in Halfeti.

### **5.9.5 Conducting in-depth interviews**

During my fieldwork, I wrote down everything including the impressions I gained. I believed it is important to observe and react rather than to attempt to focus only on those issues that seemed important, as it is often difficult to know at the time of the observation what may, or may not, be useful in terms of the future research. The most essential feature of feminist research is its attention to gender inequality. I chose the in-depth interview method for my research because of its compatibility with my commitment to allow the women to describe their experiences in their own terms, to feel unrestricted and to introduce new research questions for my focus group discussions based on their own lived experience (Bryman, 2008). The empirical basis of this thesis is the interviews which were undertaken to identify the problems that the resettlers faced, both during and after resettlement. As previously explained, the basic objective of this research was not to criticise or undermine the status of women living in the region; it is rather to explore the aspects of everyday lives that underpin the changing role and status of these resettled women which would be able to explore with in-depth interviews.

My main interest lay in the changing lives of women in the region; in which case why should I conduct my interviews at the level of the household? Why did I not just interview women? Firstly, conducting interviews at the household level enabled me to explore the men’s perspectives, not only in relation to the resettlement, but also with regard to the changing roles of women in everyday life. Because most individuals live in a household it was my intention to reach these individuals through their households. Households are places where many interactions take place. They are places where people determine their daily tasks and

make decisions with regard to their lives (Wheelock and Oughton, 1996). In addition, people living in these households “have a variety of motivations, besides narrow economic gain: actions may be based on traditional or patriarchal reasoning, people have a need for dignity and self-respect, and a need to care and nurture” (Wheelock and Oughton, 1996). Thus, I was interested in undertaking research at household level, so that I could understand the reasons behind people’s choices, as well as their decisions, within the households in Halfeti.

I interviewed the households and the individuals within them. I often interviewed them during their livelihood activities. In terms of the jobs held by household members, I interviewed people at various levels - from government officials to temporary agricultural migrants, and women who clean the stairs in the classrooms. All these different groups were interviewed to gain a better and more detailed understanding. Second, by conducting interviews with all members of the family, I was able to understand the household structure. By focusing on different levels of well-being and households from different backgrounds, I could investigate the capacity of each family to rebuild their livelihoods.

My in-depth interviews were designed without using a predetermined question order or wording. Instead the interviews were structured by focusing on particular topics, but I was not limited to a fixed framework or wording. This permits a “greater flexibility than other types of enquiry and enables a more valid response” (May, 1997). Undoubtedly in qualitative research, the interview is perceived as being closer to a conversation than to a question and answer session (May 197). In short, it can be considered as a guided conversation in a relaxed manner. The in-depth interviews in my research focused on the attitudes and perceptions of women and men to their work, their household relationships and arrangements - the way they apply their tasks, as well as their perceptions of change in terms of their access to resources and their hopes for the future. Although the topics in the interviews were pre-selected; I allowed some flexibility, depending on the trend of the on-going discussion.

I conducted my interviews on two levels. The first level involved semi-structured interviews conducted during the first week, with key informants. In those interviews the questions were not predetermined, but the aim was to gather general information about the new town, as well

as the old town. For the first level of interviews, I focused on the resettlement process in general and the way in which my key informant's viewed the resettlement process as a whole. To identify their perceptions, I actually asked them how they saw the resettled Halfeti. These interviews were also helpful in shaping my sample of 29 households, which I had already started to categorise. (The interview topics with the key informants can be found in Appendix 5).

After the first week of my visit to the town, I started to conduct my semi-structured interviews with the 29 selected households. The selected households were also asked for their perceptions in relation to the resettlement, followed by a set of questions which I had prepared based on the World Bank international guidelines on best practice for resettlement (see Appendix 6 for the details). The questions included the level of support they had received, the housing conditions, as well as the compensation procedures employed (if they had received compensation). As explored in Chapter 2, I am using SLF as a tool to understand the livelihoods of people in Halfeti thus I paid particular attention to evaluating their livelihood assets, including human assets, such as access to healthcare, and education, in addition to their social relationships as well as livelihood strategies. Overall the interviews shed light on specific issues, such as access to certain assets by certain people, as well as improvements to some people's human capital, the institutional context, and employment status, as well as the dramatic losses and gains experienced by some households.

I conducted, taped and transcribed all of the interviews myself. As mentioned previously, the questions were open-ended and semi-structured; and most of the discussions were two-way. Everyone in the surrounding area was able to participate; and there were many opportunities for the interviewees to raise questions or bring up any issues if they want to (Silverman, 2010). These in-depth interviews provided a foundation for my focus group interviews.

The interviews went very well and all the participants were enthusiastic and willing to contribute. I did not restrict myself to a particular place to interview the participants. As long as I could access the people I wanted to talk to, I let them decide where they wanted to meet

and when. Thus, I adapted to their schedule, rather than restricting them to a particular time or place. I sometimes met them in their homes, or they invited me for afternoon tea or, on a few occasions, to a social gathering. When I wanted to interview a particular participant they would sometimes come along on their own, but more often than not they would bring other people with them, assuming that I would want to interview as many people as possible. These interviews took much longer to complete. However, whenever this occurred, I learnt a great deal more about the different aspects of their lives as well as some valuable stories. I interviewed women and men in different surroundings: sometimes on the training courses, sometimes on the street or on the way back to the market; and for men, often in the café houses.

I was welcomed in the café houses, although these places are mostly the reserve for men and it is not usual for local women to go into them. However, after a few weeks, everyone in the village, I was doing and knew me. Therefore, most of the time, they wanted to meet in the café houses. However, I actually found it more productive when I interviewed the participants in their own homes. I found women were much more relaxed during their storytelling, and this provided me with the opportunity to appreciate the personal objects that were most meaningful to each of them. These included photos of family members in the old settlement, special things they treasured, even the objects that they are now starting to use every day, such as the sewing machines that most women have from their dowries, but which, until recently, were hidden away in storage rooms. All of this increased my understanding as to what really mattered to these women and men.

During the interviews, an emotional object that I found in every single house – usually hanging on the living room wall - was a picture of old Halfeti. This would suggest that they look at these pictures and talk about their memories with friends and family very regularly. All of the participants allowed me to record the interviews. Rather than taking notes, tape recording allowed me to interact with the interviewee much more and I was also able to interact with the surroundings. There was no language barrier for me as all the interviewees spoke Turkish.

### **5.9.6 Focus group interviews with women**

The purpose of the focus groups was mostly to explore some household patterns and habits that were identified through the interviews. In this way, insights into these patterns were gained. Hence, I conducted my focus groups after I reviewed the results from the interviews. Focus groups are useful when a researcher wants to share background information or to explore the realities of daily life (Baker and Hinton 1999). Focus group discussions with women in Halfeti helped me to better understand the actual strengths and weaknesses of women in particular within their households.

I selected my focus group participants from the 29 interviewees. During the interviews I realised that some of the interviewees, in particular, played a very important role both in the community and within their own households, and therefore I wanted them to take part in focus groups. Some of the participants worked in agriculture, some were wage earners, livestock and food producers or carers for children or the elderly. However there were some specific differences between the women, in terms of their access to some assets and opportunities, which I had not taken into consideration at the start of my interviews. I saw that different women were doing different things. Bringing all these different women into the same room would give me richer insights for my research. It would be interesting to observe the ways in which they interacted with each other. Thus, their shared experiences gave me valuable insights in terms of understanding the social situation between men and women, and women and women. The discussion Chapters of this thesis reflect these different insights from these focus group discussions.

Two focus group meetings were conducted with women; with four in one group and five in the other. All of the steps, such as using tape recorders, arranging venues, were the same for the two focus groups (Kumar, 2005). However, unlike the in-depth interviews these were easy to conduct, as I had already selected some of the interviewees who were willing and enthusiastic to participate in the focus groups. There were also criteria for the focus groups. I wanted to talk to women who were active in the labour market, or former farmers' wives, as

well as women who were willing to work but for whom there were no opportunities available. This separation would enable me to compare and contrast the interviewees in terms of their well-being and economic situations. Focus group meetings took approximately 1:30 hours each. Both focus groups were conducted at the knitting course, at the weekend. All participants were enthusiastic so everyone turned up. I supplied refreshments for the children and for the women and I drove each of the women home afterwards. The venue was used with the permission of the Mayor, who in fact supplied me with all the necessary equipment, including a DVD player and a television.

I decided to conduct the focus group meetings in the room that was used for the knitting and sewing course. Throughout the research I refer to the knitting and sewing course simply as a knitting course. However, it should be noted that sewing was also included, although it was more common for the women to do knitting. I chose the knitting and sewing course as a venue because I thought that women would feel more comfortable on the courses, as most of them have attended a course or been to the venue, so they were familiar with the environment. In fact, conducting the focus groups on the knitting courses was initially their idea. One person's house or an open public place might have inhibited them and I wanted to identify an environment where we could be alone and discuss whatever we wanted to. The venue was also comfortable, as there was a heater and facilities for refreshments, such as tea; and I also provided some snacks for the women and little chocolate bars for one of my participants grandsons who I knew were going to be with us at the first meeting. We had tea in old Halfeti after both meetings as a treat. It was a positive gathering and everyone seemed to enjoy themselves. Table 5.5 illustrates the list of participants enrolled in the focus groups.

**Table 5.5** List of participants in focus groups

<b>First Group</b>	<b>Second Group</b>
Gu	Oz
Ne	Gu
Fa	Fat
Fi	Ni
Be	-

Source: Fieldwork



In the focus groups we discussed women's everyday routines. Their perceptions about their household arrangements and family members, and their relationships with them, formed the main topics of discussion. As well as the advantages, we also discussed the disadvantages of being a woman in the new settlement. We talked about transforming society in Halfeti and their positions as women in this society as well as their perceptions of resettlement.

### **5.10 Ethics, basic principles**

Ethnographers often observe people's secrets, finances, achievements or failures as well as their strengths and weaknesses.. Another basic underlying principle is that of confidentiality; in order to secure private confidentiality. In this research I made a particular effort to introduce myself honestly to the community; and to explain the aim of my research to the participants as clearly as I could, so that they had no doubt in their minds and could participate if they so wished. I made sure each participant in the area understood the reasons for and the proposed consequences of this research. The logic behind this is to interactively help each other. As defined in the literature, confidentiality was the other major point of principle. All the data, personal information and tape recordings etc. would remain private. Moreover, permissions were sought from local government administrative officers, including the Mayor of Halfeti, and each participant was asked for his/her permission to participate in the study. The participants were also informed that their participation would be entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

### **5.11 Conclusion**

This Chapter has introduced the research process undertaken in the empirical study. The reasons for choosing the specific dam project and the specific study area are explained. Qualitative techniques, such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, as well as focus group discussions, were used to gather data. Because women are the focus of the research, I was personally influenced by feminist research. The details of the women participating in the focus groups are given. The Chapter also describes the difficulties that were faced and the ethical issues that had to be considered.

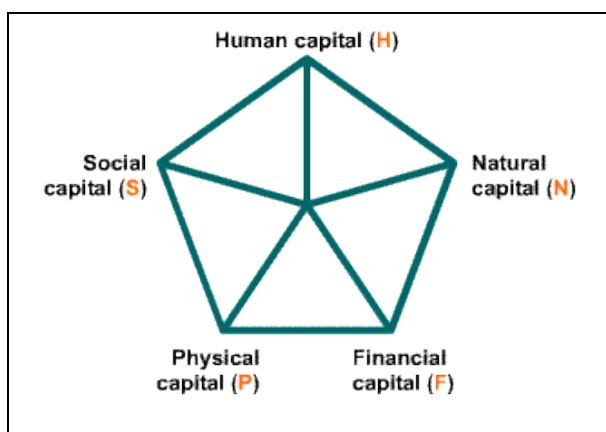
## CHAPTER 6

### LIVELIHOOD ASSETS IN HALFETI

#### 6.0 Introduction

Livelihood resources are critical to the resettlers as they may help resettlers to rebuild or maintain their livelihoods. These livelihood resources are considered as livelihood assets or livelihood strategies (DFID 1999). In this study, livelihood strategies are examined in Chapter 7. As a starting point, this Chapter assesses the livelihood assets of the 29 selected resettled households. It is explained in Chapter 2 that people require a range of assets to achieve sustainable livelihood outcomes (DFID 1999). This Chapter looks at the 29 resettled households and explores the assets available to them. In addition to the different opportunities available to them, the resettlers' ability to use their assets is also discussed. This Chapter is divided, according to the asset pentagon, into i) human capital ii) social capital, iii) financial capital, iv) physical capital, and v) natural capital. Figure 6.1 explains the asset pentagon in the SL framework.

Figure 6.1 Asset pentagon in SL framework



Source: (DFID 1999)

## **6.1 Exploring livelihood assets in involuntary resettlement analysis**

This study used a sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF) in order to analyse the selected resettlers' livelihoods in Halfeti after resettlement had taken place. As mentioned previously, the sustainable livelihoods approach suggests that people depend on a number of assets, which they can draw upon for their livelihoods (DFID, 1999, 2004; Carney, 2003). It is important to assess these assets in order to see the strengths of the affected people (Chapter 2) These livelihood assets are the building blocks that can be combined, and even substituted for each other to achieve sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999, 2004; Krantz, 2001; Hussein, 2002; Carney, 2003). Therefore, "resettlement strategies that intend to address livelihood sustainability would require re-establishing livelihood assets and strengthening local capacity to access those resources" (Phonepraseuth 2012). However, resettlement can lead to the loss of all types of asset (Gutman, 1996; Cernea, 1997, 1998; Tan et al. 2003; McDonald, 2006). Cernea (1996,1997,1998), Tan et al 2003, and McDonald (2006) amongst other authors, argued that the loss of these assets weakens the local people's capabilities. This loss makes it difficult for their claims to resources and rights to be heard effectively (Phonepraseuth 2012). When access to these assets is limited people may become vulnerable in a resettlement situation. With limited access to such assets resettlers should seek the best solution to enable them to survive, and they should devise strategies to ensure that they achieve the best livelihood outcomes (Phonepraseuth, 2012), Therefore, it is crucial to examine resettlers' access to assets in order to identify their strengths and vulnerabilities.

As indicated in Chapter 2, sustainable development may be achieved by ensuring that future stocks of assets are at least equal to current assets. Basically, the asset portfolio of displaced people should not be diminished, because the accumulation of assets actually provides the capability to develop (Pearce, 1999a, McDonald 2006). This Chapter determines how and why the resettlers' livelihood assets have changed since the resettlement. It is also important to identify which people have greater or reduced access to these assets.

When talking about resettlers' access to assets it is important to mention the institutional framework. As explained in more depth in Chapter 8, the 'institutional framework has been identified as a useful tool to support the conversion of assets into capabilities by the households, because institutions are central to livelihood strategies'. For instance, this research indicates that without support from formal institutions it may be difficult for some resettlers to gain access to education or proper health services (Chapter 2). As suggested by Scoones (1998) -

“institutions actually directly or indirectly mediate access to livelihood resources, which in turn affect the livelihood strategy and options and eventually the scope of sustainable livelihood outcomes” (Scoones 1998).

Chapter 7 provides a detailed explanation of the resettlers' livelihood strategies, in order to provide a complete picture. Chapter 8 discusses the institutional arrangements in more depth.

## **6.2 Human capital**

Human capital represents the combination of skills and knowledge, ability to work and good health. Human capital enables people to achieve their livelihood objectives, by undertaking different livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999). Human capital is important because it enables people to function (Sen, 1990). Restoring and increasing human capital to ensure that all resettlers have access to education, health services and training in their new settlements are important dimensions to resettlement, as these provide some evidence that resettlers' livelihoods may have been re-established. Human capital is also related to social capital, an aspect that will be discussed later in the Chapter. Elements of human capital, such as health, nutrition, food intake, and education and training will also be explored.

### 6.2.1 Health services

Health services are vital because they support the population in terms of recovery from illness and enable people to continue functioning as productive members of society (McDonald, 2006). In Halfeti, before the submergence, health services were poorer as there was only one health clinic that used to serve the town and the surrounding villages. After the submergence, a hospital was built and twenty health workers now provide health care to the resettled Halfeti and its surrounding villages (GAPRDA, 2002).

The interviews suggest that people with better financial resources and good social networks enjoy better access to hospital services, even in the case of emergencies. Even so, during the interviews a total of 20 out of the 29 interviewees indicated that there are always long waiting lists for hospital appointments and that access is not easy, even in an emergency. The poor access to critical health care may be due to the hospital having to cater for a relatively large population. The increased number of potential patients and the limited capacity of the hospital may combine to cause problems in terms of the delays and long waiting lists. Only five of the interviewees who were asked about health services in Halfeti suggested that they had improved since the resettlement, whilst 16 people said that they had deteriorated.

**Table 6.1:** Comparison of health services in Halfeti before and after resettlement

	Better	Worse	Same
Number of households	5	15	9

Source: Fieldwork

Some authors (e.g. Rahman, 2009; Anirudh, 2004) argue that whilst public spending in rural areas, particularly on primary education and health care, can benefit the poor, many individuals, and often the poorest in the community, fail to experience these benefits. There may be several reasons for this. As outlined in Chapter 4, there have been improvements in the health sector in the south east region after the GAP Project was implemented. In Halfeti the population is growing. Before the submergence in 1990, the population of the town centre was 4,100 and this increased to 8,522 in 2011 (TUIK, 2012e). This increase is due to the

populations of nearby villages moving to Halfeti since 2000, and in terms of health care seems to affect the poorer segment of the town more, often due to a lack of health insurance. It seems that the 20 bed capacity of the town hospital is not meeting the needs of the increasing population. Poorer people are more vulnerable to ill health; however, wealthier people in the region have good access to health services and also have the opportunity to go to the cities for treatment.

### 6.2.2 Nutrition and consumption

During the interviews, nutrition was explored by asking about the range of foods consumed by resettled households - specifically meat and vegetables. Twenty two out of the 29 resettlers, who were interviewed, indicated that they are unhappy with their current diets. Table 6.2 illustrates the resettlers' perceptions about their diets.

**Table 6.2:** Resettlers perceptions about their diets

Unhappy	Happy	Same	Total
22	4	3	29

Source: Field work

The majority of resettlers indicated that food is difficult to afford. There are three reasons for this i) the resettlers are unable to produce their own food; ii) households have less money to spend on food; and iii) food has become more expensive. It is observed that households with higher incomes seem to have a more diverse diets after resettlement. However, poorer people seem to only eat meat on special occasions.

On the other hand, resettlers revealed that they used to eat lots of plums and pomegranates, which were a common part of their diet, being plentiful and freely available in the old town. However, in the new settlement these now cost 5 liras per kilogramme (approx £2 in 2011) from the market and it is almost impossible to afford them. Some of the resettlers used to have olive trees and they were able to produce olive oil for household consumption. There were fish in the Euphrates to catch. It is evident from the interviews that the consumption of

fruit and vegetables and some other popular food items has decreased in the new settlement. There seems to be a transformation in the assets suggests that there is a need for additional financial capital to support existing consumption patterns in the new settlement.

Ten out of the 29 families interviewed indicated that they cannot afford to buy meat or vegetables. One family, for instance, said that they only eat meat on special occasions, e.g. on special religious days, or when there is a wedding and their friends or neighbours give away meat as a tradition. Instead, these people's diets comprise mainly of rice or bulgur wheat, with a minimum of vegetables. People on a low incomes, and who had previously had a garden, indicated that they are experiencing difficulty obtaining enough vegetables to eat, although they were still able to bake bread and some pastries at home. Before the land was submerged, most families did not worry about food; many kept chickens, and sometimes were given meat by other families in return for eggs. According to the interview results, 13 out of the 29 resettled families were found to have engaged in animal husbandry at different levels, before the resettlement. However, in the new settlement this activity has ceased because in the new town the keeping of livestock is not permitted under the district centre regulations. Before the resettlement, Halfeti was a district but, because of its population size, it came under village regulations - therefore animal husbandry and related rural activities were allowed. However, with a population of 8,700 in 2011 (TUIK, 2012e) and the associated population from surrounding villages, Halfeti is now considered to be a district centre, rather than a village, and different regulations now apply. Therefore, 13 resettlers had to sell their livestock after relocating from the old town. As indicated in Chapter 3, animal husbandry in the entire region has decreased significantly since the resettlement.

Interviews revealed that the reason that expenditure on food has increased is that resettlers now buy more goods from the market. The available products are low in quality and more expensive, whereas previously all of the resettlers used to produce their own food. Indications are that this is the result of the inadequate design of the new housing provision. All of the resettlers have complained about the design of the houses, which do not allow them to produce and store any kind of food except their daily meals. Before the relocation, households used to produce food to store for consumption in the winter. These products

included tomato and pepper purees, dried fruit and vegetable, pickles, and traditional dry soups. As will be discussed later in the Chapter in terms of physical capital, the lack of space puts women off making these basic store cupboard items. Before the resettlement, the majority of resettlers grew a range of produce, but now space is restricted, so they have to buy vegetables instead of growing them. Therefore it can be said that physical capital and human capital can impact on each other.

On the other hand, families with higher incomes added that they could buy meat and chicken from the butcher. Thus, it can be argued that some families are consuming a wider variety of foods since resettlement, despite the additional costs. According to this analysis, poorer households may be experiencing food insecurity, when taking into account income, the cost of food and the resettlers' own assessment of their ability to feed their families after resettlement. Here in Halfeti food insecurity occurs due to the lack of access to some resources but not necessarily through a shortage of food (Sen, 1981). Yaro (2004) defines food security as

“...secure access by households and individuals to nutritionally adequate food at all times and procured in conformity with human aspirations and dignity (Yaro, 2004)”

Food insecurity seems to be a big issue especially for poorer people. This will further be evaluated in Chapter 7 in terms of impoverishment risks.

### **6.2.3 Training programmes**

Informal education can be crucial to strengthening human capital. Training courses are an example of this. Informal education can include on or off-farm activities. As in Halfeti, the contribution of informal education to human capital is vital for former farming families who have few other skills. Training courses for resettlers are therefore explored in this section. The analysis shows that the majority of resettlers have participated in some form of off-farm training.



Training in Halfeti can be analysed at two levels. One is the Multipurpose Community Centres (CATOM) which were built before the submergence of the old town and closed soon after the resettlement. Second is the current training courses established in the new town by SODES, (Institute of Prime Ministry, The Planning Agency; Social Support Programmes) and Is-Kur (Turkish Employment Organisation), (since 2008).

In Halfeti in order to support the resettlers in terms of generating income, a CATOM was established by GAPRDA (Southeast Anatolia Project Regional Development and Administration). Actually the training courses were established to help women and men and support them to gain skills, and improve their health and education. These training courses operated for two years and then closed just after relocation (GAPRDA, 2002). Figure 6.2 outlines some training courses-activities carried out for this purpose

**Figure 6.2:** Some training courses in CATOMs

- Driving
- Beekeeping
- Food processing
- Photography
- Chess
- Saz (a musical instrument) playing
- Painting
- Demonstrative mushroom culture
- English
- Cutting-sewing
- Hair dressing,

Source:(GAPRDA, 2002)

As can be seen from Figure 6.2, many training courses seem to support hobbies or pastimes, rather than the provision of work-related skills: for instance the chess course, is unlikely to help a resettler to generate any form of income. This suggests that the training courses have been set up without proper consultation with the resettlers and thus result in dissatisfaction.

It is observed that 11 interviewees had participated in CATOMs activities before the relocation. Men and women attended the courses and were awarded with certificates. However, according to resettlers, there ought to have been more vocational training, followed up by job creation. For example one male resettler, 48 years old, and once a farmer said:

“They could have organised a course and then a job. We could have learned the skill and gone on to a job. What would I do with an English course? I was 38 years old then, and I did not need English. I needed money when we were moving here. So I did not attend and waste my time, neither did my wife (Mr A)”.

In addition, the resettlement and rehabilitation project for the Birecik Dam outlined the establishment of consulting services in the region during resettlement to support resettlers in spending or investing their compensation (Chapter 4). These services are called GAPGIDEM (GAP Entrepreneur Guidance and Support Centre). The objective of these institutions was to help the resettlers to rebuild their lives. However the secondary reports and published work is insufficient to evaluate these places and there is no in-depth data or monitoring facilities to show success or failure. Within the 29 sample households, none of the resettlers consulted GAPGIDEM. The empirical data also suggest that CATOMs were found to be inadequate when it came to building human capital.

In addition when evaluating the training courses of CATOM back in the 1990s, there is the evidence of lack of monitoring. One 67 year-old retired man commented on the mushroom culture courses that he attended 10 years ago, and for which he was awarded a certificate. He emphasized the inadequacy of the courses:

“I have a mushroom course certificate, I got it 10 years ago but I still do not know how to conduct this type of business. How can I invest in a sector for which I only attended class for couple of weeks? They all said we would be doing fishing, greenhouse cultivation, etc. in this new settlement. There is no one here who engages in any of these jobs. They said we would earn money from bee keeping. It was to help us to resettle”.

Today in Halfeti, there are still training courses run by different government institutions, such as SODES, which started to run in the GAP region from 2008 and Is-Kur, which is a unit of the work and social security ministry. Some issues remain with regard to the value of these courses. People train for many months but still face difficulties finding suitable employment or a market for their produce. In addition, people in today's Halfeti seem to be busier, thus they do not join all of the courses available to them.

On the other hand, training courses are found to be too short for the local people to gain skills or to generate income. Although people did participate in some of the training courses and gained certificates, they are unable to use these certificates to gain employment. For instance every household interviewed has at least one certificate between them and none of the interviewed households claimed to have experienced any benefit from them. According to the interview results, 12 out of 15 women interviewed had a minimum of one certificate. It seems that the initial plan to use the training courses to help generate new income streams has failed to meet its objectives.

Take SODEM's hairdressing course for instance. There are in total 15 women participating in this course in Halfeti. The course is only two months long and women are trained to be a hairdresser and after two months they will be awarded with a certificate. However besides the lack of investment in hairdressing sector, the courses are too short. In only three hours every weekday for two months women are expected to gain adequate skills to become a professional hairdresser. There has not been a hairdressing salon opened in Halfeti, and "people are expected to open their own shops or salons" (Mrs O, 51 yr). Therefore although women seem to have had some training it is not always sufficient to lead to job opportunities.

Another example are the knitting courses. Currently there is one home textiles course with around 14 women participating regularly. The course is run by a women living in Halfeti who has a knitting certificate. These training courses operate twice a year and the approximate duration is three months depending on demand. This course is one of the most popular among women in the town. SODES has provided them with sewing machines and some sewing

thread in the course room. Women have to bring their own textiles. Regardless of the provision of the sewing machines, women need additional resources, I was told by the interviewees that they do not have sufficient income to purchase new textiles (Mrs G, 48 yrs) This can lead them to abandon the course. It also has to mentioned that there is a textile shop in the town but that the equipment and textiles are too expensive for some of the women to purchase (Interview with Mrs G)

Another concern relates to the non-vocational courses. In a town where the unemployment rate is very high, the need for a folklore dance course is doubtful. The commercial relevance of the mug accessory course should also be questioned. It is also important to highlight that resettlers did not want to risk their compensation on an unfamiliar and uncertain business venture. One of the other reasons for the failure of the courses could be that the compensation (see later section for more detail) arrived in instalments and people did not have sufficient resources with which to make the required initial level of investment to start a new businesses such as mushroom cultivation or bee keeping. Nevertheless, for most of the women, training courses are social gathering places, which many of the women attend in order to see their neighbours and friends and develop a social network.

In 1978, after the Keban dam was built, the problems of resettling people were raised but not properly taken into consideration. It is of particular significance that although the Ataturk Dam was completed in 1990, 80 % of the people displaced by the project were still recorded as not being resettled even in the 2000s (Chapter 4). Concerns at both national and international levels led the Turkish government to renew its resettlement policy with a view to addressing the gaps (see Chapter 4 for details). Thus resettlement schemes have changed in Turkey since 2000 and sustainability and public participation factors are taken into consideration by GAP authorities. However the World Bank stopped supporting GAP social projects due to the fact that issues such as these are not given due attention. It is perhaps a case of organizing a set of courses to impress international donors. However for the resettlers to rebuild their lives, it is important to monitor the sustainability of these courses.

#### **6.2.4 Access to education**

Individuals' capacity to earn can be expanded through better access to education. Education can also make an individual more efficient in production (Sen, 1990). This can in turn increase the value of production in the economy and the income of the individual in receipt of the education. The ability to read and write, for instance, not only enhances an individual's ability to secure a better job and work more effectively, it also enhances their ability to discuss, to negotiate with each other, to defend themselves (Bebbington, 1999) which are all vital for human beings.

As outlined in Chapter 5, education in Halfeti has been significantly high compared with the rest of the south east region. The interviews suggested that there has been more development in the level of education for children in Halfeti. All the 29 households interviewed said that their children attended primary school. All of the resettlers also indicated that they send their daughters to school, and all of them finished primary school. From the 29 families interviewed, three girls had been to university, and now work as teachers in nearby Nizip. This is very promising, as education in rural Turkey has always been a problem, particularly with regard to education for girls, Demir (2003a) highlighted the difficulties with education and the low number of students enrolling at secondary and high schools in the south east in the past. In his research he also explored the contribution of the South-eastern Anatolian Project to the domestic economy and highlighted increased education level in the region from the 1990s (Demir, 2003a).

**Table 6.3:** Maximum educational level reached by children in the sampled households

	Number of households
University	7
High school	10
Secondary	7
Primary	5
Total	29

Source: Field work

In resettled Halfeti, a common view exists with regard to education. When children get older, they will have a good income and a family and they should be able to look after their parents. It was indicated in the interviews when older residents were of school age, gaining an education was much more difficult. They had to go to the towns and cities to be educated. Therefore, as parents, they want better for their own children. Increasing levels of access to education is important to these households.

It was observed that young women in particular tend to join labour market, especially if they are educated. There are few jobs in the town which are suitable for young educated women and they generate income from these jobs. It is clear that improving human capital allows households to gain access to other assets and thus increase their well-being.

Before the resettlement, there was only one primary school. However, there are now more opportunities in the new town and there is no need for the children to travel to towns such as Birecik or Nizip and thus, parents are now more eager to send their children to school. Halfeti is a town with a high education level anyway. Table 6.4 illustrates the educational status of the heads of household who were sampled.

**Table 6.4:** Education level of the household head

Education level	Number of Households
Illiterate	2
Primary school	14
Secondary school	9
High School	4
Total	29

Source: Fieldwork

It is now generally observed that a high proportion of children are enrolled in schools in Halfeti. The majority of resettlers send their children to school, and the average education level is high school. Nevertheless, primary school is compulsory in Turkey under the National Education Act No: 1739 (MEB, 2010). Out of 29 families, nine children have gone to big cities for university education. During the interviews poorer households noted that their children's tuition fees were one of their heaviest financial burdens. Thus, it makes sense that families would be keen to increase their incomes. It can be concluded that school facilities and staffing have improved in Halfeti. This form of human capital has therefore been strengthened at some level. As an illustration of this point, one resettled family who used to farm in the old town stated that:

“We sent the kids to Ankara where my brother lives and we have visited them a few times a year. If we had stayed in the old town, we could be harvesting our crops, selling fruit. The dam is the reason that my sons are studying in Ankara. I was able to send my children to school because of the dam. Yes, I am not a farmer anymore, but my kids are educated.”

Findings reported above suggest that access to financial capital allows resettlers to invest in human capital, such as education and health. The combination of these assets has resulted in better educated and healthier resettlers. It has been argued in Chapter 2 that following resettlement, and as a result of a reduction in family income, many children enter

employment rather than continuing with their education (Messerschmidt, 2008). However, according to the 2000 Census, the population of Halfeti is 2766. The literacy rate in the district was 88.1%, making Halfeti District the most literate population in the region (GAPRDA, 2002).

It also needs to be outlined that people without access to financial capital are less likely to educate their children to university level. Nevertheless the majority of children attended up to high school level in Halfeti. Actually households in Halfeti seem to influence each other as a community. It was observed that people send their children to school, because “it is what everyone does” (Mrs T, 57 years old). It seems that social norms and expectations have been changing as there is now a tendency to send children, in particular daughters, on to higher education. In addition some of the resettlers used their compensation to send their children to school, and it would seem that the level of education in Halfeti has risen. In addition, the schools in the new Halfeti have benefited the students from surrounding villages who can also enrol in high school.

### **6.2.5 Summary**

Human capital is investigated using a number of indicators: healthcare, nutrition, consumption and enrolment in school or training courses. Using these criteria, the level of human capital has declined in some areas, but improved in others. The number of health clinics has increased, although access to these services appears to have decreased owing to increased demand. However, variety of food consumed has decreased, especially for low-income families. Education has been seen to improve. The level of education has increased from primary school to high school level and in some cases young people attend university. Therefore while some better-off families send their children to university, some low-income households are still struggling to send their children to school. Even so the minimum level of education for most children in Halfeti is now secondary school. Moreover, the majority of resettlers are involved in adult training courses. Different types of courses have been provided for the resettlers. The majority of the resettlers, significantly women, are attending these courses, but their value and sustainability has been questioned. However these courses are observed to have a positive impact on women’s social relationships. Thus, it would



appear that human capital has strengthened in some areas, but has remained the same or declined in others.

### **6.3 Social capital**

DFID (1999) defines social capital as:

“...the social resources upon which people draw, in pursuit of their livelihood objectives” (DFID, 1999).

Social capital is important because trust and reciprocity within the resettled communities make them stronger. Social capital has a direct relationship with other forms of capital (Bebbington, 1999). For example, by sharing knowledge and maintaining good relationships within the community, households can better manage natural capital and enhance their own human capital. The local economy can operate efficiently if households cooperate and share tasks. However, there may be a negative impact on social capital if some individuals are excluded from these groups (Bebbington, 1999).

Social networks with friends, neighbours, individuals, groups and institutions may also exist and these relationships represent an important safety net for the poor. Social relationships may develop personal relationships. In this section i) relationships of trust, personal networking, ii) social organizations and iii) friendships, are explored in relation to 29 sampled households in Halfeti.

#### **6.3.1 Social and personal networks**

Access to personal networks depends on gender, religion, and social and economic status. Therefore trust is vital. Social networks are considered to be important in terms of allowing resettlers to make the most of local opportunities. Thus, it is particularly important for the livelihoods of the resettlers to be a member of a social network (McDonald, 2006). It has been observed that people in Halfeti do have social networks but when compared to the old village these networks appear to have diminished. However, it is observed that wealthier

people have access to many more social networks than the very poor because their scope for networking is greater and the poor are less mobile. The interview results show that the wealthy have many more friends. However the poorer members of the community also have fewer relatives. It was observed that households receive informal financial support from relatives and friends and this constitutes an important part of social capital.

### **6.3.2 Social organizations**

Some of the literature (e.g. Beck and Nesmith, 2001; Bebbington, 1999) highlights social structures where formal membership is not required, and which play an important role in terms of community cohesion and livelihood support. These may be based around financial institutions such as banks, religious centres like mosques or informal gathering places such as coffee houses. Individuals might also belong to cooperative organizations where membership is sanctioned by a monetary fee or a formal adhesion or commitment. In the case of the resettled Halfeti, while examples of the more informal social structures can be found, it is difficult to identify any such cooperative organizations. However, the training courses organized by SODES could be an example of a more formalized social structure. This is of particular importance because it is women in Halfeti who are more often attend these courses and their opportunities to benefit from other social structures are generally more limited than is the case with their male counterparts. However, it should be noted that these popular activities have created space for women to gather together socially and spend time with their peers. Social life for women has a different dimension than for men and in the new Halfeti, women have less free time to socialize due to the workload (see Chapter 8). Yet, in the old village women were busier but many used to offer their labour to neighbours at busy times (for example during harvest) and exchange goods when needed. The courses currently appear to have had a positive impact on women's social relationships. When interviewed, women taking part indicated that today's training courses offer them some freedom and are a means for them to spend time away from the home.

Participation in religious and cultural festivals throughout the year is also an important aspect of social capital. On special religious occasions, all members of the community gather together regardless of their ethnic origin or social status. They give away food, particularly meat. Especially poorer households benefit from these festivals. One poorer interviewee mentioned that they keep and dry the meat given away on these occasions and eat it throughout winter. When weddings take place, the whole town or community is invited as they are usually in a garden or in a communal area. All the households give gifts - if not money it is usually their produce such as pistachios, for the small subsistence farmers, or some baked bread or pastry. These relationships help networking and are a chance to get people together. Thus, we can say that religion and social events plays important role in social capital.

### **6.3.3 Friendship and neighbourhood**

It is important that resettlers are able to make friends and feel connected to their surroundings. This can indicate that they have good social support networks, because good personal relationships can increase production through mutual support and information sharing (refrence...).

It is observed that in the old town people had closer relationships with their friends and family. Today, twelve out of 19 households indicated that they cannot keep in contact with their old friends and relatives in the old town, as one male (46 yrs.) interviewee said:

“We used to trust our friends and neighbours. My parents used to go to the farm and leave me alone in the house. I was a kid; we never locked our door in the old town. Now when I go to market I have to lock my door and I could never leave my kids alone”.

For example resettlers do not seem to trust their new neighbours in the town so they tend to keep the door locked at all times. Before, people used to trust their neighbours so that when they were away, neighbours could look after the children or the house. In addition 12 out of

19 households indicated that they cannot keep in touch with their old friends and relatives in the old town, one male interviewee (46 yrs) said:

“We only see each other on special days or national feast days (bayram). We used to have bayrams with a full house, 20 people here to eat and we used to host everyone because our garden was big. Now to see my friends I have to go to the old town and come back. It is expensive. All the relationships have changed now; we have a city life, no one is our friend; we don’t trust our neighbours.”

Interviews suggest that friendships and social networks are still quite close, but are not the same as in the old town. Twenty one households indicated that visiting their friends in the old town is no longer easy. The distance between the towns is 8km and public transport is very poor. There are minibuses available but they are not frequent. The minibus driver only departs when there is a full load of passengers and this creates problems for the residents of both towns. In addition, most households (19) find the minibus expensive. The interviews suggested that some households have better access to their families and friends and a better social network because they own a car or similar means of transport. However, poorer people have less access to their family or friends in the old town due to the high cost of transport, which these households find difficult to afford.

It would appear that the resettlers are reluctant to interact with the host community as well. It is important to note here, that the host community in Karaotlak is Kurdish in terms of its ethnic origin, with completely different traditions and lifestyles. The inhabitants were livestock keepers and had no training of cultivating crops. Resettlers from old Halfeti had different daily activities as they were public sector workers, wage earners or farmers (see Chapter 5). They used to farm together as a family, sometimes with friends, and this was a form of social relationship. Owing to the differences in culture and daily lifestyle in Karaotlak, resettlers have had difficulty making new friends and maintaining contact with their former friends and neighbours. To describe the cultural differences, one interviewee said: -

“We used to wear, shorts and short sleeved T-shirts, but here it is not possible. People would gossip if we did”.

As can be seen from the narrative, there has been a significant change in terms of resettlers social relationships in the town. These changes can be attributed to the resettlement because some people who had previously enjoyed close relationships with friends and neighbours, now had to live with people from nearby cities and as a result of relocation had lost some of their social ties. Overall, relocation seems to have weakened social relationships for some resettlers

#### **6.3.4 Summary**

In Halfeti informal gathering places such as mosques, markets, coffee houses and banks were more common than organizations with more formal memberships procedures. The training courses on offer in the town are an important exception to this, as they offer opportunity for social networking among local women. Relationships of trust, networks and friendships were investigated in this study in order to identify the strengths or weaknesses of social capital following resettlement. Most resettlers argue that it has not been easy for them to develop new friendships. Interviews reveal that some individuals find it difficult to make friends in the new town; however, most are still in touch with former friends or relatives. People with cars tend to have a better social network as they can travel to cities and nearby villages more easily to visit their friends. However, households without independent means of transport have very few opportunities to keep in touch with their old friends and relatives. High transport costs mean that poorer people in particular, are more seriously affected both in terms of their ability to make new friends and to keep in touch with existing friends and relatives in the old town. Resettlers tend to interact with their friends from the old town, but are reluctant to make new friends.

Informal gathering places are actually very important for resettlers in terms of livelihood creation. Informal gathering, such as meeting in the mosques, for men in particular, and at the knitting and sewing courses for women is an essential part of daily life in Halfeti. Resettlers

get to know each other and form friendships and this in turn supports social capital. The situation appears to have deteriorated in this respect. In the past, the daily tasks and routines brought the resettlers together for much of their time, with the result that friendships and bonds within the local community were stronger. However, the new way of life seems to isolate people, especially those who have to work all the time and have no time to socialise. Overall the research suggests that following the resettlement social capital in the region has been weakened.

## **6.4 Financial capital**

Financial capital refers to the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID, 1999). Access to cash or stocks is important because they can enable people to adopt different livelihood strategies. Financial capital is usually difficult to access, but it is the most desirable asset and the lack of financial capital can be an indication of vulnerability and insecurity in terms of livelihoods (McDonald, 2006). Five categories of financial capital are explored in this study: i) compensation; ii) earnings; iii) loans; iv) savings; and v) pensions and remittances.

### **6.4.1 Compensation**

In terms of compensation, resettlers in Halfeti chose a government-assisted compensation package, a package that includes both physical and financial support. People who were eligible for the government resettlement package were provided with a house, built by the government. In addition, people who had immovable assets received monetary compensation. This compensation was paid by the relevant resettlement agency (DSI) to the affected people in instalments, depending on the value of their land. Therefore, in the case of Halfeti compensation took the form of housing and cash. Housing was provided on the basis that the resettlers would pay back 4,000 liras (approximately £ 1,300 in 2000) per annum, over 20 years. The aim was to allow affected people to be able to purchase their houses, thus the mortgage payments were allocated in small instalments. Resettlers who had immovable assets in the old town had the option to pay for their houses with their compensation. However,

people without land in the old settlement were not compensated, so it is more likely that these people would experience difficulty purchasing their houses (see Chapter 7).

There are issues in terms of receiving and managing compensations. This study, as well some previous studies in the Southeast of Turkey, (e.g. Ozer and Talug, 2008; Miyata, 2002) indicates that resettlers were not provided with adequate support and guidance to help them manage their compensation monies. In Halfeti, most resettlers who were eligible for compensation confirmed that little assistance was offered to them and as a result they tended to use their compensation for local enterprise (see Chapter 7). (refr...) However, it is crucial that these people are given support in explaining how to manage their compensation to rebuild their lives. Resettlement reports prepared for the Birecik Dam illustrated that, prior to the resettlement, a total of six meetings were held in the district centre and the surrounding villages for the valuation and determination of compensation monies. However it is not possible to determine who participated in these meetings and the details of the meetings are not available. Thus, it is difficult to track the data on compensation and the associated details.

The findings in Halfeti suggest that the lack of assistance in terms of compensation monies, has led to the majority of resettlers wasting their money. This is similar to the situation with the Ataturk Dam, where the lack of assistance led to impoverishment for some of the resettlers (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, despite the stated aim of the government resettlement package to offer job opportunities for the resettlers, (see Chapter 4, 'rural resettlement without land' option), it seems like the Government failed to attract new industry to the area or create job opportunities for the residents, or assist the resettlers to properly manage their compensation monies. After observing failed investment efforts, as well as the considerable delays in receiving the compensation payments, 12 households put their compensation monies in the bank and have been using the capital as a source of monthly income.

Compensation is one constituent of the total reserve of financial capital available to the resettlers. However, the confusion about its allocation could affect the resettlers' capacity to use this resource effectively. There is evidence that in most cases compensation payments

were delayed. In addition, resettlers commonly complained that they used the compensation to cover their basic living expenses, and once it was gone they were unable to replace the losses that had occurred during the resettlement.

#### **6.4.2 Earnings**

Earnings are one of the most common forms of financial capital because, unlike loans, savings or compensation, resettlers have greater control over their earnings, as they can participate in the workforce to generate income. However, it is important that these earnings are permanent, rather than temporary and irregular, because this gives the resettlers some degree of financial security. Earnings will be explored in Chapter 7 in relation to livelihood strategies. However, for the purpose of this Chapter, it is necessary to consider some of the significant local earning opportunities for the resettlers.

Besides the families who manage their compensation monies and generate income, there are also families who work in the local shops and markets, or in local government buildings. In addition some women work on the training courses and generate income as instructors or assistants. There are also some households in the sample (seven) who have more than three members participating in the workforce. Four of the households in the sample work as seasonal agricultural labourers and generate income through agricultural activities in other regions. However, their earnings are both irregular and inadequate to meet their needs, and these people are the poorest in Halfeti. Therefore, it can be argued that poorer people are more vulnerable to poverty, as they seem to be able to earn less than others. In contrast, wealthier people have the freedom to choose different types of livelihood strategy (see Chapter 7). The observations suggest that earnings for most of the households decreased and became irregular, whereas their workload increased.

#### **6.4.3 Loans**

As mentioned previously, in the event of resettlement, compensation is an important form of financial capital. However, for many resettlers, compensation can fall short of the expenses



incurred to rebuild their livelihoods. In fact, in some cases, some resettlers may not be entitled to any form of compensation. In such cases, loans from family, friends, relatives and banks become an important source of income. Resettlers often seek loans when all other financial reserves have been depleted (McDonald, 2006).

In Halfeti, resettlers' access to credit is significantly linked to the households' well-being. Poorer people can seek loans from friends and family, while the better-off families can apply to banks. In the study area, 11 out of 29 interviewees applied for a loan during the resettlement. Having a good social network allows the resettlers to apply for loans when needed. It is also observed that having a relative in the city, or abroad, is an important indicator of access to loans. Therefore it can be said that a combination of assets is necessary for resettlers to rebuild their lives, as having a good social relationship might have an advantage in terms of borrowing from families and friends.

However, loans are only a temporary solution, because they can put resettlers in a position of dependence and place additional pressure on households to repay them, particularly when they have a low or no income (McDonald, 2006). This situation can be difficult to manage (see Chapter 7 for details). Some resettlers were not ready financially to move to the new settlement; therefore loans became necessary for them. It was observed in Halfeti that while some resettlers had sought loans from friends and family, there was no evidence that any resettler had sought a loan from money lenders or any financial institution.

#### **6.4.4 Savings**

Savings are crucial to the resettlers' capacity to restore their livelihoods. In the event of resettlement, it seems reasonable to assume that many families would have few or no savings following resettlement.

In this study, three people said that their savings have significantly decreased after the resettlement. However; savings should be seen as an essential element of financial capital

because they can act as a safety net for resettlers who are struggling to rebuild their lives (McDonald, 2006). The evidence in Halfeti suggests that resettlers cannot maintain the same level of savings as they did prior to resettlement; however five resettlers indicated that they have savings. It is observed that poorer people have no savings and are more vulnerable to poverty.

#### **6.4.5 Pensions and state benefits**

The provision of pensions for retired people in Turkey is common practice. The normal retirement age is 60 for men and 58 for women. The state also provides survivor pensions, and disability pensions with limited medical care (IBN, 2012). In Halfeti beneficiaries of pensions are divided into three categories. First are the regular pensioners, who were once employees and, upon retirement, are provided with a monthly income. Five out of the 29 household heads were regular pensioners.

Second is BAG KUR beneficiaries who are self-employed and outside the coverage of the Social Insurance (SSK) Law. In Turkey, for artisans, craftsmen and other independent workers, a social insurance institute was established under the name BAG-KUR. Three of the households benefit from the BAG-KUR insurance system. There is also social assistance legislation in Turkey. In the sample only one individual was receiving these payments which are very small compared to the state benefits.

In the event of resettlement, pensions can be essential for those resettlers who find themselves at a disadvantage when attempting to re-establish their livelihoods. Within the study area, pensions were found to be an important source of financial capital for some households, particularly for older residents. However pensions are inadequate if they are the only source of income (Chapter 7).

#### **6.4.6 Remittances**

Remittances can be an important source of financial capital, particularly when earnings are lost (McDonald 2006). Remittances were explored directly in the interviews. The interviewees were asked where family members were now living and if they are receiving any form of remittances from them.

Six of the 29 families interviewed said that their children had never come back from university, and had found a job in the city. In these cases the children send money back when available. For instance, two of the families said that their children have gone to Germany and although they send them money, this is not on a regular basis. It can be said that remittances in Halfeti are not regular, and because of this irregularity their contribution to household income is vulnerable.

#### **6.4.7 Summary**

Compensation, loans, savings, pensions and remittances have been explored in this section. It is generally observed that the importance of financial capital has weakened in Halfeti, in particular for those households without any immovable assets in the old Town. For most of the households, earnings have decreased, borrowing has increased and savings have diminished. Moreover, compensation is regarded as an insignificant source of income for some families. Pensions are provided to a small proportion of the resettlers. Finally, remittances from family members working outside the resettlement site are another source of income, but they are not generally regular. Overall, resettlers are facing an environment of reduced financial capital after resettlement and this is leading to vulnerability, especially for poorer people where any form of financial capital is irregular. This change in financial capital is most likely the result of the dam, because in the past people had land and some form of income from production. Today, resettlement and the changed work environment have prevented these people from maintaining a stable income. If the dam had not been built and they had retained possession of their land they would be more likely to have a regular income.

## **6.5 Physical capital**

DFID (1999) suggest that physical capital comprises basic infrastructure. Infrastructure is defined as any changes to the physical environment that helps people to meet their basic needs (DFID 1999). Affordable transport, comfortable and secure housing and adequate sanitation are all important elements to consider when evaluating the resettlers' livelihoods (McDonald 2006). However, it is also important to evaluate community assets, such as roads or sanitation, because when the resettlers move to their new settlements, their use of roads or public transport may directly affect their access to other types of asset. For instance, as explained in more detail later in this Chapter, good quality roads will enable a resettler to travel to work easily and this will in turn affect his financial capital; or if it enables him to maintain links with his friends in the other villages or to attend a course in a nearby village, this will affect his social or human capital. Or, without clean water and sanitation, the strength of human capital can be depleted; resettlers might suffer from ill health, which, in turn, could affect their ability to generate income. Therefore the interviews explored a number of criteria, including infrastructure elements such as roads. Public transport was explored, both in terms of quality and level of usage, in addition to the sanitation and housing facilities.

### **6.5.1 Roads and public transport**

As mentioned above, accessible roads are important for the resettlers to rebuild their livelihoods, because roads may sometimes be the only means they have of getting to work or to visit their families and friends. This factor also incorporates transport facilities. After the resettlement, a main road was built in Halfeti that connects the town to the city of Sanliurfa and Gazinatep and Nizip town, as well as to the old town. Thus, Halfeti, in its current position, is at a junction that connects the district to the surrounding villages and to the city. Before the resettlement, the old town was difficult to access from the surrounding cities. There was only one main road and the old town was at the end of it. Thus, the old town was a *cul de sac*. With the new town built on a crossroads, access to nearby cities should be easier.

However, the resettlers' use of these roads and, in particular, public transport, should demonstrate the real accessibility and use of this facility. The interviews showed that the majority of resettlers find public transport too expensive and not frequent enough. Therefore, the resettlers indicated that their use of the road is not high. 10 of the 29 resettlers purchased a car as a means of transport after the resettlement. However, the petrol prices are too high for them to afford, so car usage is also low. So it can be said that the conditions of the roads have improved and some households can benefit from these facilities; however, access to public transport has diminished for some people.

### 6.5.2 Sanitation

Good health is important in enabling resettlers to contribute to the household economy and restore their livelihoods. Good health is dependent on adequate sanitation and clean water. The water supply was also explored through the interviews. Table 6.5 illustrates the conditions of the physical capital in terms of roads and sanitation within the 29 interviewees.

**Table 6.5:** Conditions of physical capital

	Improved	Not improved	Same	Total
Roads	10	17	2	29
Sanitation	15	4	10	29

Source: Fieldwork

As can be seen from Table 6.5, the majority of the resettlers are happy with the recent sanitation improvements, as previously six of the 29 households had toilets outside.

### 6.5.3 Housing

As indicated in Chapter 4, people in Halfeti were resettled by the government and all the resettlers were provided with a house. Homelessness is the third risk outlined in Cernea's IRR model. The definition of homelessness is twofold: (i) the loss of shelter; and (ii) the worsening of housing conditions (Cernea 1996,1997, Cernea and McDowell, 2000). The condition of housing in Halfeti was explored during the interviews, both in terms of its size

and quality. During the interviews, resettlers commented on the typically poor quality of the new houses. A frequent comment amongst the interviewees was that they would rather stay in their old stone-built houses, than the small brick houses in which they are currently living.

The new settlement houses have a floor area of 120m<sup>2</sup>. Currently all houses have toilets and bathrooms. All houses consist of two bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen (GAPRDA, 2002). However, many resettlers would prefer to have a large space for their daily work such as garden and sufficient space to keep animals, instead of the new brick houses with separate rooms.

As mentioned, people who were resettled were provided with a house. This only applies to landless people who have been living in the town for more than three years. These people now own a house provided by the government, on condition that they pay a mortgage of 4,000 lira per annum, over 20 years, in monthly instalments (35 TL per month). According to the government resettlement package, the total cost of the houses, for each household, is 70,000 lira. The interviewees revealed that it is difficult to pay this monthly instalment, as the majority of the poorer people do not have a stable income. Public sector employees also confirmed that even with a salary of 900 lira (more than the mean wage); it is difficult to pay the mortgage, because, since resettlement, household expenses, including food and transport, have increased. Resettlement has created a new class of home owners, but does not provide a job with which they can pay their mortgages.

Interviewees indicated that most resettlers used to live in bigger houses with an extended family, where several generations lived together in the same house. The majority of the resettlers agreed that the old houses were more adequate for most of their daily tasks. They were able to visit friends and family because 'lack of space' was not an issue. However, the new houses are smaller and, consequently, they have to live separately from their parents, or children and the wider family. In addition, previously they had big gardens or balconies, where they could spend the whole evening together with their family. This separation could

be considered as one of the reasons for the breakdown in social cohesion and this issue has also caused alienation.

Nineteen out of 29 people found the condition of the housing poor in the resettled Halfeti. The inadequate housing has caused many problems for the resettlers, in terms of their ability to produce their own food or to keep their houses cool, or because they have had to spend a significant amount of money repairing their houses even before they moved in. The new houses, which were built by TOKI (Housing Development Administration) have been found to be problematic. The poor quality, impractical size and small outside area of the houses were important concerns for the resettlers. Resettlers often had to have their houses repaired before they had even moved in: issues such as broken stairs, leaking roofs and poor quality windows and doors meant that resettlers had to undertake building work before moving in. Even though the housing was included in the government resettlement package it seems that the quality of the housing was unsatisfactory.

The daily household tasks have also changed. It is suggested that the resettlement confined people to their houses. This is similar to the research findings of Özer and Taluğ (2008) who observed that resettlers in 44 villages were largely asocial and inactive during the day in terms of task performance, particularly women. These people used to farm as a whole family, and in particular, the women carried out a wide range of daily tasks in the house, including cooking, preparing dried foods for winter and pastes for summer, and making cheese and butter for daily consumption. Some of these basic tasks required additional help, but they were able to bring people together and undertake them as a community. Table 6.6 illustrates the common tasks undertaken in the households, before and after resettlement.

**Table 6.6:** The common tasks before and after the resettlement within the home

<b>Before</b>	producing dairy products	making bread	purifying oil	drying vegetables and meat
<b>After</b>	•• art s andcrafts	making bread•		drying vegetables and meat

Source: Focus Groups

- seven households after the resettlement bake bread (in the garden).
- households tend to produce knitted or art and craft products.

Interviews within 29 households suggested that housing can be identified as one of the biggest issues for the resettlers, in particular for women and the poorer households.

#### 6.5.4 Summary

Physical capital can be related to financial, social and human capital. In terms of the physical capital, infrastructure, roads and housing have been explored. When considering the road conditions and the sanitation facilities, the overall findings suggest that the physical capital has improved for a greater number of categories, or remains unchanged. However, resettlement has caused significant problems in terms of housing, as the new houses are of poor quality and the smaller size affects poorer people more, as there is insufficient space to cook or produce food. Government housing does not seem to satisfy resettlers’ needs in terms of its size or quality, thus in terms of housing, physical capital has weakened.

#### 6.6 Natural capital

DFID (1999) defines natural capital as:

“...the natural stocks from which resources flow and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) useful for livelihoods are derived”

In Halfeti natural capital is particularly important to the resettlers whose livelihoods used to depend on the land. However, it is not only the type of natural assets that is important to an



analysis of natural capital. Access and quality are also critical to the strength of the natural resource base. This study also analyses the importance of gardens, in particular for poorer households.

### **6.6.1 Loss of farmland**

Some of the resettlers lost their farmland due to the inundation. According to the government resettlement package, they were not provided with any form of land. However, apart from the public sector workers in our sample, many of the families were farmers. Before the inundation, nine out of the 29 resettled households in the study were reliant on farming. These resettlers were compensated, but they have lost their opportunity to farm. In some cases farmland still remains a source of income (three out of 29 households). Two out of five families indicated that access to their land has become more difficult since the resettlement and this has impacted on their incomes. As will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7, even though farming in Halfeti is now considered as a secondary occupation since the resettlement, the decrease in agricultural incomes has had a negative impact on small subsistence farmers, in particular, as they still rely on income from the land.

In addition, it is evident that landless people have lost their jobs due to the cessation of agricultural activities. Three households, who used to work on land owned by others, became jobless and had to consider other livelihood options, as they did not receive any compensation. This further increased their level of vulnerability. Thus agricultural production in Halfeti significantly decreased following the construction of the dam and the residents have become landless.

### **6.6.2 Loss of access to farmland**

As already indicated, farmland in Halfeti has been reduced or lost altogether due to the inundation from the Birecik Dam. Resettlers who were formerly farmers are currently unable to practice agriculture. In this type of resettlement the loss of farmland is abrupt. Thus, in Halfeti, natural capital can only be measured in terms of the resettlers who still have lands in

the upper hills. The interviewees highlighted that people who still have land in the Cekem neighbourhood (three households) indicated that their access to these lands has diminished since resettlement. As a result of these access difficulties, their productivity has also reduced and farming has become a secondary source of income for these families.

### **6.6.3 Loss of gardens**

In the old town gardens were an important means of producing vegetables and fruit to sell and generate income, as well as for the households' own consumption. Gardens were particularly important for poorer households. Even though they did not necessarily own their gardens in the old town, they could still grow vegetables and fruit for their own daily consumption. Gardens were also important in terms of keeping and feeding livestock. Eleven households indicated that they used to grow vegetables in their gardens. It would appear that poorer people who were not entitled to cash compensation, but were only provided with a house, were more adversely affected by the loss of land than their landlord neighbours. The regulations in the new settlement prohibit the keeping of livestock, which were an important means of producing food, and they are not able to grow vegetables and fruit due to the lack of space and available water. This can make these people food insecure and vulnerable to poverty, as some have also lost their jobs when the farmlands were flooded.

### **6.6.4 Summary**

Farmland was the most important type of natural capital in the Halfeti district. This natural capital has been reduced significantly as most resettlers have no land of their own and there is no land available to purchase in the immediate surroundings. The farmers who still cultivate land indicated that their land holdings had generally been reduced following resettlement. However, the capacity of the rural resettlers to restore their livelihoods is largely reliant on their access to, and cultivation of fertile farmland. The productivity of these lands has been reduced following resettlement. In addition resettlers lost their gardens and the right to keep livestock in these gardens. This further affected poor people significantly as by losing their gardens, they lost their chance to produce food. It is evident that natural capital has been

diminished by resettlement, particularly for the farmers and that this has affected poorer households the most.

### **6.7 Summary of livelihood assets**

As has been explored, different groups of assets are available to our sample of 29 households in Halfeti. Various livelihood assets have been examined in this Chapter. These assets are 1) natural capital, 2) social capital, 3) human capital, 4) financial capital and 5) physical capital. It can be seen that findings are varied.

To assess human capital the number of hospitals, clinics, enrolments in schools and the number of schools, and training courses, levels of nutrition and consumption were considered. The findings revealed that the number of hospitals and health clinics has increased since the resettlement. However access to these places has been reduced for people who have lower incomes. In addition, when it comes to nutrition, this varies in relation to household income, i.e. nutrition improves with increased income and poorer families have less access to food. Education is seen to have improved because of the increased number of schools. Student enrolments are above the average and this also has positive implications for neighbouring villages. However for poorer households access to health and education decreased, as well as they are food insecure. Therefore, human capital has strengthened in some cases, however lowered in others since the resettlement

Social capital is explored by analysing the relationships between community members and the local government. In terms of social relationships and personal networks, it is suggested that people with access to transport can visit their families and friends in the old town, however poorer people are less likely to have that opportunity. It is seen that financial capital and social capital is related in as much as people with more money have closer relationships with their friends. On the other hand training courses are found to be a good place to improve social capital, particularly for women.

Earnings, borrowing, savings, compensation and remittances were all explored and the available financial capital of the resettlers was assessed. After resettlement the following were observed: i) average earnings have significantly decreased; ii) loans have increased in

particular poor people apply for loans from their friends and family; iii) savings have decreased because the resettlers are trying to pay back their loans and expenses are high in the new settlement; iv) compensations are significant for some households, but poorer people do not have cases to compensation; and v) remittances are inadequate and unreliable thus people who rely on remittances are more vulnerable to poverty.

It is observed that the roads have been improved but that public transportation has got worse since resettlement. However sanitation seemed to have improved. Quality and size of houses has decreased for some people and that lack of space has reduced the opportunities for communal activities. Current dwellings are too small and food production and storage is difficult and this affects the poorer households most. It can be said that physical capital is improved in some cases and weakened in others.

Finally, farmland is the main form of natural capital for the rural resettlers. Typically, farmland in Karaotlak is not suitable for cultivation. Thus resettlers did not intend to invest. Poorer people have suffered the most from the loss of farmlands even though they did not own land, they lost their job opportunities to work on others lands, and they lost their gardens due to the relocation which was an important means of producing consumable daily vegetables. This analysis suggests that the availability and usability of natural capital has been reduced in Halfeti and this reduction had different implication to wealthier and poorer segments of the community.

## 6.8 Vulnerability context in Halfeti

Our results indicated that some of the households have less access to some assets than others and thus they may be more vulnerable. The most common definition of vulnerability is the “exposure to contingencies and stress, and difficulty in coping with them” (Chambers and Conway, 1991).

Vulnerability can be linked to internal or external factors (Chapter 2). External factors are when an individual is exposed to outside risks and shocks. This could be droughts, floods or disasters associated with climate. Internal factors may reflect the fact that an individual lacks the means to cope with external damage or stress. According to Moser (1998): Moser (1998) argues that asset portfolio and vulnerability is linked together.

“The means of resistance are the assets and entitlements that individuals, households, or communities can mobilize and manage in the face of hardship.....The more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people’s assets, the greater their insecurity.”

In addition vulnerability also has been linked to capability (Sen, 1991) and Kelly and Adger (2000,p325) interpret vulnerability as:

“capacity of individuals and social groups to respond to, that is, to cope with, recover from or adapt to, any external stress placed on their livelihoods and well-being (Hajdu 2006)

As we have seen in Halfeti, people have different sets of assets and the less assets people have the less chance they will have to exchange assets and the more vulnerable they may become. Exchange of assets could make the household flexible and resilient to vulnerability (Ellis, 2000). Eventually we need to understand not only the types of livelihood strategy deployed by the resettlers but also the underlying determinants and motivations of these combinations.

Halfeti has gone through a massive change. When we think about vulnerability in terms of resettlement, some households were more able to adapt to these changes more successfully than others. Some of these changes made some households more vulnerable others may be less affected. For instance, in Halfeti some assets can more readily be turned into financial capital (e.g. households could sell their livestock, or physical assets such as a car or bicycle). Other assets like labour can be substitutable, and this allows livelihoods a high degree of flexibility. However poorer households have less flexibility due to the lack of these assets. Thus it is evident in Halfeti that impoverishment is linked to a reduction in assets. In terms of human capital, poorer households are more vulnerable to poor health and they seem to have less capacity to exploit their human resources due to their lack of education or skills. Poorer households in Halfeti are unable to produce sufficient food due to the lack of space in their houses. Thus, in some cases they are often reliant on wealthier families and friends to meet their food needs. It seems like the new town does not have sufficient capacity to produce food and this is more likely to affect the poorest households. Poorer children seem to receive less education than those of the better-off households (wealthier households send their children to universities, whereas lacks of financial assets do not allow the poor the same opportunities). Poor households are at a disadvantage in terms of borrowing money or access to markets thus they are more vulnerable.

## **6.9 Understanding resettled Halfeti and access to livelihood assets of 29 resettlers**

Through looking at these assets and the vulnerability of some of these houses it is possible to characterize these 29 households in terms of the choices they make. In addition as we can see from our 29 households “people’s capital assets affect their poverty status and quality of life by affecting human experience as well as income” (Bebbington, 1999). Moreover, it is also important to remember that the poor are not a homogeneous entity and this is reflected in the different types of livelihood assets accessible to an individual. In this research in particular, general factors that were considered to affect well-being are i) main occupation, ii) land ownership, iii) savings, iv) education, v) quality of housing, vi) health, vii) access to television, radio, etc.

It was observed in the previous section that the resettlers have different livelihood assets and that they also respond to these assets differently. The ways in which they combine their assets vary. Particular combinations of assets and the ability to use these assets have led to the creation of different household groups. These are identified as better-off households, middle-income households and poorer households (Appendix 9 for the categorization). Table 6.7 illustrates different categories in the sample group.

**Table 6.7:** Household categories in the sample

<b>Category</b>	<b>Number</b>
Better-off	7
Middle income	12
Poorer	10
Total	29

## **6.10 Characteristics of households**

### **6.10.1 Better-off households**

From the total sample, seven households were identified as being better-off. These resettlers are usually in receipt of a pension or wage from the Government. As mentioned earlier, there were a considerable number of public sector workers in Halfeti. Following the resettlement, receipt of a regular monthly income is determined as one of the many indicators of being better-off. The regular income of the wealthier people made them less vulnerable. One of the other characteristics of the better-off group is their receipt of remittances from the city. This category of household sends their children to school, with most of the farmers investing their resettlement compensation in education, and they receive remittances from their children who have moved to the city to work. Financial capital is one of the most important factors in determining a household's well-being in Halfeti. If a household is able to save money after covering household costs, then it may be considered wealthy. The number of household members having attended school was also significantly higher in the wealthier group.

The better-off households usually have better health than the rest of the community and have better access to health care, simply because they have access to cars and can travel to the city. Middle income households also have access to hospital services, but the cost is difficult for them to afford, whereas poorer households can only attend hospital when it is urgent. Such households usually eat better quality food. They also give away meat and food on special religious days. They have a good relationship with their families and have access to their old friends in old Halfeti. The better quality housing predominantly belongs to wealthier households. They were able to repair their houses after the relocation and obtain good quality furniture. It is usual for most houses to have electricity, but only the wealthier ones have heating and air-conditioning systems. Finally, the better-off and middle income households can be distinguished by the level of comfort within their homes (i.e. better furniture, glazed windows, air condition etc). They mostly own cars and this improves their access to facilities such as health services and enables them to maintain wider social networks.

### **6.10.2 Middle income households**

This type of household is observed as having medium-level wealth. Their children are usually educated and they sometimes receive money from them as remittances, but not regularly. They do not have sufficient resources to be able to save money after covering their household costs. In terms of food consumption, the amount of meat they consume is low and their food consumption from the market is high. This is due to the lack of opportunity to use their households for general food preparation and storage. Thus, purchase of goods from the market is inescapable. Higher levels of education and more household members who go out to work are features of middle income households, whereas illiteracy is associated with poverty (significantly) and landlessness (although not significantly because the majority of the illiterate households (seven) were landless). They can access hospital services but they find the cost of healthcare difficult to afford if they become ill. They have good relationships with their neighbours, but are not able to see them very often. Their house has been repaired following the resettlement, but it is of a basic standard, so it is not as comfortable as the houses belonging to the better-off households. Unlike better-off, households these households do not tend to own a car (apart from two families interviewed). They may still own land in the old town, but have difficulty accessing it (i.e. five families).



### **6.10.3 Poorer households**

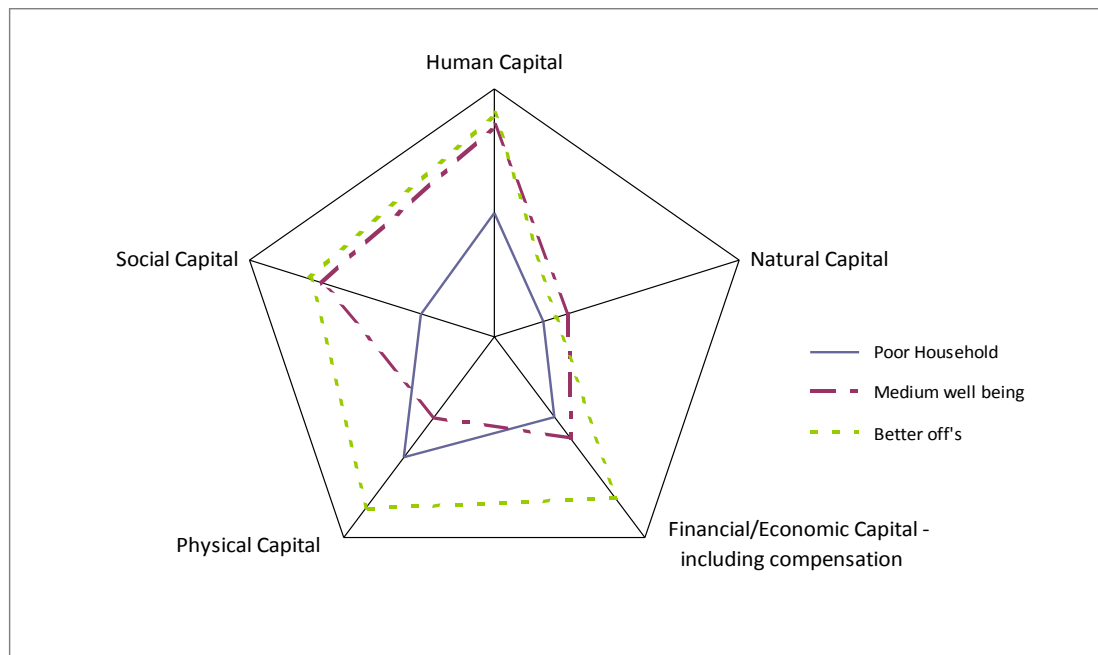
Poorer households are the most vulnerable. In the sample they do not have a regular income and are therefore unable to cover their household costs. The number of children from these households who attend school is lower than for the two other categories described above, as the children usually have to work, or the family simply cannot afford the cost of education. They do not have enough food and often rely on the help of neighbours and relatives. In terms of consuming meat and vegetables, they only have meat on special occasions. Health conditions are also lower than for the other households. They constantly need to search for work and in an emergency they have to seek loans from friends and family. They have poorer social networks. The houses they received from the Government were in a poor condition and they cannot afford the necessary repairs. Therefore poor quality houses with leaking roofs and damaged stairs are typical for the poorer resettlers. Not being able to use their own house for food preparation has made some of them food insecure. These people have poor clothes but will still own a television. They do not own any land. Poorer people have less access to education, particularly at secondary and university level than the better-off. The importance of social capital was highlighted amongst the poor households; however, the ability to look after family and friends and to access good communications were indicators of wealth. The relationship between assets and causes of poverty was illustrated in terms of social capital. Wealthier people were deemed to have much higher levels of social capital and to be able to assist friends and family members. Therefore low levels of social capital were an indicator of poverty. The strength of friendships and personal networks, hence social capital, was viewed as important in terms of being 'rich'.

### **6.11 Livelihood asset pentagons for Halfeti**

In the SL framework household assets can be represented using a Livelihoods Pentagon. The construction of such pentagons has been attempted to summarise the findings from the previous sections using the assets and wealth groups. The relative significance and characteristics of these households were identified in the section above; this table presents the different asset pentagons for these different wealth groups.

Despite their flaws, Livelihood Pentagons provide useful visual representations of vulnerability. The more distorted a pentagon is, the more vulnerable the group is. Where it is more regular in shape, livelihoods will be more stable or better able to recover from shocks.

**Figure 6.2:** Possible Livelihood Pentagons for Halfeti



Source: Adapted from DFID (1999)

## 6.12 Conclusion

This Chapter set out to provide an understanding of the nature and characteristics of the 29 resettled households in Halfeti. In order to achieve this, the assets of the resettlers were described. The combination of these assets and their relative strengths were highlighted. It was observed that different households responded differently to the building of the dam. The significance of institutional change and how it in turn affects livelihood assets of resettles is highlighted. Three types of households were identified in this research. These constitute different levels of well-being. Characteristics used to determine the well-being of the households are complex and link to the ownership of various assets. Levels of well-being and poverty can be identified by levels of savings, education, house type, land, occupation, health, clothing, food security, ownership of physical capital such as a car or a television set,

compensation, etc. These factors were used to differentiate between the better-off, middle income and poorer households.

As illustrated by the Figure, the effects of the dam actually change the shape of the asset pentagon for each group. The loss of natural capital due to factors relating to the resettlement seemed to affect all types of household, and the shape of the pentagon therefore changed for all the groups. In addition, as illustrated by the shape of the pentagon, physical capital decreased for the middle income households in particular. This again relates to the resettlement scheme they adopted; they lost their homes and were provided with poorer quality houses. Therefore, the shape of the pentagon is also deformed on that side. This situation is slightly better for low income households, as they did not own their homes and were provided with houses after the resettlement - a factor clearly illustrated by the asset pentagon. Social capital also changed the asset pentagon for the resettlers after the dam was built. Before the dam, people knew each other much better and they had the time and facilities to socialise. However, after the dam was built, the resettlers feel less comfortable making friends, or their increased workload means that they have no time to socialise. Therefore, the asset pentagon shows a change on the social capital side for all the types of resettled household.

As indicated previously, the livelihood pentagons, despite their flaws, visually represent vulnerability, in relative terms. The more distorted a pentagon appears, the more vulnerable a group is. The more regular in shape it is, the more stable, or able to recover from shocks, their livelihoods will be. An increase in vulnerability among the resettled households, in particular for the poorer households, is observed.

This research, as illustrated both in this Chapter and the following Chapters, has used SLF to demonstrate the significance and importance of institutions and community assets for the development of individual household assets. This Chapter has demonstrated that consideration of these aspects separately would not provide the deeper analysis and understanding required for this research. The following Chapter will discuss the different

categories of household and their respective capabilities – i.e. the ways in which they can transform their livelihood assets into livelihood strategies in the resettled Halfeti.

## CHAPTER 7

### LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES AND IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS

#### 7.0 Introduction

The sustainable livelihoods framework recognises that livelihood strategies comprise the range and combination of activities and choices that people make, or undertake, in order to achieve their livelihood goals (DFID 1999). Chapter 6 described the livelihood assets of the 29 selected resettled households in Halfeti, together with the strengths and weaknesses of some of these assets in terms of livelihood reconstruction for those affected. In Chapter 6, it was observed that different people have different assets; and some people have only limited access to certain types of asset, which makes them more vulnerable. This Chapter presents an analysis of the different livelihood strategies adopted by these resettlers in order to manage their household livelihood portfolios after the building of the dam. Livelihood strategies, such as diversification strategies, income management strategies, and migration strategies were adopted in Halfeti after the resettlement. The resettlers' capabilities are also explored in relation to their livelihood decisions, because it is these capabilities that provide them with the opportunities to improve their livelihoods and well being (Sen 1985, Robeyns 2005).

#### 7.1 Exploring livelihood strategies in involuntary resettlement studies.

Household members seek different sources of income to make a living and this can also be defined as their livelihood strategy (Farrington et al., 2002). DFID's SL framework outlines important variables for livelihood strategies, which can be crucial in understanding involuntary resettlement studies. In terms of the policy makers' viewpoint, McDowell (2002) suggests that;

‘when resettlement planning for displaced people will essentially involve accounting for changes to the basic material and social, tangible and intangible assets that people have in their possession, and tracking the impact of these changes – more specifically losses on their livelihood strategies or assets may enable policy makers to identify where to promote possible areas of investments’ (McDowell 2002).

(DFID (1999) in McDonald (2006) also suggest that examining livelihood strategies can regulate some of the tactics that may be used to improve the livelihoods of the resettlers. Therefore livelihood strategies are important in examining involuntary resettlement cases because it can enable us to see how resettlers adjust to their altered environment to reconstruct their livelihoods is gained (McDonald 2006). In addition assessing the range and combination of activities that resettlers pursue after the relocation is significantly important in demonstrating their capabilities. Because as will be seen more in detail in the following sections even if the actual material standard of living is not significantly affected the choices and opportunities of some families actually are reduced. When some households were able to make a good livelihood some were reluctant to perform. This type of understanding can improve the understanding of the process of the livelihoods of resettlers in Halfeti. Therefore it is suggested in this study that exploring livelihood strategies are directly applicable to this study. This is an important part of this particular research to expand and all relevant in assessing the changing lives of Halfeti

As explained in Chapter 6, resettlers' choice of livelihood strategy depends on their access to certain assets or combinations of assets, and also their ability to combine these assets. For instance, labour skills may require human capital, such as a specific level of education or skills etc.; or financial capital may be necessary to start a business or to make investments after the resettlement. This may also be applicable in evaluating the changes to the resettlers post resettlement. In addition, natural capital is the foundation of agricultural production and is crucial for agricultural livelihood strategies; or people may need to use their social connections to network and build links with certain types of people who can help them. Different livelihood activities can be achieved with different requirements. "The more choice and flexibility that people have in their livelihood strategies, the greater their ability to build better livelihoods" (DFID, 1999). Thus, identifying the choices resettlers have, and the livelihoods they achieve can have further benefits for involuntary resettlement research (McDowell 2002). This Chapter investigates the livelihood strategies that resettlers in Halfeti adopted after the dam was built. The next section introduces the livelihood strategies adopted by the resettlers post resettlement

## **7.2 Livelihood strategies in Halfeti**

Resettlers in Halfeti have faced a major transformation to their livelihoods due to the resettlement. In tackling these changes to their livelihood situation, these households have developed particular strategies that differ from those adopted by other households. Some of the households (i.e. middle well-being) have adopted strategies that involve diversifying their livelihoods as much as they can. Others, (i.e. better-off) may not choose to diversify, but instead use their financial assets to invest in properties or use their savings, perhaps in combination with another asset, to create a livelihood strategy. However, some households (i.e. poor households) have limited choices available to them, when compared to the other household categories; they were unable to invest and can only seek to survive. They often choose to migrate to cities in order to generate income for their families. Hence, post resettlement, there are three livelihood strategies adopted by different categories of household in Halfeti; these are i) livelihood diversification strategies, ii) income management strategies iii) migration strategies.

### **7.2.1 Livelihood diversification strategies**

In line with the SL Framework, livelihood diversification is “the process by which households constructs a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival and in order to improve their standard of living” (Ellis, 1998). Different people diversify their livelihoods in different ways, depending on their access to assets and their ability to combine these assets. For instance, the poor diversify in less profitable labour markets, such as casual, part-time, and unskilled work, compared to the full-time work, or subsistence self-employment into which better-off households diversify. This is because of the limited assets available to poor people (low human capital, and obstacles to entry to the markets due to their low assets, i.e. low level of education) (Ellis, 1999).

In the case of Halfeti, people had to diversify their livelihoods because, after the resettlement, they lost their land or were no longer able to gain access to it. Other families lost their businesses in the old town; in addition, for some households farming can no longer support

them as a sole source of income. Moreover, the loss of farmland for some families affected other landless households due to the loss of opportunity for agricultural labour. These households then became jobless. When they became jobless, they had to diversify their livelihood strategies to generate income. Therefore, it will be useful to explore livelihood diversification and the changes to people's occupations; and also to see how households in Halfeti strategise and diversify their livelihoods post resettlement.

### **7.2.2 Income management strategies**

Resettlers' use of financial capital is essential to the restoration and development of their livelihoods. The use of financial capital is evaluated in terms of how financial capital is managed by resettlers to rebuild their livelihoods. This involves the use of savings and loans to improve livelihood outcomes after resettlement. Crucial to the reconstruction and development of the resettlers' livelihoods is their capacity to use their financial capital to reconstruct their livelihoods, such as infrastructure, housing, or enterprises to restore income, or to establish new income-generating activities; and finally to access basic services and health and school facilities (McDonald, 2006).

It is important to explore financial capital as a livelihood strategy in Halfeti, because the way in which resettlers choose to use their financial capital is their livelihood strategy. Their choices reflect their priorities and abilities as well as freedoms for livelihood reconstruction and development. Therefore, financial capital is chosen to evaluate their choices and provide insights into the capacity of resettlers to plan and manage their livelihood strategies post resettlement (McDonald, 2006).



### 7.2.3 Migration strategies

Migration is a livelihood strategy that is influenced by the resettlers' access to different levels and combinations of assets. Millions of people throughout the world have limited access to some of the livelihood assets because of a variety of reasons such as their social position, health, natural environment, political environment and household economy. For this reason people choose to migrate (McDonald, 2006).

In the Southeast of Turkey migration is a different phenomenon. Research undertaken by (Kudat and Bayram, 2000; Aksit and Akcay, 1997) revealed links between unemployment and the reasons for migration (Chapter 3). This research found that in Halfeti migration occurs in several ways:

- i) Educated family members move to cities in search of better jobs and living standards (in total four households from our sample have members that fit into this category);
- ii) Family-related migration: when a family member is living either abroad or in the city, some or all of the other family members relocate to be closer to their relatives (four household members in our sample);
- iii) Marriage: daughters, in particular, may get married and move abroad, or to the city where their husband and sometimes their husband's family live (this is relevant to two households in our sample);
- iv) Seasonal migration: households or household members go to cities in search of temporary jobs (six households in the sample);

It is important to explore migration strategies as a livelihood strategy. Lack of options in the new location might push people to migrate, either seasonally or permanently, to a new location in search of better opportunities. This is important to evaluate in Halfeti, because exploring the reasons people migrate will help to explain the various livelihood options chosen by different households. Therefore migration will be assessed in Halfeti.

#### **7.4 Livelihood strategies of Better-off households in Halfeti**

Livelihood diversification is essential to livelihood reestablishment and development for residents who do not have the security of farmland. Hence their ability to restore their livelihoods after resettlement depends on their ability to work in sectors outside agriculture. In addition, similarly in Halfeti, when farming does not provide a sufficient income for the resettlers, multiple employments is also a potential livelihood strategy (McDonald, 2006).

As explored in previous Chapters, the resettlement site in Karaotlak was unsuitable for agriculture. Therefore, some of the resettlers who were farmers prior to the resettlement, (in particular those who were better-off) did not choose to invest in agriculture again as they did not prefer to invest in land or related agricultural activities near Karaotlak. This inability to work in agriculture left the resettlers with the choice of wage-earning labour or investment in non-farm self-employment in the new town, where there were new opportunities to engage with sectors outside agriculture, such as the newly opening shops, businesses and new market sectors. However, having always farmed, these people did not have the skills to practice any kind of off-farm activities and this will be explored later in the Chapter.

##### **7.3.1 Livelihood diversification**

Livelihood diversification is essential to livelihood establishment and development when there is not sufficient natural assets (Ellis, 1999). Livelihood diversification in terms of better-off households is explored by considering whether resettlers have taken on secondary or tertiary employment after resettlement in order to supplement their incomes, or what kind of occupational change the households have experienced after relocation.

The results show that the majority of the better-off families are not active in employment, apart from three households who have invested in their own business in the town. The other three families have been living on their pensions as a regular income, as well as the interest from their compensation. This situation is different to the other household categories, such as the middle well-being households, who often have all their household members in

employment (section 7.5). Table 7.2 reflects the livelihood strategies observed amongst the better-off households after the relocation.

**Table 7.1:** Livelihood strategies of better-off households

<b>Number of household</b>	<b>Livelihood strategies adapted</b>	<b>Household size</b>
1	Self-employed	3
2	Pension	2
3	Pension	2
4	Self employed, rental payments, pension	3
5	Pension, rental payments	4
6	Self employed, pension	2
7	Wage earner, self employed	2

Source: Fieldwork

As can be seen from Table 7.1, the majority of the better-off households generally have a single source of income. It is clear from the table that only households 6, 7 and 4 have adopted a secondary source of income in the form of self-employment. As already discussed, after the resettlement, non-farm employment became the only type of main income-generating activity amongst the majority of the households. It is observed that better-off households do not tend to diversify their livelihood strategies, perhaps because they do not have to make an effort to maximise their income or prefer to invest on other assets. Some of the better-off households used their financial capital to invest in buying a shop downtown and indicated that they were involved in a new business after the resettlement, whereas previously they had been farmers. This contradicts recent studies such as (Urrehman et al., 2008; Liyam, 2006) where in their sample of households, the better-off households preferred to diversify their income.

Unlike the majority of better-off households who did not tend to diversify, household 6 is a good example of a household that has opened its business in the town. I was told that Mr B has actually utilised his financial capital (in the form of his savings and compensation income) by investing in a sector which was in demand in the town. He said due to the changed housing conditions not every household was able to bake bread or cake; therefore he opened a bakery, which he has been running for six years. He has customers both from Karaotlak and the nearby villages. He indicated that his wife's good social relationships have helped them to manage the bakery. They started to advertise the place to their friends and 'word-of-mouth' has been their best advertisement strategy. I have visited the bakery twice; people were in front of the shop in the morning, waiting for it to open. Household 6 invested in a business for which they saw a demand and developed this business using their financial assets as a starting point. There are a number of reasons to explain why this household chose to invest in the town. The head of household 6 is a high school graduate who has always looked for opportunities to open his own business. His education and vision may have helped him to develop the business. He is currently 50 years old and was therefore young enough to take a risk in opening a shop - unlike the three households who are unwilling to work in any sector because they are aged around 65 years. Oughton and Wheelock (2003) have argued that it is generally 'push' and 'pull' factors that affect the decision to start a business. It is perhaps this household's optimism and enthusiasm together with better social relationships that allows them to take the risk of investing in a business.

On the other hand, households 4 and 5, supplement their regular income (in the form of pensions) with rental payments from properties in the city, in which they invested after the relocation. Household 4 has more than one property, which makes their income relatively secure. As will be explored later, it is usually the middle and poorer households who now have a variety of jobs, whereas before they only had one particular type of job in the old town. Middle well-being households are quite responsive to change and unlike the better-off households, are progressive in seizing opportunities to improve their situation, despite the high risks.

In any case, diversification strategies will tend to be different for the poorest as compared to the richest rural households. Poorer households do not have the financial capital to invest in these types of strategy. They seem to work in domestic and wage-employed sectors more than the better-off households (section 7.4). Whereas better-off households invest in human capital such as health, due to their older age, poorer households seem to invest in generating financial capital and therefore diversify their livelihoods. In our study elderly households are better off because they have regular retirement incomes or landowners who received compensations. The choices made by households 1 and 4, illustrate what Sen (1988) identifies as 'capability' where: "capability is a kind of freedom, freedom to achieve various lifestyles" (cited in Oughton and Wheelock (2003)). These households have chosen not to invest in any sector, as they did not want to take the risk of losing their financial capital perhaps because they had the freedom of not to choose. Therefore they tend to use their compensation to earn interest payments from the bank, which they can then use as a regular income.

Household 7 has a kebab shop, close to the high school. The household head indicated that he first opened a pool hall, but then his older son gave him the idea that a kebab shop would be successful, so he has been running this for five years. In both visits it was observed that the shop had customers from the school and that the owner was delivering kebabs to the municipal building. The owner also mentioned that (like household 1 who has good relationship with their friends and neighbours) he is good friends with the mayor, who orders from his shop when he has guests for lunch. This is a good example of a farming household, whose occupation has changed since the resettlement. Their additional investment in social capital has allowed the household to earn money as their friends are supporting them through the business. In addition, the elder son, who is educated and has a university degree, has helped to develop the business, in particular through managing the accounts as well as setting up the business in the first place. Therefore it can be said that, investment in education and social capital has helped the household to develop the business and generate financial capital. Currently the household head has a stable income and he even has two employees. In addition as will be discussed in Chapter 8, the children of these people have been taking important role in decision making of these families in terms of business and daily tasks.

### **7.3.2 Income diversification vs. freedom to choose**

Three better-off families, who were once farmers, said that they do not want to work or invest in a business in Halfeti, as they think they do not have the skills to generate income in the new town. These families have a regular income in the form of pensions and some of them still have compensation. The head of household 2 told me that he would rather lie in bed all day than open a business in the town. His unwillingness to work like the head of household number 3 can be attributed to three factors:

- i) He has no specific skills and this restricts his opportunities for finding work. He therefore does not want to risk his financial capital by investing in the town;
- ii) These families tend to be older. When the relocation happened the head of household 2 was 55 years old, and he was not young enough to invest in a new type of enterprise;
- iii) Their financial capital is sufficient to enable them to utilise it for income generation and to retire, and therefore they have the freedom to choose so they simply choose not to work.

The head of household 3 indicated that he has become too 'lazy' to cultivate the soil in his back garden. He had been doing this for some years but no longer wants to. This may be due to the increased availability of previously home-grown produce, such as parsley and onions, at the market, and the household's increased purchasing power since the relocation. Therefore neither he nor his wife work post resettlement. It can be argued here that, unlike his middle-well-being or poorer counterparts, these households have the freedom to choose their livelihood strategy. Or perhaps, as in the case of households 2 and 3, which comprise mature couples who no longer have children in the town, they may be of the opinion that they do not need to develop further financial capital, because their children have moved away to the city and found stable jobs. These households educated their children with the compensation monies, thus they had good education and were able to find jobs in the cities. If the dam wasn't being built these families would not have cash to manage. Thus this situation could be attributed to the resettlement, not the household being older.

This group of households also tended to maintain their high standard of living and their consumption patterns. The typical approach for better-off households is to remain in the town for six to eight months and then move to the city for the rest of the year, near to their children. The head of household 1 told me that they were better treated in the city and that living standards are better in his son's house there.

“We have two houses, when it is cold here we go to the city, and go to hospital if we need to. Doctors and facilities are better in the city. We stay here for our friends”.  
(Interview with Mr C)

Mr C is a 67 year old former farmer, who used to have 500,000 m<sup>2</sup> of land for growing plums. His wife, Mrs G, has been a cancer patient for the last three years. They had cultivated their land for 40 years and their children are all abroad, except for their son, who is an engineer in the city which they were both proudly mentioned few times during the interview. Due to their health problems, as well as the unsuitable weather conditions in the new town, they prefer to live in the city for half of the year. They have been following this routine since resettlement. The only link that bonds them to Halfeti is their social relationships with their friends and family. Therefore, they always come back to Halfeti. The above example indicates that social ties play an important role for some of the better-off households as they are bonded as a community after the resettlement.

Another point which is different to that in the other household categories is that amongst the seven better-off households, it would appear that household size is smaller. The maximum household size is four (household 5). The household head's three children moved to the city three years ago and his other two children attend high school. The mean age of the better-off households is also relatively high, at around 66. In the case of elderly couples their expenditure is generally lower, because their children already have their own households or have at least completed their education. The trend amongst the better-off children is to complete their education and move to the city. Therefore, diversification of livelihoods is not a priority for this type of households as they are elderly and their expenditure is low. On the other hand, it is argued that where the household size is bigger and there are different types of household member, in terms of age and education, diversification of income is a more

common approach and this applies to more than half of the middle well-being households that were identified.

### **7.3.3 Income management**

The various types of financial capital were discussed in Chapter 6, and come in the form of earnings, savings, compensation and loans, which the majority of all types of household have used. The capacity of households to utilise their financial capital is critical to the reconstitution and development of the resettlers' livelihoods because they may enable them to function. The choices in using their financial capital reflect their priorities for livelihood reconstruction and development. This is especially the case for the better-off households who are expected to receive some level of compensation. Savings and loans are essential to the reconstruction and development of resettlers' livelihoods. The use of financial capital is particularly important for the better-off households who tend to use their financial assets as the main capital to improve their living standards.

The households in the better-off category in Halfeti can be categorised by their income and their financial assets. The latter can be considered as the compensation they receive or, in other cases, as any regular income they receive from the government or abroad. They would appear to be in a better economic situation judging by their ownership of possessions that are uncommon within the community, such as expensive cars, property in the city, or a large screen TV and DVD, as well as their air-conditioned homes which were repaired following the resettlement. In some parts of the world, as well as in Halfeti, they are even able to assist with business capital and send money to their children (Sutanto, 2009).

It is important to state here that for some households such as middle well-being, it is often the combination of these three sources that is important, for instance savings can be combined with compensation and turned into another asset (i.e. physical, in the case of household 3). In addition it is also seen that for some households financial capital alone is not enough and must be supported by other forms of capital (social capital, etc.) if its benefits are to be optimised.



### 7.3.3.1 Use of savings

Better-off households tend to have more savings in the form of money they have put aside, jewellery, rental property as a business asset, and other goods. There are seven better-off households within the sample of 29. Three out of seven better-off households had savings both before and after the resettlement. Before the resettlement, households 2 and 5 were both using their savings to invest in the purchase of agricultural equipment and, during times of need, they both used to rent this equipment to other villages in order to generate additional income. Household 5 used their savings to educate their only son who was studying at university. However, both of these families still had savings, as they had a stable income.

After the resettlement there was no need to invest in agricultural equipment because their land was submerged. Instead these two better-off households used their savings to resettle to their new houses and they spent the majority of their savings on removal costs during the relocation. Household 2 indicated that the removal process was very costly and they used almost all of their savings. They also sought help from their relatives in the city and sent five children temporarily to these relatives, to enable them to get on with work on the houses and the initial repairs. They managed to meet most of their needs and get their houses fixed in two months with the help of their relatives in the city, who looked after the children and sent their own two adult sons to Halfeti to help household 2 undertake house repairs.

“...moving here would have been impossible if we had not had help from my brothers. Without good relatives life is difficult, I have a disabled child. They all needed to be looked after, the kids were young” ... (Mr M).

As the head of household 2 indicated, social relationships are important and the majority of the resettlers needed or obtained help from their friends and relatives. Due to the lack of transport, the head of household number 2 also borrowed his brother's van to move his furniture. When asked; what are the most important ways in which you have used your savings since the resettlement, the common answer were livelihood expenses or repairs to the new dwellings. All the better-off households indicated that their savings had been used to

get their dwellings repaired, because the condition of the houses was too bad to live in. The head of household 1 said;

“Even dogs would not live in the houses. They were already in a bad condition when we moved in. So we had no choice but to prioritise the repair expenses” (interview with Mrs G)

Household 2 combined savings with compensation to get their house fixed. This household indicated that without their savings they would not have managed to move. Living expenses also increased, as indicated by household 2, who for the first three months had to use their savings and stay in a house where the roof was leaking. However, when they received the first instalment of their compensation, they were able to get the house repaired. It can be said that household 2 adopted a common approach and used their financial capital to improve their physical capital (their dwellings). Here it should be noted that their good networks, in the form of social capital, help these households to rebuild their lives and make investments. It seems like majority of the resettlers used their financial capital on housing and moving activities. Government assisted resettlement package which these people opt for resettling seem to lack these sufficient facilities. In addition government seem to fail to provide good quality housing for the resettlers.

### **7.3.3.2 Use of compensation**

Compensation is another form of financial capital that can be used strategically to improve livelihood restoration and development. However, the relevant literature concerning resettlement indicates that in many cases the resettlers do not have the necessary knowledge to make responsible choices in their use of compensation monies. Instead resettlers may elect to spend their compensation on luxury items, or even gambling (e.g. in China; see McDonald, 2006; and in Turkey, see (Harris, 2002).

Similarly in Halfeti, one of the common approaches taken by the better-off households was to spend their compensation on luxury items. Household 3 bought a car with the first instalment of their compensation, but had a serious accident in the car only two months later. The household head said:

“When we moved to the new houses, we needed new furniture; we could not bring our old furniture. The houses are too hot, so then I had to pay for air-conditioning” (interview with Mr H).

Household 3 spent some of their compensation on luxury products; however they were still able to invest in business capital after they had received all of their compensation monies. In addition, the same household head had taken his wife to a private hospital for a problem with kidney stones and she was treated for this in the city. It is clear from the narratives that households used at least some of their financial capital for luxury items or health purposes. In a way this household invested their financial capital in human capital as well as physical capital.

Another common approach taken by the better-off resettlers was to buy a property for investment purposes in one of the nearby cities. Five out of seven better off households used their compensation to buy at least one property in this way. Gaziantep and Nizip were the popular choices for property investment. Household 4 is an example of successful investment in business capital. They indicated that they had purchased two properties in town, one is used by the son of the household as a telephone shop; the other is rented to provide them with a monthly income of 300 lira (approximately £100 at 2011 prices). It can be said that the former land owners seem to become property owners after resettlement. Thus, it can also be said that the properties were bought as an investment and the rental payments from the properties can be seen as a type of regular income for these families.

Household 5 also is good example of property investment. The head of this household indicated that he had to borrow money from the bank to enable him to purchase the property he owns in Gaziantep. They said that their two properties in the city helped their three

children to go to the city and complete their university education, because they did not have any other income at that time. Currently these properties are still in use and provide an important source of income. They also mentioned that their younger son got married last summer and they organised a very big wedding for him with more than 300 guests. Mrs M was very proud of the wedding they organised. She said to me when we were alone:

“A glorious wedding like that would be impossible, if we did not have savings from the flats. But everyone is still talking about the wedding” (Mrs M).

### **7.3.3.3 Use of loans**

When compensation monies and savings have all been spent to cover living expenses and house repairs, the resettlers’ use of loans is crucial to the reconstruction and development of their livelihoods. However, it is observed that poorer households seem to use loans more than the better-off households (section 7.6). Household 1 indicated that their extended family in the city lent them money to cover their immediate needs and they used this money when their savings had been exhausted. They also said that their compensation arrived late; they had two children who were eligible to go to university, having passed the entry requirement in 2000, and were to go to Istanbul. Therefore, they needed extra cash to cover immediate expenses and it was necessary for them to borrow money at that time. Household 3 is the only example of a household who took out a loan. Unlike some studies which have indicated that better-off households generally borrow from banks, or other formal financial institutions, in Halfeti it is observed that family and friends are usually the first port of call for loans, when there is an urgent need for money. This applies to all types of household. This could be due to their lack of physical assets (as they had already lost their land) or available savings that a financial institution may require as proof that they were in a position to repay such a loan. It is observed that better-off households earned income and managed to save up in terms of physical assets after the relocation.

### 7.3.4 Migration

Households with members working away in urban centres or abroad are often referred to as 'split families', and their livelihood strategies are described as 'straddling' the rural and urban sectors (Ellis, 2007). It is generally the case for the majority of the better-off households that they have at least one family member in one of the urban areas. It is observed that in better-off families, at least one family member has migrated to the city and taken either a brother or sister with them to enable them to access education or assist them in finding a better job. If this is not the case they may have children in university or living permanently in the city.

The household members of better-off households who have migrated to cities can be seen in two ways. It could be that one of the children has completed their education and migrated to a city, as was the case for household 7. Their son has never come back from university to live in Halfeti and they have sent the other three children there after high school to look after each other. None of their children who were sent to the city have ever returned to Halfeti to live. The wife from household 7 indicated that the children visit their parents frequently in the summer or on special occasions. In particular, their grandchildren, who live in the city, come and stay with them every summer. At the time this research was being conducted one of their grandchildren was staying with household 7, as she was on holiday from school and helping her grandparents with their daily housework. Other studies have also shown that urban migrants commonly continue to maintain strong rural family connections, even after several generations of urban residence (Ellis, 2007).

It is clear from the narratives above that migration for better off households has different implications than the other household categories in our sample. The younger members, who migrated to the city, look after their parents. Having a migrated member of the family may not necessarily help them to improve their financial capital however this freedom allows them to benefit from the facilities in the city. They visit the city for a long period of time such as six months; it is actually their children they are staying with. Staying in the city for long periods of time for instance, allow them to benefit from the health services. I was told from three households that they visit the hospitals in the city regularly. Again when their children living in the city they are being advised and guided from their children in terms of investment

or livelihood decisions. They also get to make friends in the city which perhaps make them more social. They shop and buy goods from the city to bring it to Halfeti for instance for their houses, which make their households more comfortable. However they also want to come back to Halfeti at least half of the year.

#### **7.4 Livelihood strategies of the middle income households**

Most rural families have multiple income sources. This may indeed include on-farm wage work in agriculture, but is also likely to involve wage work in non-farming activities, rural non-farm self-employment (e.g., trading), and remittances from urban areas and from abroad. Studies show that between 30 % and 50 % of the household income in sub-Saharan Africa is also derived from non-farm sources (Reardon, 1997 in Ellis 2008).

It is widely agreed that the capability to diversify is beneficial for households at or below the poverty line. Having alternatives for income generation can make the difference between minimally viable livelihoods and destitution. However, diversification does not have an equalising effect on rural incomes overall. Better-off families are typically able to diversify in more labour markets than poor rural families (Ellis, 1999); therefore, in Halfeti, middle households endeavour to maximize the use of family labour and to reduce expenditure on wages for paid labour.

##### **7.5.1 Livelihood diversification**

It is discussed in the previous sections that better-off households tend to engage in a narrower range of occupations, such as a self-enterprise, or depend on their financial capital in terms of stocks or compensation. This situation is different in middle income households. As mentioned in the previous Chapter 12 out of the 29 households in the sample were found to be in the category of middle income generating. These families were found to be engaged in the widest range of income-generating activities in the town. This varied between small-scale service enterprises such as the sale of food, meat or cooked homemade food, or crafts (such as construction), or trading, farm labouring for other households in nearby cities, or in terms

of cultivating their own lands where there was land available, and the sale of goods .This range of income diversification is also identified in research undertaken by Smith et al. (2001), where the poorer and middle-income households in Pakistan exhibited diversity across both the farming and non-farming sectors. In our sample it can be said that middle-income households are the most diverse group, actively engaging in numerous occupations (Table 7.3) in order to gain much-needed income to supplement their basic needs; and in many cases with aspirations to pursue more singularly profitable enterprises (Smith et al., 2001).

**Table 7.3:** Different livelihood strategies amongst the middle income households

<b>Number of household</b>	<b>Livelihood strategies adapted</b>	<b>Household size</b>
8	Pension, subsistence farming	3
9	Local income, pension, subsistence farming	5
10	Property income - monthly, local income	6
11	Only wage employment	3
12	Self-enterprise, pension	4
13	Pension, local income	4
14	Pension, self-enterprise	2
15	Local income, subsistence farming, pension	4
16	Wage employment, self-enterprise	6
17	Self-enterprise, pension	4
18	Self-enterprise, local income (temporary)	4
19	Self-enterprise	4

Source: Fieldwork

It can be seen from the Table 7.3 that in Halfeti, there are a variety of activities in which household members have engaged in order to contribute to the household income. In Halfeti, diversification is practiced by the younger family members, but not always by their parents. The common practice is that these younger family members work in wage-earning jobs. However, it should be noted that these households do diversify and make a living, and because they do not depend on one source of income this might reduce their vulnerability. However, engaging in too many activities can mean that households do not make enough profit, because they do not invest sufficient energy and resources into one specific strategy.

Seven middle income households had children working in salaried employment, such as clerical work in the municipal buildings, working as classroom assistants, or as teachers. Salaried-employment is especially common for daughters - in total 11 households contain at least one young female in employment. It has also been observed in the region that, where daughters are employed and the household head is unemployed, this has particular implications for the middle well-being households. After working in different sectors, the daughters of the family develop decision making power within the household so that they are able to decide on their marriages or influence their parents over important decisions (see Chapter 8 for details). Household 10 is a good example of this. They have three daughters in salaried-employment in the town, whilst their two younger sons are attending secondary school. The parents in this household are unemployed and the father has health issues. It is the three daughters who generate income on a monthly basis. Ms O is a primary school teacher who works part-time in one of the nearby villages, Ms M is working temporarily on the knitting course as an assistant and Ms Z works in the classroom. Together they generate an income of 1200 lira (equivalent to £420 in 2011). The household also have a property in the city from which they receive an additional 210 lira (approximately £70 at 2011 prices) every two months. It can be said that their financial capital has increased since the resettlement. Mrs G, who is the wife of the household, indicated that Ms O intends to buy a car next month as she currently walks for two hours to and from her school every day and finds this tiring. They are a good example of a household where most of the household members contribute to the household economy and daughters have a certain level of freedom in decision making where she can purchase a car. With the daughters in the labour market as well as the income from the properties is the livelihood strategy of this household and this is known as income pooling (Bryceson, 1999; Ellis, 1998).

Moreover households in this category are generating income, yet a point needs to be made here with regard to the marital status of household 10's daughters. They are single and when they get married the household income provided by their salaries will be reduced. The household head's ill health would make it difficult for him to work in any sector. Further research is needed to analyse the livelihood situation for this type of middle income household in the future, when the household members start to leave to make their own lives.



The livelihood strategies in terms of middle income households in Halfeti are complex. Out of the 12 middle income households, five have at least two unemployed adult members. The unemployed family member is often the head of the household or his wife (or even both). It is usually the younger family members who work as wage employees in the town. There are two main reasons for the husband and wife in a household both being unemployed.

- i) Lack of unemployment opportunities for these people, who often do not have many transferable skills, as they worked solely in agriculture before resettlement; and
- ii) The available jobs are usually only suitable for young people in the new town, as they require specific skills or some level of education.

Therefore, the majority of resettlers, who were mainly farmers, have a diminished capacity for restoring their livelihoods. Therefore they have remained unemployed and as in the example of household 8 they chose to live off their pensions. In this case, the household head is a farmer who cultivates his farm even though access to it is more difficult after the submergence. They now hire labour at cultivation times, because their children, who used to work on the farm, are all employed in salary-based jobs. His son works in a mobile phone shop and his daughter has recently found a job as a secretary. After the relocation, farming became their second means of income generation as access to the land became difficult. They still cultivate their land; however it is no longer as productive, because he said:

“I was younger and the pistachio farm was closer, now I can only go there a few times a year. Therefore production is low; because I cannot look after it very well....it is only me and my old wife ...we cannot look after our fields anymore,” (Mr H)

On the other hand, some of the households have invested in the micro-enterprise sector. Similarly, in rural Africa, micro-enterprise is becoming popular within rural households (Hussein and Nelson, 1998).

- i) The flow of assets during investment and throughout the business may allow flexibility for the household who invested and
- ii) These types of enterprise provide employment opportunities for other households.

In our sample of twelve middle income households, five of them had a member who could be classified as self-employed and running a non-farming micro-business. Six of the households have locally-generated income through employment. In terms of self-employment, Mr A, (67), is a good example of a resettler who runs his own business. He is a retired waged employee who earns just enough to meet the expenses of his family of four, and to buy good clothes. Until three years ago he was earning 400 lira (approximately £ 140 in 2011 prices) from his job as a hospital worker. Then he bought a cart and started to sell chickpea wraps one common traditional snack, can only be found in Sanliurfa and the nearer regions. At lunchtime he parks his cart in front of the high school and sells his mashed chickpea wraps to the students for 1 lira. He indicated that he has been buying the same chickpeas from one person in the town of Nizip for the past three years, thus it comes cheaper now, and his wife bakes the flat bread for him in the old town with her sister so he does not have major additional production cost. He thinks they have a family business. In the winter season he earns more than 100 (approximately £35 in 2011 prices) lira per month. He defines himself as a good trader now and he has used his profits to buy two full gold coins for his wife, who has been very helpful right from the start of his enterprise. Household 12 can therefore be considered as investing effectively in both financial and physical capital.

It was observed that households with medium income undertook diversification in terms of their portfolio of some labour. This group of households actually sought diversification so as to spread their risks within a portfolio of livelihood activities, so that failure in one field could be compensated for by success in others. It is also evident that this diversification usually involves salaried employment by other household members. An example would be household 9 whose household head is a retired government worker. His pension is around 500 Lira (equivalent to £150 in 2011); however he was working in a shop to supplement his income to meet increased expenses after relocation. Due to his poor state of health he had to stop working in the shop and his wife is now employed in the new town as an instructor on one of the training courses. She stated that, in the old town, she did not need to work as their income was sufficient, and her husband had not retired and earned more money. However she is now taken place in the labour market and generates little income. She said:

“Thanks to our children who send remittances from the city three times a year, so they have additional income” (Mrs H).

In pursuing livelihood strategies composed of a range of activities, both access to assets and the use to which such assets can be put, are mediated by social factors (social relationships, institutions and organisations) and by exogenous trends (e.g. economic trends) and shocks (drought, disease, floods, pests) (Ellis, 1999). Household 15 is a good example of a family that has made use of their social relationships. The household head was a government employee who retired three years ago. He indicated that he had worked in a restaurant when he was attending university in Istanbul in the 1970s and he had some cooking and kitchen experience. He asked his good friends, who had opened a bakery in the town, if he could help out in their kitchen after his retirement. He told me he wanted the job to spend time with his friends and for pleasure; however he now earns an additional 290 to 300 lira (approximately £100 in 2011) and he is saving up to send his daughter on a special course next year to prepare her for university. In addition, he is helping his brother, alongside his mother and daughter, to harvest his land in the season and in return he receives pistachios, which he is able to sell or store for daily use or give away to guests or friends, depending on his financial situation. These households made use of their assets and function in a sustainable manner.

The majority of the middle income family members are engaged in different types of activity and sectors of the economy. This can have both positive and negative impacts on livelihoods. Diversification reduces dependence on one source of livelihood and thereby reduces vulnerability to specific stresses and shocks. However, engaging in too many activities can mean that households are not able to invest sufficient time and resources in any one activity to make it profitable (Farrington et al., 2000). This is particularly a problem for household 10. They indicated that they each work in different employment sectors, including their 15 year old son, who works in the local computer shop during the summer. However, they are still finding it difficult to meet all their expenses in the new town. I was told that the cost of living in the town is higher and that all of the family members now have new demands on their household income. Mr O indicated that when the children were young their expenses were low; now everyone works in the household, yet the salaries are still insufficient to

enable them to have a comfortable life perhaps because the jobs are not regular. Second risk is the access to employment opportunities in different sectors of the labour market can be irregular. Since local labour markets are usually small, job security can also be limited. In total, four household members indicated that they had had to change jobs twice in a single year, and there are instances where some of the household members remain unemployed for a few months before they are able to find another job. This means that the local labour market offers temporary jobs with low pay, whereas the cities are more likely to offer more secure employment. This may explain the high migration rate to the cities.

#### **7.4.2 Income management**

In our sample, three out of 12 middle income households have borrowed money from their friends or relatives. For instance, household 13 illustrates a common approach undertaken by poorer households in times of crisis. They borrowed what can be considered as relatively high amount money from their relatives (3000 lira, almost £1000 at 2011 prices). Their relative did not ask for interest payments, but they requested that the money be returned within two years. The household head moved to Istanbul with his brother for one year and found a job with the help of another friend. He visited his family twice in one year, but by the time he came back, he had enough money to pay the debt and he was able to save some money as well. In six months he was able to buy jars and bottles and started to sell homemade tomato and pepper puree on the markets in nearby cities. This household represents a good example in that they have re-established their livelihood, overcome the bad experiences and been able to sufficiently diversify their livelihoods. They can currently be classified as upper middle class as they have some savings, and the condition of their house (physical capital) is very good, as they have new and comfortable furniture. Household 13 was one of the few households who were able to transfer from one category to another. Whilst in the poorer category, the household head was a small subsistence farmer who lost his land and became vulnerable to poverty. He generated income and used household assets to generate more income. Two successful household heads were also interviewed, one of whom was earning enough income to buy a house for his mother. Household 16 sold kitchen equipment in the market and they were making enough profit to send their daughter to a security training course in the nearby town, which costs 200 lira per month, even though household 16 is one of the most overcrowded households in the entire sample. The need to

raise money for tuition fees was the common reason given for entrepreneurial endeavours in Halfeti. This household initially used their compensation to establish a business in the market.

### **7.4.3 Migration**

Migration is best understood as one of the strategies adopted by individuals, households or communities to enhance their livelihoods. In Halfeti, income from migration may be more important for poorer households than for the middle-income families or those who are better-off. The trend amongst the middle-income families is not very different from that for the better-off families (De Haan, 2000a). Education is a very common motive for migration in Halfeti. Children belonging to these families, who are educated within or outside the town, tend to move to the city in search of better jobs. These migrants tend never to return to Halfeti and their families are willing to move to the city, when they have enough money or are financially comfortable. There are also cases where migration occurs as a result of marriage. Migration strategies do not help to improve the livelihoods of middle-income families. However, children tend to bring back some goods from the city once a year, whilst they are visiting their families.

A good example of a middle-income family who have two migrant members is household 11. There are six people in the family and household 11 have a daughter and son living in different cities in the Southeast. The daughter married a family friend who lives in Kahramanmaras and moved there to live - this being a common trend in Halfeti. They also have a son who works in a factory in the city. He had been there for 15 years and never came back after high school. He does not wish to return, because, as the household head indicated, he is looking for better opportunities and his wife also has a job in the city, so they do not want to bring up their daughter in Halfeti, which they still see as a village. Mr A told me;

“My children do not want to stay here; they say this is a village with lots of different people. They do not trust people here. He does not trust the schools here either. So they will educate their daughter in the city. They would rather visit us every summer”.  
(Interview with household 11)

Household 11 could actually move to the city if they wanted to, but they have chosen to stay in Halfeti to educate their youngest daughter. This family have the freedom to stay and send their children to school in Halfeti and they do not currently need to migrate to other places. Their job in Halfeti allows them to stay in the town.

### 7.5 Livelihood strategies of poorer households

Households devise coping strategies when they are faced with shock, stress and risk, in order to protect their social reproduction and to recover from them. It is argued that the poorest and most vulnerable households are forced to adopt strategies which enable them to survive, but not necessarily to improve their livelihoods and welfare (Rakodi, 2002). The previous section outlined the typical strategies adopted by middle income households after the resettlement. It is argued that middle well-being households seek to mobilise resources and opportunities, and to combine these into a livelihood strategy which is a mix of: employment; market involvement; savings, loans and investments; productive activities; income from other sources; asset pooling; and finally, social networking. Unlike middle income households in Halfeti multiplication of livelihoods is not common. They do not seem to diversify their income post resettlement. This section outlines livelihood activities for the 12 poorest households; it will explain the way in which they strategize. Table 7.4 illustrates the livelihood strategies of the 10 poorest households in our sample.

**Table 7.4** Livelihood strategies of poorer households

<b>Number of household</b>	<b>Livelihood strategies adapted</b>	<b>Household size</b>
20	Temporary salary-based job	8
21	Agricultural migrant	6
22	Unemployed, seasonal labour	2
23	Local income, remittances	5
24	Local income, agricultural seasonal migrant	5
25	Temporary agricultural job	4
26	Agriculture, local income	4
27	Local income	4
28	Remittances	3
29	Agricultural migrant, remittances twice	3

Source: Fieldwork

It is argued that poorer households usually depend on low paid, physically demanding and socially unattractive occupations (Motiur et al., 2009). In their study in Bangladesh (Motiur et al., 2009) found that poor households were mainly engaged in agriculture – much like poor people in Halfeti prior to resettlement. It was common practice for people with no land of their own, to receive payment for doing agricultural work on local farms. However this pattern is changing.

### **7.5.1 Income management**

Income management is crucial for poorer households because without having the ability to diversify they have to make the most of their income. When they can, these households tend to reduce consumption and maximize the use of family labour in order to survive (Rijanta, 2009). Household 20 has three members who worked as agricultural workers during the summer in Argil, a village 10km away from Halfeti. However, the income they generate through agriculture is both irregular and very low. The family sell their labour for 30 lira (approximately £10 in 2011) per day; if three members are working full-time they can only generate 90 lira and this would only be seasonal and not on a regular basis. According to Rijanta (2009), this represents serious exploitation of human resources within households that have no capital assets.

Survival households in Indonesia also maximized their use of family labour and reduced the quality of their daily food intake, without reducing the frequency of meals. A number of survival households had all their household members in employment, including women and children who normally did not work (Rijanta, 2009). In Halfeti, post resettlement, household 23 is a good example of the use of family labour; all members, including the two children, are working in temporary jobs in the market. It was in the poorer household's interviews where the subject is all the time lack of food or their daily food consumption. The wife indicated in household 23 that they can only eat meat if their employers give food away, and this is on an irregular basis. She also said that at least they had a small garden and that water was available free of charge, so they were able to grow vegetables and some fruit there, whereas in the new town they had to go out and work to buy food. Research conducted by White (2004) confirms that some strategies have to be taken by poor households to make a living. This might include

abstention from certain foods, such as meat, fish, cheese, oranges, bananas and sweets, as well as the purchase of consumer goods, medicine, etc. (White, 2004). In some cases parents deprived themselves so that they could feed their children properly. Also in Halfeti comments were common among the poor households, such as “we don’t buy fruit and meat for our, only for our children”.

It is also observed that poorer households meet household needs in selective conservative and minimum ways. I was told that life in the town does not allow household 26 to buy meat all the time. At religious festivals, they are given meat (twice a year); otherwise they would not dare to buy meat as it is the lowest priority in their consumption list. This household appears to mobilise all its household resources to achieve short term objectives, as the household head lives in the city as a migrant for most of the year. This household does not diversify, because the wife is ill and their daughter therefore has to stay at home to cook and do the housework rather than go out to work. When required, the daughter wakes up early and goes to the school to clean the stairs. This allows her to earn 30 lira, once a month. With this money she buys food and vegetables, but she waits until the end of the day, when business in the market is quieter and market traders are more inclined to reduce their prices or even give some food away. Even though she is involved in the labour market, the income she generates is too little. It can be said that this group of households and this household in particular, have limited endowments (Sen 1984 in Oughton and Wheelock 2003) with a low and unreliable income. They are unable to diversify their income owing to the daughter’s low level of education; she only attended primary school and does not have the required skills for most salaried employment (this was not required in the old town as agricultural work did not require the skills associated with formal education). In addition, the wife of the household head suffers poor health and is unable to work.

In a study conducted in Indonesia, a number of school-aged children were found to have been left with their grandparents whilst their parents worked elsewhere (Sutanto, 2009). This approach is an attempt to cope with the high cost of living, education and childcare. In Halfeti, this generally works in reverse; there are three poor families who said that they send their children to the city to go to school, as they have family members such as sisters or brothers there. Household 27 is a good example, where they send their daughter to their



sisters' house in the city after secondary school. Household 27 has four members, but only two members are eligible to work. The household head, who is 37 years old, works in a cafe as a delivery man and his wife sometimes cleans the windows of two shops in the town. Her job is not permanent, and is on a part-time basis, as she has young twins and an aged father and mother-in-law living with them. Therefore they had to send their older daughter to the city to gain a better education. They would seek to join them as soon as they finish paying their debts and can sell their house and move to the city. In meeting subsistence needs they work hard to maximize the use of household resources. For that reason they can achieve only the short term goals in life. However their physical capital, once they finished the mortgage (which is 5000 lira or £1500, per year) would be a good financial capital for them to move and settle to the city.

A study in rural Russia, found that at least half of the older women were living with their children and grandchildren. It is found they had not invited parents to live with them because of financial pressures arising from the changed circumstances. "Normally such an invitation, where it occurred, had been made in circumstances which were simply connected to the age and health of the parent who needed care" (White, 2004). For household 24 income generation was via one family member, the household head. His brother had cancer and his wife was looking after him because he needed extra care, so Mr R invited his mother to Halfeti, where they now live as a family of five. She is 87 years old and has been looking after the family's three children (aged 12, 7 and 6) whilst their mother goes to work in a supermarket. With the grandmother becoming part of the household, the family was able to diversify their income, as there was no longer a need for the wife to remain at home to take care of the children.

The above evidence suggests that income management for the poorer households is important in Halfeti, because they have very limited access to financial capital and they have to make the best use of their income in order to survive. The poor households in Halfeti do not have the capability to invest, as their income is too low or irregular. They are income insecure. The loss of their ability to work on land owned by other households has reduced their capacity for income generation. They appear to seek help from family and friends in times of

need. As they did not own land in the old town, they were not entitled to any compensation. Therefore, they have to make the most of their labour and skills to make a living.

#### **7.5.1.1 Use of savings and compensation and loans**

It was observed in the interviews that poorer households do not have any savings. They live on a day to day basis. In terms of compensation, poor people only received their dwellings as a resettlement package. However they have to pay a mortgage over 20 years (Chapter 4). Compensation in terms of cash or return is not the case in the poor households, as they did not have land in the old town and cannot therefore be compensated for their loss.

Poor households obtained loans from various sources, in particular less formal sources, such as neighbours, traders, savings and loan groups and the like, which have more flexible terms. Training courses were available in Halfeti, but poorer households did not dare to invest in new businesses because they feared they would get into more debt. These poor households do not borrow from formal institutions because of their uncertain income and the need to repay the loan in fixed instalments. They therefore prefer to borrow from neighbours or friends where repayments can be more easily varied. Household 26 told me that households regularly borrow from each other. When faced with an irregular income there is often no choice but to borrow.

#### **7.5.1.2 Importance of remittances to the poor households**

The proportion of households in receipt of remittances should be divided into two categories:

- i) resettlers who receive money on a regular basis;
- ii) those who do not receive regular remittances;

Better-off families are usually able to diversify in more favourable labour markets than poor rural families (Ellis, 2008). However, diversification may be impossible or insufficient and remittances are sometimes crucial where opportunities to generate cash income are limited.

In Halfeti, in terms of the poorer households, three such households were identified as receiving regular remittances. The regularity of these remittances could thus be seen as part of an intended strategy (Steimann, 2005), although many other factors can influence the flow of such money. In Halfeti household 28 indicated that they have received remittances from their daughter for a year since she started work in a bank. However, the daughter is only able to send 310 (approximately £110 in 2011 prices) lira every three months and this is not enough to meet their expenses. This household intends to move to the city in the future which can be considered as a typical approach taken by the poor households.

### **7.5.2 Migration**

Where agricultural intensification has been limited or employment opportunities absent the principal livelihood adaption can be migration in terms of temporary or permanent (Bebbington, 1999). Migration has long been an important livelihood strategy for people in the Southeast of Turkey. Whenever the population increased to such an extent that people could no longer secure a livelihood, they migrated elsewhere. Even today, both poor and better-off people pursue migration as a livelihood strategy. As in Halfeti, the extent to which labour migration exists is closely interlinked with accessibility to local and regional markets, and such access is generally better for middle or better-off households. The poorer households usually have less access to these services. If opportunities for generating cash income are limited, it is evident that more households will opt for labour or seasonal migration. Therefore, as a livelihood strategy, moving to another location, even on a temporary basis, is a means of diversifying income generation which in the poorer households case is “survival strategy” (Bebbington, 1999).

Household 29 is a good example of this strategy, as the head of the household has migrated. Before the resettlement, they worked as a family with the wife and older daughter working on the land every harvest season. They used to take their two children with them and looked after them in the field. However, following the relocation this activity ceased, because most of the agricultural land in the area was submerged. The household head then started to go to Sanliurfa for seasonal work on the cotton farms. When asked how he managed to obtain work, he indicated that his friend lives in a village in Sanliurfa and had made him aware of

the job. He used to go to Sanliurfa in May and return at the end of the season. He is currently working on construction sites where TOKI (Turkish Housing Committee) has been building in Halfeti. However, this is not a permanent job because the construction projects will soon be completed; workers are employed as and when required and they can soon find themselves unemployed again. He said that he spends a quarter of the month unemployed. The most important characteristic of this household is their expenditure pattern, which mainly involves food items. They tend to have a relatively large number of people of both productive and non-productive age within the household, but the composition is unbalanced. They practice very little in terms of social obligations and make use of local, informal social networks to solve livelihood problems. Their uncertain income means that they are always in debt. The household head stated:

“If there is no job, I have to ask for money from friends, I have an account in the market. I shop from him and he keeps the account for me. When I have money I pay my debt; sometimes I cannot pay my loan for months; I then cannot walk in front of the market because I am embarrassed. In this instance I even ask money from my wife” (Mr M)

### **7.5.3 Importance of social capital for poor households**

Social capital is particularly important for the poor, because for them social capital can be used as a substitute for other forms of capital, such as human and physical capital. According to Coleman (1990 in Motiur et al., 2009) all members of the community can benefit from social capital; those “who contribute to it, and those who do not”. Good social ties can provide people with better access to assets and a greater return from their assets.

Social capital among the poor in Halfeti is important, because in the absence of other forms of capital, social capital can give poor households better access to assets. Among the poorer households, trust in relatives and friends binds people together. It is particularly important for these people because they are cash poor and they have to rely on their neighbours and families for help.

Coming back to the argument, people who do not have the freedom to make choices might need a social support network to sustain their livelihoods. Household 27 indicated that they have good relationships with their neighbours and they help them when they are in need. Mr D told me that their neighbour always helps them; gives old clothes and school uniforms to their daughter, items which they would otherwise have been unable to afford. He told me;

“Household 3 gives us meat in the bayram (the religious festival) and we always get the biggest amount because we are closer and I used to work for them a lot in the old town. They know we are in need. Last year they gave us their daughter’s old coat, I could not afford it otherwise. My daughter helps them with their housework sometimes, because they are elderly” (Household 27)

I was also told that they help each other by lending money, to meet the basic needs of the poor people. Household 27 told me that;

“I borrowed 500 lira from my uncle and have not returned it for 2 years, because I have not earned the money yet. He never puts pressure on me; I can pay him back whenever I want, but I will have to pay it back; if not he would not lend again and I always need cash, because here there is no job for me and my family”.

It is clear from household 27 that, poor people rely on their social relationships, to seek financial capital. In Halfeti, especially for the poor families, choices are limited and they do not have the freedom not to work or the capability to increase their resources. They also do not have access to any formal Institutions, such as banks, to borrow money. They have to survive and therefore for these people, friends and relatives can be their first port of call for urgent needs.

## **7.6 Livelihood strategies in Halfeti through an IRR lens**

The previous section discussed the livelihood strategies that people in Halfeti adopted post relocation. This section discusses those findings through the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model, and analyses how the building of the dam has affected these different groups of households in the light of impoverishment risks. The aim is to provide a complete picture of impoverishment risks and livelihood reconstruction in Halfeti. IRR is a theoretical model for involuntary resettlement that highlights the fundamental risks that cause impoverishment through displacement, as well as the ways in which these risks can be mitigated (Chapter 2). The IRR model deconstructs displacement into its principal components: “landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation” (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). As argued in chapter 2, exploring IRR is important, but this may not be sufficient by itself, as it may not provide an accurate picture and may struggle to explore the real capacities of resettlers in terms of their livelihood choices. However, exploring why the households are at risk of impoverishment is an essential part of this research, as outlined in the remainder of this Chapter.

### **7.6.1 Landlessness**

Landlessness is the first of eight risks outlined in Cernea’s IRR model. Landlessness occurs, during involuntary resettlement, ‘when land is fully, or partially, expropriated and the government or related agency fails to provide an equivalent to the land which has been submerged’. It is known that rural communities depend on land to farm and to maintain their livelihoods (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Chapter 4 described in detail the resettlement stagey that Halfeti pursued and where people either lost their land or were no longer able to access it. In Halfeti, landlessness and joblessness can be considered as interrelated risks, because Cernea and McDowell (2000) suggests that, unless people’s land-based productive systems are reconstructed elsewhere, or replaced with stable income-generating employment, landlessness becomes established and the affected families become impoverished.

In Halfeti a land based productive system had not developed. People do not become landless just because there is no land, there may be other reasons which Cernea (2000) did not mention in his IRR model and these include people's ability to access to land. Land may be replaced using an intervention such as land-based resettlement (Cernea and McDowell 2000). In Halfeti land based resettlement would be beneficial in particular to the landless people. However when this is not the case there is need to create income generating opportunities for the resettlers. When these did not happen people in Halfeti became impoverished for the following reasons:

- i) The better-off families who were originally farmers, and had more financial capital than the rest of the town, did not tend to invest in land for reasons such as their more advanced age, or the absence of family labour where family members had already moved to the town. These households chose not to invest in natural capital and therefore became landless.
- ii) Some families who still had cultivable land after the inundation now have difficulty gaining access to their land. These access difficulties have had an adverse impact on production and, as a result, their ability to generate income from their land has decreased. Therefore they seek other opportunities to generate income, such as through self-employment or salaried employment.
- iii) Poorer households who were already landless but worked in agriculture, but who might have had a chance to invest in land or natural capital in the future through saving up, or through kinship networks, have now lost this opportunity, as agricultural activity in the region has ceased. These people are only skilled in agricultural work and have lost their main means of income generation.

As outlined above resettlers in Halfeti participated in government resettlement programme that does not offer any land. However it is government's responsibility to provide a job or related income generating activity where land-based employment has been lost. It seems like the suggested 'land to land' resettlement (Chapter 4) was not the case for resettlers in Halfeti. Thus people became landless.

### **7.6.2 Joblessness**

Joblessness refers to the loss of salaried employment. Creating new jobs is difficult and often requires substantial investment. Unemployment or underemployment amongst resettlers often endures long after physical relocation has been completed. People who used to be employed may lose their jobs as a result of relocation and it is argued that problem resolution depends primarily on resolving land and employment issues (Cernea and McDowell 2000).

Cernea and McDowell (2000) emphasises that the move from joblessness to re-employment is a critical issue. There may be opportunities for job creation and it is important to ensure that people have access to these job opportunities. Some employment opportunities outside agriculture have developed in Halfeti; there are, for example, jobs in the shops and cafes that have opened since the resettlement. Resettlers with financial and social capital have invested in small enterprises. However, poor people have less access to human capital than the middle well-being or better-off households. Therefore, these people are usually obliged to work in environments where fewer skills are required. In other words, the capability of poor households to manage their labour assets and take advantage of opportunities for economic activity in the town has diminished since resettlement. This is because poor households tend to have lower levels of education and poorer health and this reduces the opportunities for these people to combine these with other assets to make a living.

Although evidence concerning the relevance of educational level to farm incomes varies (Rodriguez and Smith, 1994 in Rakodi 2000), the poor are excluded from well-paid wage earning or profitable self-employment opportunities in non-farm sectors through their low level of education and lack of skills. Therefore, in Halfeti poorer households respond to unemployment by taking up low-paid employment activities, which are generally temporary. Households may also respond to economic stress by resorting to low-return subsistence activities, or by increasing their income by working longer hours (Rakodi, 2002), which then lower their ability to engage in social activities. In Halfeti middle well-being households work longer hours to adapt these types of strategies for a response to joblessness



On the other hand, better-off households are more likely to have jobs or investments outside the town in terms of property or other assets. Therefore they do not need to diversify their livelihood strategies in terms of business capital.

Middle income households and poorer households generally find local work or employment. This can be in the form of self-employment in micro enterprises, although this is still risky, because it cannot be assumed that the jobs obtained by this category of household are secure. However, to ensure a valid and sustainable contribution to the restoration and development of livelihoods, employment needs to be on-going and reliable (McDonald, 2006). Unfortunately employment in the local area seems to be short-term and insecure (Chapter 8).

The way in which people manage their labour and the sustainability of these activities can be further studied as the household dynamic changes, for example when children finish school or the older members of the households retire. Joblessness is shown to have a significant effect on the poorer and middle income households in terms of the different assets they have and are able to sustain. As Sen (1988) suggests, their endowments cannot be turned into a job opportunity. Therefore, poor and medium well-being households in the study area can be considered either as jobless or more likely to become jobless in the future.

Joblessness is directly related to the resettlement strategies in Halfeti. Unemployment was not an issue prior to resettlement, as people had land, and landless people had opportunities to work on these lands. The government resettlement package in Halfeti does not provide the landless with any compensation and so they became more vulnerable to poverty as their income generating activities are suddenly reduced. To be able to find a job in the new town requires some level of skills. Poorer households that lack skills are affected the most. Thus, their livelihood options have narrowed following resettlement. Government resettlement packages should focus on creating opportunities as a priority. Not only compensation but sustainable job creation for these resettlers is fundamental.

### 7.6.3 Homelessness

The third risk within the IRR framework is homelessness, defined as the “loss of house-plots, dwellings and shelter.” For many people homelessness may be only temporary, but if the resettlement is poorly executed, it can remain chronic. (Downing, 2002a; Downing, 2002b)

The definition of who is ‘homeless’ is not straightforward especially in Halfeti. Is it simply the question of being without a place in which to live? Is it the lack of a house or absence of shelter? Does it refer to people living on the street? Or is it also about the standard of housing and living conditions, socially and economically. The United Nations defines a ‘homeless’ person ‘not only as someone without a domicile who lives on the street or in a shelter, but equally be without access to shelter meeting the basic criteria considered essential for health and human social development’ (UNCHS, 1996).

In this study homelessness is defined as the lack of access of the resettlers to rebuild or repair their houses. Cernea and McDowell 2000 emphasises the importance of the move away from homelessness through house reconstruction. It is very important for the resettlers to have a ‘place to live’. The condition of these houses, the capability of the resettlers to repair them and their suitability as a place to live is an important consideration and highly related to the resettlement.

In Halfeti all of the resettlers have been provided with a replacement dwelling either to the landless or to the people who have immovable assets. Therefore it is not the lack of a house to live in that has caused homelessness. Rather, homelessness has occurred as a result of the poor condition of the houses provided by the government. People with better access to financial capital, such as households who received compensations, or were able to borrow money have been able to get their houses repaired. However, those who did not have similar access to financial capital had to wait for some time for their houses to be repaired. Poorer people seem to prioritise foodstuffs when identifying priorities for expenditure and, house repairs were their lowest priority; however, the better-off households were able to furnish and

renovate their houses. Therefore it can be said that homelessness is an impoverishment risk in Halfeti caused by resettlement. Poorer people when they could easily produce food in their previous dwellings, could no longer do so after the resettlement.

However, in line with Sen (1988 in Robeyns 2005), it is important to note that those who are not poor were able to improve their houses beyond the level of their basic function as a dwelling, through the purchase of luxury furniture and other facilities to provide them with higher standards of comfort. Poorer people are only able to achieve the “basic function of housing” because they prioritise their expenditure on other resources such as food or clothing (Robeyns, 2005).

Homelessness is also directly related to the resettlement. In the resettlement package, the affected people are provided with a house but their needs and expectations from a dwelling were not considered. Thus most of the households were unhappy with their dwellings. Prior to the resettlement this was not the case because the houses were suitable for their current livelihood strategies.

#### **7.6.4 Marginalisation/social disarticulation**

Marginalisation is the fourth risk of impoverishment identified in Cernea’s IRR model. According to Cernea and McDowell (2000), marginalisation occurs when families spiral on a ‘downward mobility path’ in response to economic power’ (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Of all of the risks outlined in Cernea’s IRR model, marginalisation is the most complex. It includes both ‘socio-economic and psychological marginalisation, issues of decapitalisation, powerlessness, psychological vulnerability and discrimination, recognition of social capital and political association’ (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). Breakdown in the social community in Halfeti seems to have occurred because of an economic crisis where most people are working or families have become separated when family members migrate to the cities in search of work or to develop new skills (Moser, 1996; Cernea and McDowell 2000).

Previous sections explored the income-generating activities and employment patterns of the different household categories. It is argued that medium and poorer households allocate more time and energy to employment activities in order to sustain their livelihoods. The resulting lack of free time prevents them from establishing or maintaining their social networks or from earning additional income outside the town.

In this study social disarticulation is the lack of access to social networks. Poor households' lack of access to any type of transport can also lead to a breakdown in social networks. People who have access to cars, bicycles or any other form of transport are able to visit their friends in the old town and this gives them mobility. The lack of access to this type of physical capital limits the ability of poorer households to maintain social contact and as a result their social networks are weakened. (Robeyns, 2005) argues similarly that having access to physical capital enables a higher level of functioning for better-off households, as illustrated in an example by Sen (1988) "who talks about the bike that enables the functioning to be mobile, to move oneself freely and more rapidly than walking by foot" (Sen 1988; Robeyns 2005).

#### **7.6.5 Food insecurity**

The fifth risk in Cernea's IRR model is food insecurity, defined as "calorie protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work" (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Food insecurity can be either temporary or chronic, and is both endemic and the result of inadequate resettlement (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Cernea argues that:

"Food insecurity and undernourishment are both symptoms and results of inadequate resettlement. During physical relocation, sudden drops in food crop availability and incomes are predictable." (Cernea, and McDowell 2000)

In Halfeti food insecurity has occurred due to the loss of access to land and livestock and the lack of access to available employment opportunities. People are food insecure but this does not mean there is not enough food. When they lost their homes, poorer people lost their gardens and backyards where they used to grow food. In addition, the loss of livestock affected poor people in terms of the daily availability of dairy products. Lack of access to

employment in the town meant that they were unable to generate sufficient income to buy the full range of food and vegetables that they needed for adequate nutrition. Therefore, they remain food insecure until such time as they have achieved a stable income or can gain access to the type of work for which they have the relevant skills, for instance agriculture. Better-off people are more food secure as their family size tends to be smaller and they have financial assets which provide them with better purchasing power. Some people still try to produce food such as they bake breads in the gardens, however it is to a certain extent. The poorer people have no choice but to facilitate bread making in their backyards, better off families simply purchase these.

## **7.7 Conclusion/synthesis**

This Chapter analysed the livelihood strategies of the households in Halfeti post resettlement. Assessing livelihood strategies is important when analysing cases of involuntary resettlement, because the SL framework suggests that by examining livelihood strategies, tactics can be identified that could potentially improve the livelihoods of the poor. Furthermore, assessing how resettlers adapt their livelihoods can facilitate adjustment to their altered environment and livelihood reconstruction. How they make changes to their lives can also be better understood by exploring their livelihood strategies. In addition, assessing the range and combination of activities that resettlers pursue after the relocation is significantly important in demonstrating their capabilities.

It is seen that three different livelihood strategies adopted from different households to rebuild their lives. These are livelihood diversification, income management and migration. When combining the IRR and Sustainable Livelihoods framework, it is possible to determine Cernea's impoverishment risks and reconstruction model (IRR) in Halfeti and analyse these risks in terms of people's capability and freedom to escape or avoid these risks in order to understand their vulnerability (Sen, 1988).

The livelihood strategies of the seven better-off households in the sample appear not to be as diverse as the other household categories. They tend to invest in property in the city, where they generate monthly income through rental payments. It seems that better-off households have good social connections, which were helpful during resettlement as they sought help from their family or friends to settle down to their new environment. It is also observed that there is a trend amongst better-off households to use compensation monies to purchase luxury products. Better-off households seem to use their financial capital to invest in physical capital. The majority also invested part of their compensation in their children's education, either in the city or abroad. Most have at least one family member who has migrated to the city in search of better opportunities. These households can be categorised as mature in age and small in size. As in the better-off households there is a strong correlation between land ownership (in terms of property) and welfare. In terms of the strategies adopted by the better off households, it can be said that better off households have the freedom to choose their strategies and not work if they do not choose to do so. This can be attributed to the resettlement because this has provided the capital and opportunities necessary to extend their choices beyond those previously available to them.

Despite the majority of middle income households having been farmers who used to generate income through a combination of traditional farming, agriculture-related activities and non-farm activities, the most dynamic growth observed in Halfeti was centred on non-traditional, commercial and service-sector activities due to the unavailability of the productive land. Human assets are particularly important for those households that are not involved in farming and which, in most cases, generate their income through regular salaried employment. Whilst only practiced by a few individuals in each case, the establishment of retail shops and restaurants over the past two to three years is a product of reasonable economic stability, and hence the ability of some to invest in small-scale enterprise and of others to pay for these services. Middle income households have higher numbers of household members and diversify more. It is usually the younger family members, who work in salaried or waged employment. Three households still cultivate their land. However they do so as a secondary form of income. Households usually adopt a strategy of income pooling. On the other hand, some middle income households function well with a single income, if it is based on a secure, regular and well-paid job. Therefore, conclusions regarding vulnerability must be made with

care, because whilst some households may diversify their income and employment activities, others may have a stable income and do not need to seek additional economic support (Steimann, 2005).

In terms of middle-income families, formal employment was probably not much affected by the resettlement and most self-employment activities were service-related and therefore not highly capital intensive. Commercial activities would have suffered beyond the short term had overall income decreased. It is observed that younger people are active in the workforce. Currently a particular type of asset flow is observed in these households in terms of switching employment, or income pooling to meet the needs of other household members. This would appear to be a good strategy as it provides multiple ways in which to contribute to household income. Yet we should look at the results after 10 years and monitor the poorer households' situations when their children have been educated and the better-off households after they have grown older. In addition, it may be beneficial to have a secondary source of income or to have all household members in employment, but long working hours and the lack of opportunity for social activities may be a problem in terms of stress or the impact it has on social relationships (Steimann, 2005).

Compared to the better-off households, middle-income households exhibit both similarities and a significant difference. The two household categories are similar in that they both have the capability to diversify their incomes; however middle-income households, unlike those who are better-off, do not have the freedom to choose simply not to work. In fact, in order to achieve better livelihood outcomes, most of the members of these households are in work. These households diversify their livelihoods because they have the capacity to diversify; they either have financial capital, skills or perhaps the capability to combine their assets to diversify their livelihoods and achieve better outcomes.

On the other hand, the main findings of the study revealed that the poorest households were, daily wage earners, casual labourers in the case of seasonal migrants, and households without regular remittances. Poorer households were not diversified; only four of these households

had more than two jobs in the overall 16 from the sample. Their limited production assets make it difficult for them to improve their socioeconomic situation. Their ownership of goods is extremely limited (e.g. to a TV, in household 27). Household furniture is simple; instead of tables and chairs, they eat sitting on the floor. Poorer households seem to borrow money in times of need. If a loan is not possible they have accounts in the supermarket, where they can supply their basic needs until they can generate income.

The poorest groups were seasonal agricultural workers, local income earners, and those combining these two activities with irregular remittances. Households that concentrate more on farming income and labour migration tend to pay significantly less attention to education like poor household. Following resettlement there seems to be a transition from agricultural work to wage-earning employment. This looks like a good opportunity comes with the resettlement. However the transition from agricultural workers to income earners may be insufficient for this category of household to escape poverty. Although finding a full-time job in the non-farming sector would appear to be an unsuccessful strategy for these poor households to escape poverty, such strategies appear to be accessible mainly to educated people. On the other hand, agricultural migration appears to be a common livelihood strategy for poorer people and this requires no formal education, although literacy and education do seem to facilitate the process. Agricultural employment is not sufficient to lift people out of poverty and has had only a very limited impact on the choice of livelihood strategy. The existence of livelihood strategies with different welfare levels seems to suggest that the group of households trapped in poverty were those who were only able to engage in low-return activities and were therefore limited in their capacity to generate income and accumulate assets. Poor people in Halfeti have less freedom to take up options as they arise, and consistently achieve low returns to whatever few assets they have. In addition, unlike the middle income or better off households, poorer households have no freedom to make any choices, because of their lack of skills or poor health, which deprives them access to certain assets and affects their livelihoods, thus they are vulnerable. Resettlement seems to effect this group of people negatively as they are less likely to adapt to their new environment due to these lack of assets.



By linking the three frameworks of IRR, SRL and Sen's Capabilities Framework, this Chapter explored three different household groups in terms of their functioning after the relocation. It is observed that the better-off households have made a choice not to work, because they have access to assets and therefore they have the freedom to make such choices, the compensation monies that they receive due to the resettlement allow them to make these choices. On the other, hand middle-income households cannot make this choice, but at least they have the capability to diversify. After the resettlement there have been local job opportunities in the town. Middle well-being households seem to take these opportunities as they are more suitable in terms of skills and education. However, poorer households have no choice and can only work in temporary low-waged enterprises, which do not allow them to make any livelihood choices in terms of diversification or investment in long term plans. Due to the resettlement package choices by these households they are not compensated and not provided with a job in the new town. Poorer households lack capabilities and this restricts their freedom in terms of decision making. It is these freedoms that enable us to categorise our household groups as better-off, middle-income and poorer households. Therefore, it can be said that the building of the dam has had different impacts on different households. Whereas better-off households are more resilient to vulnerability, poorer households were observed to be more vulnerable to poverty, because they have fewer assets and lack the capability to combine these assets to make a sustainable living.

People seem to adopt strategies to cope with the changed environment. However the lack of housing, made poorer groups in particular homeless as the income is insufficient to get their houses repaired. In addition the land to land strategy did not seem to affect these resettlers as they were not provided with a piece of land. In particular poorer households seem to become more vulnerable as the land is their major source of food production. The government resettlement package offering a dwelling in the new settlement is questionable as the quality of the houses is too poor. Also the resettlement package does not create new employment opportunities and thus people became jobless.

This Chapter analysed the different affected households in Halfeti, post resettlement and discussed the way in which they strategize. The next Chapter will focus on intra household relationships and analyse the change in relationships between men and women after the dam was built. What is the gendered nature of resettlement? How decisions are made within the households? And who made the decision? How are resources distributed? What choices do men and women have in the household after resettlement? The next Chapter will answer these questions through the lens of the cooperative conflict framework to household bargaining.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **GENDERED NATURE OF RESETTLEMENT**

#### **8.0 Introduction**

Chapter 7 analysed the capabilities of resettled households to turn their assets into livelihood strategies. Whereas better-off households were able to choose their livelihood strategy, and generally preferred to utilise their financial capital to make a living, middle-income families faced a more restricted choice. Such households were, however, shown to have diversified to a greater extent, with a number of family members in employment and contributing to household income. Poorer households had no freedom to make choices, because of their lack of skills or poor health, which deprived them of access to certain assets and affected their livelihoods, (although they may have been able to generate income through temporary jobs or seasonal migration).

This Chapter examines intra-household relationships in Halfeti after resettlement and will discuss how and why resettlement has changed the dynamics of these relationships. The Chapter is divided into two parts. The first part outlines the framework adopted for the analysis of intra-household relationships in Halfeti, focusing on Sen's (1990) cooperative conflict framework. The second part of the Chapter presents a number of case studies and uses the cooperative conflict framework to illustrate how resettlement has changed intra-household relationships in Halfeti, and affected the households both individually and collectively.

#### **8.1 Economic models of decision-making**

If asked to investigate intra-household decision-making, some economists would use data on the household to model past decisions with a view to better understanding the factors, which have influenced them, and to provide some means of predicting future decisions. Such approaches are grounded in economic theories of rational choice and base their analyses on the household as a unit, but do not consider its members as individuals who have their own unique preferences (Kabeer, 2000; Seebens, 2010). These analyses are often based on two simplifying assumptions (Kabeer, 2000). One is that household decisions are made by a

single decision maker acting as a ‘benevolent dictator’ who manages the household and acts in the best interests of its members. The second assumption is that all household members will have more or less homogenous preferences and that any individual tastes and preferences are treated as exogenous to the choice decision (Kabeer, 2000; Kabeer, 2003a). As well as ignoring the individual preferences of household members, these assumptions also ignore the possibility of collective decision-making that takes account of individual preferences and is based on a process of bargaining.

While such approaches may yield useful information on both the endogenous and the exogenous factors influencing household decisions, and offer a useful tool for predicting future behaviour, they do not provide a sufficiently rich framework for analysis to enable them to address the main objectives of this study. In particular, they would not permit the necessary examination of how resettlement changes individual relationships and decision making power within the household, or how such changes can affect the lives of women. As an alternative a more qualitative approach to investigating intra-household decision-making was explored.

## **8.2 Bargaining frameworks and intra-household relationships**

Feminist theories place emphasis on the idea that “people have choices and the decisions made by the households are done by individuals in search for their own well-being and they are dependent on their social environment and personal well-being” (Addabbo et al., 2010; Kabeer, 2003b; Kabeer, 2000; Kabeer, 1994). In fact, this in turn, illustrate household behaviour that emphasises the importance of bargaining models. (Addabbo et al., 2010). Bargaining models represent a departure from ‘unitary models’, but consider households more as groups of different individuals with different preferences and different levels of power (Chiappori 1988; Bourguing and Chiuri 2005 in Addabbo et al., 2010). The bargaining approach to intra-household relationships assumes that household members may have different interests and preferences and, to some extent, they try to pursue their own interests. It is argued that household allocations should be ‘Pareto efficient’, which means that “by reallocating resources no household member’s welfare can be improved without lowering the welfare of others” (Seebens, 2010).

The bargaining approach can be briefly outlined as follows. In terms of their household arrangements, individual household members will cooperate to the extent to which cooperative arrangements will benefit them over non-cooperative arrangements. In order to improve their position (i.e. win) they have to cooperate. A problem will arise if more than one possible cooperative solution exists, and when each of these solutions is better for one or other of the parties than non-cooperation (Sen, 1990, Chant 2010). Although there may be more than one cooperative solution that is better than non-cooperation at all, they may not, of course, be equally beneficial for both parties. When more than one possible cooperative solution exists, and when each of these solutions is better for both parties than the 'breakdown position', then both parties must consider bargaining. According to Chant, (2010) intra-household welfare can be affected by improving or strengthening the breakdown position or fall-back position that underpins the 'bargaining' of the households highlighted by (Katz, 1997).

### **8.2.1 Institutional approach to household bargaining**

The institutional approach can be used to consider bargaining models. As mentioned previously, a major problem with earlier economic approaches was their failure to incorporate an appreciation of intra-household relationships, as well as the 'social-embeddedness' of the household within the wider social context. Households often comprise family members, and thus they have a level of social relationship, which differs from most of the relationship types found within the wider society.

Institutional approaches which take into account these types of relationship in their analysis have been used to locate household decision-making within a sociological framework (Kabeer, 2003a). Institutional approaches are concerned with behaviour "which characterises a particular context or contexts, rather than with variations in this behaviour at the household level" (Kabeer, 2003a). Institutional approaches take into account the uncertainties, and its impact on the institutions, which are governed by rules and norms, as a means of predicting the different levels of decision-making contexts in different environments.

The institutional approach is important here, because it is advantageous in analysing the characteristics of household relationships. A mixture of interests and emotions are observed in household behaviour. Household members are often related to each other, either as blood relatives or through marriage, and they may have known each other for much of their lives. Ideally, they should trust each other more than they would trust people with whom they are less familiar. Nevertheless, even taking this closeness into account, household behaviour is difficult to capture. The behaviour of household members is based on their loyalty and obligations to each other, which are bounded by social norms and rules (Kabeer, 2000).

In this study, an institutional approach has been used to analyse power relationships between family members. Institutions are rooted in power structures and are concerned with the formation and value of routines and norms. The institutional approach therefore represents the best means to examine power and power relationships within households in Halfeti. These include gender and age relationships, and their links to potential gender inequalities (Oughton et al., 1997).

The institutional approach engages with the household unit, rather than just individuals. Households comprise different individuals with different interests and aspirations, and different age and gender characteristics. The approach is concerned with examining the development of economic values, and beliefs within the household. These values and beliefs can be inherited and then passed on to subsequent generations (Mariussen and Wheelock, 1997). In Halfeti there have been changes to norms, gender relationships, economic and social values. Therefore, by looking at households as institutions, we can evaluate the changed intra-household behaviour of the household as a whole, following the relocation.

There are further important details to be considered when analysing intra-household relationships. ‘What lies behind the preferences’ Sen 1990 in Peter 2003) - we not only consider the preferences that people have but also the reasons for those preferences. When analysing households it is argued that people’s perceptions of themselves are important because they can fail to recognise the basic foundations of social relationships and the diverse conditions for women and men (Sen in Peter 2003). Sen (1990) illustrates this with the

example of an Indian woman who may not have a clear perception of her own self-interest, because she may believe that her self-interest is to achieve well-being for her family; under this assumption she therefore attaches less value to her own personal well-being than to the well-being of others within the household (Eder, 2006). In other words, (Sen, 1990) argues that an exclusive focus on individual interest, misses crucial aspects of the nature of special power dynamics and gender divisions, both within and outside the household. There is also a need to recognise social norms and perceptions which actually determine bargaining power (Agarwal, 1997). Seiz (1995) also highlights that, in reality, people's actions may not be based on a clear understanding of their own individual welfare (Seiz, 1995).

### **8.3 Cooperative Conflict**

Sen's Gender and Cooperative model (1990) builds on the concept and model of bargaining problems, as first developed by Nash (1950). Sen's (1990) 'cooperative conflict model' incorporates factors that are not considered by standard bargaining models (Addabbo et al., 2010).

Early models of household bargaining conceptualised bargaining power in terms of the economic resources that individual members could fall back on, should cooperation break down: i.e. their wages in the labour market or resources that they might have inherited. Within Sen's framework, however, norms and attitudes are important. Thus, it is the way in which the contributions of different household members are perceived and valued, as well as their sense of self-worth, that would allow a member to put pressure on, or not put pressure on, the decision-making outcomes in their own interests (Sen, 1990).

According to Sen (1990) a person who has less bargaining power is more altruistic within the family. This leads to the discussion "Women may be, on average, more altruistic than men because they have a less 'separative self'" (England and Kilbourne, 1990), or "mothers may simply have more love and affection for children than do fathers" (Fuchs 1988 in Folbre 1997). In this case, preferences play an important role – a mother can reassure that her daughter to be less altruistic than she is.

In addition, Sen's (1990) bargaining approach has an advantage over other models, because it includes more structure and agency factors, (Seiz, 1995) which other models lack. Sen suggests that without taking into account an individual's aims and objectives, obligations etc., we cannot understand that individual's agency. These are socially embedded (Sen, 1985 in Peter 2003). Taking agency seriously as one of the main features of the individual also strengthens the role of freedom "what the person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important" (Sen, 1985: 203).

As Jackson (1988) pointed out, Sen's model is advantageous because it presents the gender bias in terms of social context. She says:

...."since the reality of divorce for men and women is differentiated in legal, cultural and economic ways - in the loss of rights of children, loss of access to land, loss of social respectability and so on - to exit from a marriage is more costly for women than men in most cultures; a fact which weakens them in intra-household bargaining power "over for example, division of labour, consumption rights, and freedom of movement and freedom from domestic violence" (Jackson, 1998).

A woman can have responsibilities and important tasks in the household, but her perceived contribution might be undermined, where market labour could be seen as more important. Such issues can further weaken the position of women, by undermining the importance of domestic labour which is just as important as the market labour (Jackson, 1998). However, highlighting the importance of what a person can actually do and achieve is more important than the actual contribution.

Finally, the cooperative-conflict model of bargaining suggests how capabilities are, or are not, converted into functioning. An individual can only function if they are able to achieve a personal goal. Looking back at the previous sections on agency, a person with agency can function. The cooperative conflict model suggests that women may potentially face some inequalities: for example, a woman may face physical violence, despite being an agent who is



able to function in her daily life; her work may be undervalued or her breakdown position may be limited. This is not to imply that women are inevitably weak and victimised, simply that they may not be able to convert their assets into functioning (Jackson, 1998). As will be illustrated in this study, women can acquire skills (e.g. from training courses), but if they cannot benefit from them, for example, due to the absence of a market, family constraints, or a lack of time, they are not agents with the capability to turn their skills into income. Without sufficient income, their negotiating powers with their husbands can be reduced. The objective of this Chapter is to highlight the active role of women's agency in bringing about social change, as well the effects of the institutional environment resulting from the resettlement

As mentioned previously Sen's emphasis on self-perception has proved to be of value; and finally, Agarwal adds a further dimension to Sen's model of 'cooperative conflict' and argues that women's overt compliance with social norms does not necessarily mean that they have accepted the legitimacy of intra-household inequality' - it may simply signify their lack of choice. (Agarwal, 1997) places much greater emphasis on incorrect perceptions of women's self-interest and argues that there are external constraints to them acting overtly in their own self-interest (Agarwal 1997). This also accords with the concept of extra environmental parameters (EEP), which McElroy suggests may have an influence on weakening or strengthening women's bargaining power, or perhaps affects their perceptions. In this case the idea of the perceived contribution of household members is important because it can allow us to recognise gender ideologies that can underestimate women's work, in the eyes of both men and women.

### **8.3 Using bargaining frameworks in Halfeti**

An important dimension in Halfeti since the resettlement, as mentioned in the previous Chapters, is the extensive involvement of women and young girls in independent income-generating activities. Taking the household as a point of departure, economic restructuring can be described by looking at changes in the internal division of labour and the relationship between agricultural, wage-earning and domestic work. There are as a result changes to the tasks between family members in terms of income-generating activities and the different divisions of labour.

As a result of the resettlement, both women and men have left agriculture. With the loss of livestock, some women lost or reduced their role in income generation. In other families, young women in particular began to participate in waged labour and were able to contribute to household incomes. Some men still migrate to other agricultural villages on a seasonal basis, but women stay in Halfeti and work in the market sector, either permanently or temporarily, to generate income. It is usual amongst the younger middle-aged households for the women to work in the waged employment sector. Young women, in particular, now work in the shops or markets; even in the post office or in schools. These young girls now influence family decisions, particularly those relating to the daily social lives of their mothers. They are now able to manage their family homes, and even decide on their own marriages.

This change in their livelihoods, in turn, affects their intra-household relationships. The frameworks presented at the beginning of the Chapter are useful for analysing the environment post resettlement. As already stated, some relevant key themes have emerged since the construction of the dam and these explicitly relate to the intra-household relationships in Halfeti. For instance, Sen (1990) and (Agarwal, 1997), suggested including social norms and social perceptions in the analysis of women's bargaining position. In addition, it is essential to consider the perceived interest response, which is likely to affect the position of women within the household. In terms of intra-household relationships, in line with Sen's cooperative conflict model, it is necessary to consider the factors affecting the women's breakdown position and some of the factors affected by their bargaining power. As stated, these include women's wages and their perceived contribution, women's access to education, the dimensions of choice and perceived interest and the responses of the resettled women. To examine the key themes highlighted from the theoretical perspective, it is the intention of this Chapter, as well as one of the objectives of this research, to explain the intra-household power relationships and how these might have changed as a result of the resettlement.

The rules, norms and habits within the households, that in turn affect the whole community, cannot be measured in economic terms; thus an institutional approach would be an essential model with which to discuss the case studies as well as to frame the analysis. In addition, it would enable an assessment to be made of the mix of interests and emotions within the household. Power relationships, i.e. who has power in the household and why, is essential to the analysis and this is possible with an institutional approach. It is also possible to use bargaining frameworks to assess the self-confidence of resettled, working or unemployed women, their fallback positions and their capacity to impact on their families, based on the case study. By taking a cooperative conflict approach it is possible to see what actually lies behind women's preferences. With the help of the case study, this Chapter will clarify why the women behave in particular ways.

Different women seem to have been affected differently by the building of the dam in Halfeti. This Chapter examines the intra-household relationships of these different women, although not all of the women hold the same position within their respective households. It is more than likely that the younger women, who perhaps have access to their own income, hold a stronger bargaining position; whereas elderly women who have invested in their children's future might have a different position in the household. In addition, the position and perceptions of poorer women may differ to those in some of the better-off households. Women with children to support could have a stronger fall-back position within their households. Thus, all these relationships affect, or are affected by, women's bargaining power in the household. To achieve this, case studies for some households will be presented to highlight the resulting transformations, and any resulting changes to the bargaining powers of household members. Whether or not these changes are solely the result of resettlement will also be discussed within the case studies. In addition to the economic and social changes, people's perceptions of their well-being and functioning will also be highlighted. To describe the impacts and any associated re-negotiation of roles, tasks and responsibilities within households, particular case studies have been selected (section 8.5-8.11). These case studies were selected because they illustrate whether or not the resettlement has made any difference to the women's lives. In addition, it is our intention to explore the women's choices and solutions, based on their changed environment due to the resettlement. These case studies illustrate the various ways in which resettlement affects households. Some are illustrations of

the positive effect of resettlement for some households; some illustrate the false perceptions and contradictions of some household members due to the transformation.

#### **8.4 Case study 1 Dimensions of education in terms of bargaining power**

Access to education is a highly important factor for well-being, because education allows people to own material goods and it also extends people's potential to choose the life they value in the long term (Praz, 2010). A certain level of education increases an individual's 'opportunity space' (Praz 2010) in other domains and provides access to other levels of functioning, such as a better paid job, or greater social status, as well as its value in terms of consumption capital (Praz, 2010). Therefore, to be educated is generally accepted as an important component of well-being (Praz, 2010).

This case study aims to illustrate a young educated woman's relationship with her family members and her role in household decision-making. This household is an interesting case because they are one of the families that have experienced massive changes, due to the building of the dam, both in terms of their occupation and the organisation of their household. This household fell into the category of middle well-being. Mr A, who used to be the head of the household and a subsistence farmer in the old town, is 67 years old and a primary school graduate. His wife, Mrs G, is a housewife and is 69 years old. They used to cultivate their own land, which they inherited from Mr A's father, before the resettlement. Mrs G also had livestock. She used to sell produce from the livestock or give it to family and friends. After the resettlement, they sold their livestock as they moved to a new location where they were not permitted to keep animals. They were entitled to a house, but their access to their land was blocked and production deteriorated. There were some jobs available in the new town, but neither Mr A, nor Mrs G, has the necessary skills to obtain any of the jobs on offer. Mr A's brother has sent them regular payments from Belgium to help with their household expenses, but I was told that the money was limited. However, in the new town their daughters are active in the workforce. Together they earn around 1200 liras (£500 in 2011) and contribute to the household income. Miss O, the eldest daughter, is a good example for this Chapter as she has strong bargaining power within the household. She is a university graduate and a part-time primary school teacher. Her job is not permanent, but she earns just

enough to meet both her own and some of her family's needs. She has a big dowry and she told me that she bought most of these items herself. She said that she is working, so she does not have time to make all of the things herself, but she buys them from another young girl in the town who also contributes to her family's budget by knitting or stitching some handmade products and then selling them. Whilst she obtained her university education she was the only family member living outside the household, but she returned home on completion of her studies and there are currently six people (three girls, two boys, and their parents) all living together as one household.

Education has always played an important part in Miss O's life. She said to me that her father even allowed her to stay in Diyarbakir, alone in a public dormitory, during her studies. She had been engaged to a young man from the nearby city, Gaziantep, who was also a university graduate. With her sister she was able to meet their brothers' education expenses and this year they were able to decide which school to send them to. Last year she managed to get the leaking roof on their house fixed, and household decisions or choices are generally made by her, because her father 'never interferes' (Miss O). Finally, she ended her relationship with her fiancé and this decision caused much contention within the household, as she was expected to marry, but she no longer wanted to.

Findings from this case study are relevant to studies conducted in other parts of the world, where in some of the households, especially in those where 'women have greater autonomy in making resource allocation decisions' (Sender, 2010). Having three household members in employment has implications for both the family and for the individuals themselves. In particular, educated, working daughters, gain bargaining power over household decisions and being employed and earning money provides considerable advantages in terms of decision making power. They seem to have freedom in terms of their household arrangements and decisions; earning income is more likely to help these young girls to achieve this freedom.

As Sen (1990) argues, the economic role of women improves their status within the family. Because they have their own money to spend, they have an even greater say in decisions

concerning household expenditure. External earning capacity can give women: i) a better breakdown position, ii) a clearer awareness of their individuality and their own well-being, and iii) a higher perceived contribution (Sen, 1990). (Friedemann-Sánchez, 2006) also made this argument regarding waged employment and the bargaining power of women, in several cases. These studies illustrate the connections between property ownership, social assets, waged income and self-perception - factors that provide individuals with different levels of bargaining power.

It is, nevertheless, important to evaluate this case in relation to the building of the dam. After the resettlement, as mentioned in the previous Chapters, primary and high schools were constructed in the town. This enabled many families to send their children to school. The minimisation of agricultural activities also increased school attendance. The level of education in the town, waged employment and the dam being built, are strongly interrelated. The new schools provided greater opportunities for the households to educate their children. The amount of compensation some households received was also a contributory factor in increasing access to education. In our specific case, Miss O was about to go to university and she was awarded a place in Diyarbakir. However, her family did not have sufficient money to send her to university, so she waited for two years and postponed her application until the compensation monies were received. She indicated that there were arguments about her studies and even her uncle rejected the idea of her going to study in another city, but in the end she was able to go.

If the family had not received any compensation she would not have had the chance to go to university. She told me she would be working on the farm, like her mother used to do, if she had not gone to university. Therefore, in this specific case, the building of the dam enabled the members of this family to attend school and find jobs, either in the public or private sector.

This household is a good example of a family that functions and works as team. In particular for Miss O, she has the skills and the capability to turn them into functioning (Sen, 1981).

However, an important point should be noted here: the sustainability of the household should not rely solely on current strategies. This household seems to have achieved a relatively successful level of functioning, but it lacks plans for the longer term. The division of labour within the household, according to age and gender, considerably affects these household plans. For instance, the girls from these households, who are currently working to generate income for the household, may well get married and move away.

There is therefore concern, not only with how the household can maintain its livelihood today, but also how it can sustain itself and develop in the future. In other words, has the resettlement had a temporary positive impact on this household or is this positive effect longer term? To answer this question it would be necessary to go back after another 10 years and re-evaluate this transformation.

The final point in relation to the effect of the resettlement on this household is the relationship between education and the labour market. When we emphasise the importance of education we should also consider its other dimensions. Even though families are enthusiastic about sending their children to school, suitable jobs must be available for this young, educated population if they are to remain in the town. At present, people who are well educated want to move out of the town as there are no appropriate jobs for them or, as many participants argued, because the education they attain does not always provide the skills required by potential employers (Chant 2010).

### **8.5 Case study 2 Dimensions of income generation - women in the labour market**

The previous case study illustrated that access to education can give some women a certain level of freedom. This case study illustrates the benefits of access to income generation for some women in terms of their position in the household, as well as their high 'perceived contribution'.

Mrs H is 45 years old and living with her husband and mother-in-law and her four children in Halfeti. She works in the municipality as a tea delivery woman. She has been working in the same place for the past four years, while her husband is a seasonal agricultural worker. He works on an irregular basis and usually only during the summer months. In winter, he finds some work in the nearby villages. Mrs H is responsible for the children and she says that she has the final say with regard to their children's problems. Her oldest daughter wanted to get married last year at the age of 17, but Mrs H did not let her. Mrs H is a good example of working women who earn an income and manage the house. Before the resettlement she was also a farmer, with her husband and father-in-law, and they used to work on someone else's farm for a daily wage, but her husband would keep the money and manage the household expenses. She said they used to earn more than they do now as a family, because there is not enough agricultural work, and her husband's jobs are only temporary as a result of the reduced demand for agricultural labour. Her husband has to go to Sanliurfa or Adana as a seasonal migrant and he returns at the end of the season with minimal earnings. She told me that they used to be better off, as she also had livestock and fruit and vegetables were much cheaper before, or often available free of charge from neighbours. When they relocated, their expenses increased and the adaptation process was painful. However, she was able to cope with the situation because she found a job through a family friend. She considers herself to be a working woman who can make household decisions and she told me that she is very independent. She is attending a hairdressing course and she is saving money to become a hairdresser in the future. She says she would run the hairdressing business with another woman and it would be their lifetime guarantee. Her husband supports her and she told me that he would not interfere with her decision about the training course, or her plans to open a hairdressing business. She told me her husband does very little and generally spends his days sitting in the cafe house with his friends and smoking tobacco.

This household is a good example of a 'survival household', as their income declined slightly after the resettlement. They sought to survive by living day to day, but could not save any money. However they have adapted to their new environment. Their household arrangements have changed as a result of a shift in terms of the daily tasks of the household members. Even though they are struggling to meet some of their needs, Mrs H is a confident woman who is aware of her capabilities within her household. This is apparent from the decisions she has made for herself and her family. She even has long-term future plans. She does not own any property or land, but her dream is to buy a property for her children.



Thus, women's participation in waged employment in the case of this particular household is both a means to, and the result of, 'capabilities enhancement' (Sen, 1990). Achievement denotes the freedom to function as one chooses. This result is in line with the studies conducted by Sargeson (2007) and MacPhail and Xiao-yuan (2007) in China, where they found a significant connection between women's well-being and their income-generation activity (MacPhail and Xiao-yuan, 2007; Sargeson, 2007). This occurs in several cases in Halfeti where it enhances the income generating capacity of some of the poor and middle income families (even though in some cases it is still irregular and low). It also enhances choice, and the fulfilment that these individuals gain in employment. Therefore they have strengthened their bargaining power since the resettlement. The new job opportunities can be attributed to the dam being built. However many cases as this it is just a way of doing things in the new town and part of changing opportunities in the region in which some residents benefit from. Thus, we can say that the household tasks and roles have changed following the resettlement; beforehand they perhaps had a higher income, but the money was pooled by the household head and the task of the women was to work in the fields, and do the housework, as well as caring for children and their fathers-in-law. The workload was greater for both men and women and the tasks were harder. Since the resettlement tasks have become easier for Mrs H, as she works during the day and does not need to take care of the children, as her mother-in-law is now responsible for this task.

However, it is difficult to say that her responsibilities have changed as a result of the resettlement, because her daughter is now old enough to take responsibility for childcare. It is therefore difficult to ascertain whether this change in Mrs H's circumstances is the result of the dam or not. In this household, Mrs H's situation and the way in which she undertakes some of the tasks tells us that wage income is an illustration of women's ability to act independently.

The level of education of children, in particular daughters, again in this case study, reflects the fact that they have a higher degree of control on their family's life. In a sense, regardless of their age, they are able to take part in the family decisions and influence their parents in

accordance with their future plans. This household is a good example of this argument, because Mrs H's eldest daughter, who is now attending high school with her two younger daughters, is always giving her advice and guidance about her decisions. Her husband still insists on wanting a son, but she says she is now working and does not want to risk her job for another child; and this might be due to her daughter's influence on her. This is important for Mrs H in the long term, because lower fertility rates enhance women's well-being, as this frees them from persistent childbearing and child-rearing (Sen, 1990). Women then have more time available to participate in political, social and economic roles, in addition to their role as mothers in the community (Arends-Kuenning and Amin, 2001).\_This might further strengthen her bargaining position in the future.

The cooperative-conflict model suggests the gendered conversion of capabilities, but also puts forward the possibility that in their everyday lives, women's work is devalued and they have limited exit options. With the support of their daughters, in Halfeti, mothers seem to have a stronger fallback position because the younger, and now educated, daughters have become their mother's 'wisdom teacher', as most women in Halfeti would indicate. In addition to this support, income generation also has the potential to strengthen their breakdown position and allow women to act more freely.

As highlighted earlier, Sen has further developed the bargaining framework in his cooperative conflict model of the household. He emphasises the importance of the individuals involved in the negotiating process (Sen, 1990). For example, change in the labour market, economy, or the 'domestic sphere' (Oughton et al., 1997) within which the household finds itself, will encompass re-negotiating the contribution and entitlements of the household members (Sen 1981 in Oughton et al., 1997). In our case study it is clear that there has been a re-negotiation in terms of the household tasks and those performing them. For example, the wife, and perhaps in the future her daughter, oversees household expenses and everyday tasks, yet this was not the case prior to resettlement. The husband's income is no longer the main source of income for the household and it is not permanent. The organisation of these tasks at the household level is linked to the relationship between the household members and the labour market (Oughton et al., 1997). This case is relevant, as some

household members participate in the workforce but others do not; therefore the daily tasks and the division of labour within this household have been re-negotiated, in this case further strengthening the women's bargaining position.

Another interrelated point that should be mentioned here is the element of individual savings. It can be seen from this case study that women involved in paid work have some savings of their own, or are willing to save. This situation is likely to enhance their current and future negotiating capacity in the household, as well as maintaining their self-confidence. I was told from Miss O in the previous case study, as well as Mrs H, that they have been saving up to buy goods for themselves. Miss O was about to buy a car when I was doing my fieldwork. Mrs H was thinking of opening an additional bank account to support her daughter until she finds a job, or to allow her daughter to purchase her own dowry so that she would not be dependent on her future husband. This finding is similar to (Kabeer, 1997) study in Bangladesh, where some of the women were saving up for their own needs after starting to work in garment factories (Kabeer, 1997).

### **8.6 Case study 3 Women's wages and the perceived contribution factor**

As mentioned earlier, women's wages have strengthened their bargaining power in the household and their perceived contribution has increased due to the fact that they were not wage earners in the past but family workers; and this change has had implications for the status of some women. However, we cannot assume that this applies to all women in Halfeti. Important differences have been observed in terms of women's access to resources in the resettled Halfeti. As already indicated, young and middle-aged women have tended to join the workforce to generate some form of income. For the elderly women this situation is different.

Mrs F is a good example with which to illustrate this issue. She is in her late 50s and has three children attending high and middle school. Her eldest son works part time as a delivery boy in the market, but this work is seasonal and depends on him finding a job in the summer and during holiday periods. Her husband used to be a farmer, but the land he cultivated belonged to his parents. When the land was inundated they divided the value of the land into four, between his siblings. Thus, the amount of compensation each brother received was very small and was quickly used up during the resettlement process. Her husband is currently unemployed. He used to work in the nearby villages but he now has problems with a slipped disc, so he is no longer able to work on the land as an agricultural worker. In the old town Mrs F had livestock; she always used to have chickens and three cows, one of which belonged to her sister but she took care of it. She used to generate income by selling eggs to the neighbours and she used to make yogurt for the local tourists. This livelihood activity has now ceased in Halfeti because of the lack of space with the new houses, as well as the regulations in the new town which prohibit the keeping of livestock (Chapter 5). Her husband receives a pension and this money is their only regular income. Their income decreased sharply after resettlement. She said “I used to look after my children, and they did not need any other support from anyone”. She adds that her husband is always at home and puts pressure on her daughter to get married or work. She said that before the resettlement she could at least produce some food for her family; now she is at home all the time, arguing with her husband.

Mrs F had been attending a training course since the CATOMs were first established in the old town. She said she did not have time to attend regularly, but in the new town she does not have regular employment and a lot of free time, so she currently attends a knitting course more frequently. She cleans windows every month for the only pharmacy in the new town, but I was told that this is not regular and therefore insufficient to meet her needs. She told me how much better off the family were in the old town, regardless of the workload, as she was able to buy food for her family and even generate produce and stock for the winter. This gave her some level of power within the household. She cannot ask for money from her husband to buy textiles for the knitting and stitching course, so she has a part-time, temporary job to enable her to meet these expenses.

We have highlighted, from various standpoints, that women's bargaining power within the home is largely associated with their situation outside the home. For instance, Agarwal (1997) argues that 'the government has the power to enact laws and formulate policies and programs in women's favour; to increase women's access to productive resources, employment, information, education and health; to protect them from gendered violence; to influence discourse on gender relations in the media and educational status etc' (Agarwal, 1997). At this point, it is important to address the role of the training courses in Halfeti. These courses are usually attended by elderly, or middle-aged, poor women. These women do not have appropriate skills; nor do they have children to support their livelihoods. Thus they are now entirely dependent on their husbands; unlike before the resettlement when they were either working with their husbands on the farm or supplementing the family income through a variety of economic and non-economic activities (such as home-made food production etc). It is important for the GAP authorities to reconsider the organisation of these courses; and perhaps provide job opportunities for the women who attend them.

As we can see from the above case studies, there are differences in relation to the impacts of the dam in terms of education and employment. It would seem that poorer women, particularly those who are also elderly, fail to benefit from the few opportunities that exist for women in the town. However it would appear that the town has brought some women the opportunity to earn money and this has affected household relationships. On the other hand, other women lack these opportunities and this is less likely to have had an impact on their household relationships. Mrs F indicated that she now has a lot of free time and wants to feel 'useful' in terms of generating income or contributing to the overall household budget in some way. It is extremely important for poor people to participate in the workforce or contribute to their family finances. It has already been argued that women's options to generate an income external to the household can improve their breakdown position. When looking at these cases it seems that elderly women have lost their bargaining power in their households. Poorer women, in particular, seem to be more vulnerable when it comes to negotiating within the family.

### **8.7 Case study 4 Support from the family and perceived interest response**

Mrs Z is a 66 year old woman living with her husband (also aged 66) and their youngest daughter (aged 24). They are one of the resettled households categorised as better-off. The husband and wife are not working, but they generate income by managing their financial capital. Mr B receives a pension from the government in addition to their savings from the compensation. This household used to cultivate their own farm, and all their income was based on agriculture. They used to live with Mrs Z's father and mother-in-law, with four children. I was told that Mrs Z was responsible for the housework, as well as working on the farm with her family during the season. Her mother-in-law, who died ten years ago, used to bring food out to the fields for them, this being her task and share of the responsibility. After the resettlement they lost their farm and their income was reduced. However, all their children went to high school or university and the reason they were in the better-off category in the sample was because of the high levels of human capital within their household. Their children went to school and they are in good health for their age, as well as having financial capital and a house that is in good condition. Now they are living in Halfeti as a retired couple and they spend half of the year in the city. This household is particularly important in our sample because of their position and their perception of their own well-being.

It should be noted here that the dam being built may have changed the lifestyle of the couple since the resettlement, although cash flow within the household allowed them to marry off their children with a good dowry. It can be argued that the building of the dam might have given positive bargaining power to children of better-off households, who usually move out but who have now received financial support. The indicators of outside bargaining power, including 'relevant marriage and remarriage markets, laws concerning alimony and child support, and, as in this case, parental support may strengthen the bargaining power of the party' (McElroy's 1990 in (Agarwal, 1997).

This family was interviewed while their daughter was visiting them. Education builds self-esteem, but in Halfeti this seems to have affected the children in a more positive way than their parents. Mrs S, who is a high school graduate, seems to benefit greatly from her family's support. She told me that her wedding was organised and paid for by her family. She

also has her own source of income and thus, her mother could never interfere in matters concerning her choice of husband. In addition, she had no difficulties in visiting her parents and her sister in Diyarbakir. This again demonstrates the fact that economic independence, combined with education and parental support, gives women a stronger fall-back position. This is the case with the daughter of this household, as she has the freedom to choose 'what to do, and where to go'.

Sen's model of capabilities points to achievements or levels of functioning, whereas previously it is argued that the well-being of household members is also affected by factors such as "recognition, appreciation, love by others, feelings of self-worth, participation in the community and so on" (Sen, 1990). Families seem to consider their children's marriages and futures to be of high importance and the investments made by these households are usually for the benefit of their children, so that "they would look after them one day" (Interview with Mrs Z). This family, in particular, have used their resources to invest in their children's education.

Investing in children's education in Halfeti has different dimensions. According to Folbre (1986), 'sharing assets in the family represents true altruism'. Otherwise, it would not be possible to explain the relationship with the head of the household who uses his economic opportunities to ensure that everyone in the family is satisfied and happy (Evenson, 1976 in Folbre, 1986). This can only be explained if the 'altruistic' head of the household loves the other members of his family and therefore provides for them. According to Webber (in Folbre (1986) this represents 'unselfish concern for the welfare of others' (Folbre, 1986). More recently, according to (Kabeer, 1997), as well as being relevant to our household, the mother's efforts to maximise her daughter's bargaining power within her future marriage is placed within 'ideologies of maternal altruism', whereby women deny their own self-interest and make the preferences of family members their priority.

We can see, in this case study, that the household is a team with its members working together. Here it was observed that the parents chose to invest in their children's future and consequently they remained in Halfeti, when they could easily have gone to the city or invested their compensation elsewhere. We need to look further at this aspect, as although their well-being has increased, their personal situation and daily life has not improved. The household's function as an institution means, in this case, not seeking to maximise an individual's own well-being but providing opportunities for other household members to maximise their well-being, which may enhance the household's overall level of utility. Here, although the parents' freedom of choice has been narrowed, they have created extended freedoms for their children.

### **8.8 Case Study 5 Perceived contribution/self-worth**

Mrs S is a 56 year old woman with three children in the city; two are working and one is studying at university. They are all living away from their parents. Before the relocation they were farmers and had worked on a plum farm for 25 years. The husband also had some other temporary jobs, in addition to his farm income. According to Mrs S, when the children were younger they did not need as much money as they do now. She told me at the beginning of the interview, that their life had been better and more comfortable before the resettlement. The loss of their land had a major impact on her, as she used to spend all her time and energy on the farm. It was her everyday routine and it was very difficult for her and her children to adapt to the new town.

After the resettlement she said they had received very little compensation for what they had lost in the old town. This is similar to the experiences discussed in Chapter 5; in terms of undervaluation issues. They had to rebuild their lives because their children were studying during the relocation and their expenses were much higher in the new town. Her husband bought a cart five years ago and started to sell homemade food in front of the primary school. It was their oldest son's idea; and they have been managing this enterprise together as husband and wife. According to them they have less money left after their expenses than they had before the relocation. But it is a sustainable business and she has even purchased some goods for herself and her daughter since they started the enterprise. Her contribution to the business is that she bakes the bread for the food stall with her sister in the old town. Her



husband goes to the old town once a week and she and her sister bake bread to last for the whole week. Then the bread is taken back to the house to be stored. She waters the bread in the mornings and gives it to her husband to sell with the food. Despite her complaints that she has no free time and that they earn too little for their efforts, she is able to spend some of her days on a training course, knitting a dowry for her daughter. When I asked if she could tell her husband what she needs and whether she asks for money from her husband, she says that her husband buys all the necessities from the market to meet their daily needs. However, she sometimes needs some materials to take to the training course. He has never refused to pay for either textiles or knitting equipment, but she said if he ever refused, she would ask for her contribution, because ‘without her help he would not be able to maintain the business’ (Mrs S).

Mrs S is a self-confident woman, whether she gained this self-confidence after the relocation or not, it is apparent in the way she interacted with her friends and neighbours during the focus group discussions with the women. This household is an illustration of a good team that works together to earn an income, which in turn gives the women freedom to achieve a certain level of well-being. In the past they used to work on the farm together, but it was just a *routine*; every woman had to work and help her husband. This routine was inherited. In the new town they only work if they want to. The earnings might be too low in some circumstances and the workload for this family has increased, but there is evidence of teamwork and household income has been distributed ‘more equally’ between members. According to her husband, if more than one member in the household works, then that household is better-off because ‘the new town is expensive’ (Mr M).

Mrs S might not work regularly and her workload might be less than that of her husband, but her perceived contribution to the household economy appears to be high. It is argued that economic dependency is a major that effects inequality between men and women (Kabeer, 1997). In this household, despite the husband managing the money, the wife has access to as much money as she needs. Moreover, Sen’s cooperative conflict model draws attention to intra-household, as well as extra-environmental, features that can, in turn, influence bargaining power. The first is the perceived economic contribution of different household

members: this means that teamwork is considered as making an important contribution to enhancing or sustaining household income and results in individuals enjoying greater bargaining power.

Particularly in households such as this one it can be said that the resettlement has brought with it the opportunity for women to earn a wage and has altered the intra-household dynamics; in some cases shifting power from one member to another. In most households prior to resettlement men were the breadwinners and, as such, had the decision making power. However, this dynamic is changing as more women have become involved in waged employment and increased their bargaining power within the household. However the next section is significant in highlighting the importance of choice; in terms of who actually wants to work and who has to work.

### **8.9 Case study 6 Different women different experiences**

As noted above, women with economic power are more likely to exercise bargaining power within the household (Kabeer, 2000). However, there are situations where women's perceptions of their contribution to the household may decrease: for example if a woman is no longer involved in any income generating activity, particularly if she is elderly and has no children to support her or the household. It is only within a few poor households that women's participation was not perceived as particularly significant. The case study below illustrates a poor woman's decreased bargaining status in the town.

Mrs H is in her late 60s; she has not worked since she moved to the new town. Her husband receives monthly interest from their compensation monies. She used to have livestock, and a large garden for which she was responsible. For this particular family bringing food to the table is not a major problem as they can purchase it from the market, but her outdoor activities have ceased and her production skills are no longer required. She used to be the only person in the household with the responsibility for looking after the family; and her mother and father-in-law also lived with them. They used to have a big house and she prepared all the dairy produce for the whole family. Her children went to university and then

got married and went abroad to live, in Belgium. It is only Mrs S and Mr Z who now live in the new town.

She said she has a lot of free time, and she stays at home all the time. Even though her workload was double in the old town, she did not complain. Here in the new town she finds herself indoors all the time and unproductive. Thus she is unhappy. She says she used to generate income; it was too little, but at least when they went to town she could freely buy gifts for herself or her children. Now she is dependent on her husband and he gives her money when she needs it, but she has to ask for it. She currently attends a knitting course, but she would quit because she does not want to keep asking her husband for money for the textiles. Mrs S says she feels isolated in the new town, as there is nothing to do, and she has to ask her husband all the time when she wants to go the old town, or when she needs any money, even to go to the hospital. She has visited her children once in four years, whilst her husband has been to visit them three times, but he would not take her with him. She told me, she has got less respected as she has got older. When she was younger she had the freedom to do many things, whereas now she is indoors all the time and dependent on others. Income generation allows most of the women to have some level of self-worth within their households (Kabeer, 1991). However, for some women this is not the case. She told me; “I don’t want to work all the time, I am old but I am bored of sitting at home here ” (Mrs S).

This case suggests that it is crucially important to provide services for elderly and illiterate women. They might feel more isolated and vulnerable living in the town. The dependency also seems to make these women feel less self-worth; thus, allowing them to engage in some kind of economic activity is vital. It is the Government’s responsibility to include these women in economic and social life. Their lack of skills and knowledge makes them more vulnerable.

### **8.10 Case study 7 Dimensions of choice**

Bargaining models are important illustrations of gender relationships within the household, because they can illustrate important aspects of family relationships, such as how members cooperate within the household and the reasons for conflict. It is important to evaluate the centrality of the breakdown position in these models, because this might cause inequitable outcomes, particularly for women. We have so far seen different women engaging in different activities. However, it is important to take this analysis one step further.

Mrs Z is a 44 year old married woman. She has been working in a hospital for 4 years. She has three children; one living in Nizip in the university. He only returns at the weekends and the other two children live with them. She has changed job three times in two years and she found this job through her father who has been living with them for two years. She is a hard working woman; she works all day in the hospital as a cleaner, then she has to look after her children and her father as well as her husband. Her husband, Mr A, is unemployed. He has tried to work in the city as a builder in Nizip. He lived there for four years and engaged in different jobs from 2001. He has now returned to the town and is unemployed because of the lack of suitable job opportunities. This leaves Mrs Z the only person generating income, except for her father who receives a retirement pension which he either keeps for himself or sometimes sends to his grandson, who studies in the city, when the family is in need.

Mrs Z got married in the new town a few years after they were resettled as a family. Her husband is from Savasan - a nearby village community which also became landless and relocated to Halfeti. Mrs Z was not working in the old town, but she was responsible for the livestock and the household chores. She said she was the one who took care of her siblings as she was the oldest. She is a primary school graduate, but she can barely read and write. Thus her current job requires few skills. However, her job is stable and she has a social insurance which she will receive after 15 years, because she has been making insurance payments for the past year. She said her workload is too great; she wakes at 5am every day and has to work all day in the hospital. When asked, she said she is doing this for her children's future. Once she has started to receive her retirement pension, she can relax and her children can spend it until she dies. She does not enjoy her job, but at least she has a wage; and even though the

pay is low, she has the benefit of social insurance so that she can retire with a pension one day.

This case study shows us that Mrs Z is participating in the workforce to independently generate income, unlike before when she was either working on the farm or doing household chores. However, we also need to take this analysis further and identify the extent to which women are able to control their lives. People are assumed to make choices according to their individual tastes and preferences (Kabeer, 2000). Do they actually want to work, or they are working because they have no choice?

This question has two answers depending on the different women. Young women are keen to work; they study and work in the summer or sometimes they start working straight after high school and enjoy generating income and purchasing goods for themselves. In other cases they contribute to the household budget. This should give them a level of freedom in terms of self-interest as well as self-worth, regardless of their well-being status. However, poorer women do not have this freedom. Poorer women seem to work because they have no choice and they have to meet their household expenses. Perhaps if they did not have to work, they would choose not to work.

As we have pointed out previously, women's interests are distanced from their individual well-being and relate more to the welfare of the family. They work for altruistic reasons most of the time, to educate their children or to generate income for family subsistence because 'there is a need'. In Halfeti most men are unemployed and cash flow within the household is insufficient, so they cannot purchase the necessary household goods, making them vulnerable. The better-off elderly women often choose not to work because they receive financial support from their children, who are educated and already in employment. The better-off women, if they work at all, tend to work with their husbands, or their families in order to maximise their income. When women work they are given some level of recognition. However, women who are only able to generate low levels of income do not seem to receive the same recognition. Men, on the other hand, are still considered as breadwinners even

though most of them are unemployed. They still undermine the value of the women's work and because most of these jobs are temporary, they do not view them as part of their future plans, as soon' they would finish and be back to being unemployed'.

Taking an overall view, however, it would appear that some women's breakdown position has improved since the resettlement, although the changes in their interests have not been straightforward. Women now believe that they can do better. They have more power to determine cooperative outcomes to their own advantage. On the other hand, elderly, illiterate women and women who are not supported by their children are more vulnerable and have less bargaining power within the household.

### **8.11 Conclusion**

This Chapter has discussed how macro-level changes in an economy, as in the case of resettlement in Halfeti, affect the household at a micro-level. There have been changes to the 'rules of the game' in Halfeti, which has had implications for both men and women in the household. Some people have taken up the opportunities available in the labour market. In particular, some of the women have been able to construct their own agendas: they may produce goods themselves or be involved in production and their new level of independence means that they can make decisions. In addition to this transformation, other changes have occurred. To describe these changes at the household level we adopted an institutional approach. Action guided by institutions follows procedures, habits, norms and ways of doing things which cannot be measured with rational models. As indicated previously, gender definitions are institutionally determined through habit and tradition.

This Chapter has indicated that the range of bargaining strategies amongst women varied significantly according to their occupation, income generating capacity, their level of family and social support, and their level of self-confidence. It is seen that, in some households, women do not have sufficient self-confidence to maintain their bargaining power. This point can also be extended to men, where they have a poor perception of their best interests. It was found that there is a strong relationship between income generation, which in most cases

means employment, and bargaining power. It is argued that while many women have strengthened their bargaining power through earning an income, other women who are now unemployed, particularly if they had been earning an income in the old village, now experience reduced bargaining power within the household.

Earned income was an important factor in providing women with the means to support themselves and their households. However, strong bargaining positions were achieved through a variety of combinations of wages and social capital. Women who were capable of earning wages and contributing to maintain the household have the strongest bargaining positions, followed by those who have strong social relationships, as well as support from their family. Some of the changes observed, such as the number of educated girls in the workforce, are the result of the dam being built and reflect factors such as compensation received or relocation to a settlement with a high school. It was observed that mothers who supported their daughters through their education were a common phenomenon. Improving social capital is also an important consideration amongst the households in Halfeti. Women with more social capital can more easily access waged employment, save up money, and perhaps buy goods for their own use, giving them a strong fall-back position if they have the self-confidence to exercise it.

The higher levels of education can be considered to be the result of resettlement, due to the changes in cash flow for some families; and for others it could be argued that it is the influence and transformation in the town which has allowed the parents to send all their children to school, both girls and boys. This situation has led to a marked change in local society. The former farming families now have children working in market production and who manage the household arrangements. Their daughters play an important role in decision making and, even in some cases, guide their parents through their personal decisions. Finally, it can be said that resettlement in some households has fostered women's participation in waged labour and has thus empowered women. In some cases culture, old age or traditions constrain this empowerment potential in the bargaining process (Charusheela, 2003).

Fieldwork evidence suggested that the household's capacity to enable women to participate in economic activity, in particular, to take an active role within the workforce. However, there are two sides to this issue. The household should make plans for the future. In some cases it can be seen that households are functioning, but it seems as though this could be a temporary positive effect. Some of the households have adopted work strategies based on the job opportunities available to their children. However, this is likely to be a temporary solution, as these families may suffer financially if their children get married and establish their own households. For this type of household it can be said that resettlement has had a 'boom effect' and their financial situation is more likely to deteriorate.

The most frequently reported use of the household's income, regardless of whether it was earned by women or by men, was on the collective welfare of the household. Men were still accepted as the main breadwinner in most households, but women's earnings seem to make an important difference to the household's well-being. In some cases it was suggested that the increased income earned by both the men and the women enabled them to cope better with the transformation in the town, and even enabled them to eat a better diet, be a better host for their guests, or to provide special treats for their family. Others suggested that they could now save up for emergency situations, or purchase immovable assets to secure their future. However, all in all, their expenditure was altruistic; savings were usually for their children's education or wedding and dowry expenses, or even to provide a tutor for the school.



## **CHAPTER 9**

### **Conclusion**

#### **9.0 Introduction**

This research has explored the social impacts that the Southeast Anatolia (GAP) project has had on rural communities in the Southeast region of Turkey, with an emphasis on how the project has affected household relationships and women in particular. In order to research this issue the project has focused on the case of the Birecik Dam, a particular resettlement and rehabilitation project implemented by the GAP Authorities, and has examined the impacts that this project has had for households that have had to be resettled. In particular, the study has investigated the ways in which these households have attempted to rebuild their livelihoods.

The Birecik dam and the Halfeti district were chosen as the focus for the analysis because the dam is the first and only dam project for which a resettlement and rehabilitation project had been planned and implemented, in order to avoid or minimise the effects of displacement on those who either had to be resettled or had to host a resettled community. Halfeti is one of the resettled villages within the area that has been affected by the Birecik Dam. The settlement lies within a district which is undergoing rapid socio-economic change and was specifically selected for study because the population was resettled as a community with government assistance.

The population of Halfeti, which is mainly Turkish in origin, were mixed with a mainly Kurdish community near the village of Karaotlak. These two groups have now been living as a single community for 10 years. Government efforts to assist the resettlement process are evaluated in this research. This study has explained the changed socio-economic conditions in Halfeti and analysed people's livelihood activities after resettlement. This analysis has been undertaken using qualitative methods, using interviews carried out with households and individuals.

The study of displacement resulting from the construction of large scale dams is not new. The adverse effects of dams, in particular displacement, is a worldwide phenomenon and has been investigated by many researchers. But perhaps the findings of this study are unique, in terms of displacement studies, because we identify and build on people's existing assets and not necessarily their needs. This study has proved that displaced households have considerable capacity to make changes in their livelihoods. In contrast to the view that displacement has disrupted employment, they were actually *doing something*. Thus, this study in a way focuses on the achievements of people who have increased their capabilities and who have created different livelihoods despite the difficult climate. The objectives of the study were to

- i) undertake a critical examination of the resettlement and rehabilitation project implemented for the Birecik Dam;
- ii) identify the livelihood assets of the resettled people and explore how they have, or have not, rebuilt their livelihoods following resettlement and assess the impacts that the dam has had on them; and
- iii) evaluate the impact of resettlement on intra-household relationships between women and men, many of whom have traditionally been employed in agriculture or animal husbandry.

In this concluding Chapter the principal results of the study will be discussed, followed by a discussion of the main findings. The Chapter concludes with recommendations for future research, as well as highlighting the limitations of the study.

## 9.1 Review of the literature

A review of the literature shows that a variety of involuntary resettlement experiences have been studied using a range of theoretical perspectives. These studies have developed theoretical frameworks in order to explain the dynamics and complexity of resettlement. We focus on Cernea's (2000) Impoverishment Risks and Resettlement Model (IRR), which provides important insights, and which is said to have been considered by those responsible for the GAP project. The IRR model is not the only attempt to develop a theoretical framework, but it is popular in resettlement studies because it identifies eight risks in the resettlement process which are important for the reconstruction of the livelihoods of those displaced. These eight risks require special attention in displacement studies. It was important to explain and explore IRR in order to understand impoverishment. The risks identified in the framework are 'landlessness, homelessness, unemployment, marginalisation, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality and community disarticulation' (Cernea 2000).

For our particular study area in Halfeti, the IRR framework has been useful in diagnosing and determining the 'impoverishment risks' for those who have been resettled. However, we needed to look deeper at the livelihoods of the resettled households and to explore the gendered nature of the resettlement. To achieve this, the sustainable rural livelihoods framework has been incorporated into the study.

The sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework enables researchers to understand the livelihoods of the poor by placing them at the centre. This can actually improve our understanding of the relevant impoverishment risks and provide insights for livelihood reconstruction in the process of involuntary resettlement. As already indicated, SL approaches are people-centred and participatory, holistic and dynamic; they build on strengths, make linkages between macro and micro aspects, and ensure sustainability (Chapter 2). Specifically within this research, adopting SL approaches made it possible to identify the changing livelihoods of the resettlers in a systematic way. By this means, it was also possible to examine the resettlers' livelihood assets, strategies and outcomes. In addition, it was found that the resettlers had the capacity to develop their lives. In particular, young, educated women, as well as people with

greater social and human capital, were in a stronger position to rebuild their livelihoods. In fact, these people also had a stronger bargaining position within their households. The use of an SL framework for the analysis made these determinations possible.

Although the SL approaches may have shortcomings, these were addressed within this research. For instance, it is argued that SL approaches, when applied to the analysis of involuntary resettlement, do not give sufficient consideration to impoverishment risks (McDowell 2002). However, displacement processes and impoverishment risk variables are important when analysing the livelihoods of those displaced. Thus, an examination of the impoverishment risks, with specific reference to the SL approach, was included within the discussion Chapters of this thesis (Chapter 7).

Finally, according to Krantz (2001), Hussein (2002) and Carney (2003), the sustainable livelihood approaches tend to take the household as the basic unit of analysis. This means that they fail to focus on different categories or groups of people and the ways in which they relate to each other. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the resettled households are not identical. They differ in terms of income, age or education, even culture etc. This issue was discussed in section 2.7.2. Therefore, to overcome this criticism, the households in this research are categorised into better-off, middle-income and poor households in order to examine their access to assets (Chapter &). In this way, it was possible to see the different impacts of the resettlement on different people.

## **9.2 Review of research methods**

The research methods Chapter introduced the research process that was adopted in the empirical study. To achieve the main objectives of the study a qualitative approach was used, because this allows subjects to interpret their experiences and the world in which they live. Arguably, a quantitative research methodology would not be appropriate in a rapidly changing region such as the Southeast of Turkey, particularly when it comes to describing the intricacies of people's lives. In this case study, an inductive research approach is adopted, based on grounded theory. In addition, the study is interested in intra-household gender

relationships, and the fact that women were the most forthcoming subjects in the research led to the adoption of an approach informed by the traditions of feminist research. Focus group discussions were used as a vehicle within which women could discuss their lives and the changes caused by the construction of the dam.

### **9.3 Overview of the research findings**

#### **9.3 1 Livelihood assets in Halfeti**

The aim of this first empirical Chapter was to provide a deeper understanding of the nature and characteristics of the resettlers' livelihoods after the resettlement in Halfeti. Whilst describing the resettlers' assets we observed that resettlers combined their assets in order to deal with their changing environment and reconstruct their livelihoods. It was observed that different households responded differently to the building of the dam. We have identified three categories from the household sample, based on their levels of well-being. These variations were identified by examining levels of savings, education, house type, occupation, health, home appliances, clothing, food security, ownership of physical capital such as a car and a television set, compensation, type of profession, as well as level of income. These factors are used to differentiate between the better-off, middle-income and poorer households.

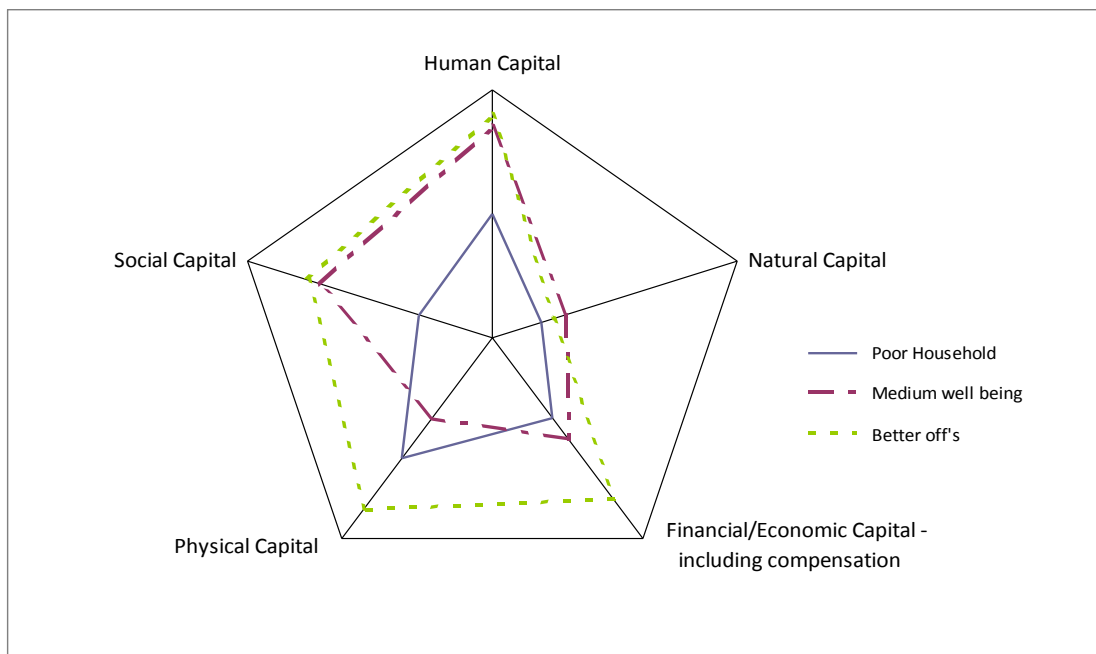
Better-off households were often comprised of government officials or large scale farmers who received compensation post resettlement. These households had educated their children, and their financial capital provided them with a regular income from a variety of sources. They were able to save money and purchase goods for themselves and for their families. The better-off households were found to experience good health and live in comfortable houses with good quality furniture. They mostly owned cars and this improved their access to facilities such as health services and enabled them to maintain wider social networks.

Middle-income households were observed as having medium levels of wealth. Within this group the children were educated to at least high-school level, although not necessarily all of

their children were university graduates. These households had minimal resources to save money after funding household expenses, with most of the household members working in temporary jobs. They had good relationships with their neighbours, but were not able to see them very often. They attended hospital if necessary, but otherwise did not have many resources to use on healthcare services. Their dwellings were in a reasonable state of repair but were not always comfortably furnished.

Poor families were the most vulnerable. In this category, households did not necessarily have a regular income. These households had children attending school, but only primary or high schools due to their financial difficulties. Their health status was lower than for the other household categories. The condition of these households was the poorest and they did not generally own any physical assets except the most basic ones. This category of household highlighted the importance of social capital. The ability to look after family and friends and access good communications were indicators of affluence. The strength of friendships and personal networks, hence social capital, was viewed as important in terms of being 'rich'.

A Sustainable livelihoods pentagon was drawn up based on the households' well-being and their assets.



Source: Adapted from DFID (1999)

Livelihood pentagons visually represent people's strengths and weaknesses, as well as their vulnerabilities. If the pentagon is deformed, this indicates that people are more vulnerable in a particular area. If the shape is regular it means that people are more stable or more capable of recovering from stress. According to the livelihood pentagon, it is the poor people who are more vulnerable than other household groups. The pentagon has generated a discussion of the livelihood strategies that these households have adopted following resettlement. We were also interested in the ways in which households could turn their assets into livelihood strategies. Our next objective was to discuss which households could function in terms of livelihood restoration.

### 9.3.2 Livelihood activities in Halfeti

In addition to investigating the livelihood assets of different households, we also analysed their livelihood strategies. It was observed that households adopted three different types of livelihood strategy post resettlement. These are livelihood diversification, income

management and migration. By adapting SL framework to the analysis, we have been able to explore the capabilities of the resettlers to reconstruct their livelihoods. In particular we have been able to analyse the livelihood strategies of these resettlers with special reference to IRR risks and Sen's Capabilities framework. As Sen focuses on people's capabilities when making evaluations, we focus on the capabilities that constitute people's real functioning. Our conclusions in terms of the capabilities are unusual, as it is usually the practice to identify impoverishment risks, but it is unusual to identify and discuss people's capabilities after the resettlement.

Better-off households were found to invest in property in nearby cities, where they were able generate a monthly income from rental payments. The majority also invested in their children's education, either in the city or abroad. They had at least one family member who had migrated to the city in search of better opportunities. These households could be categorised as mature in age and small in size. As in the better-off households there was a strong correlation between land ownership (in terms of property) and welfare. In terms of the strategies adopted by the better-off households it can be said that better-off households had the freedom to choose their livelihood strategy and decide not to work if they wanted to, because after the resettlement they were provided with some sort of compensation.

Unlike the better-off households who chose not to work and generate income through their investments, middle-income households had higher numbers of household members and showed greater diversification in terms of their livelihood strategies. The younger family members usually worked in salaried employment. Even though they are temporary, the jobs created in the new settlement allowed the middle income families to participate in waged employment. Thus, farming had become a secondary means of income generation. However, these households appeared to function slightly well as they had family members who were able to generate a regular income.



The poorest households in Halfeti were daily wage earners, casual labourers in the case of seasonal migrants, and households who did not receive remittances (or at least not on a regular basis). Their economic situation was related to their limited ownership of productive assets. The poorest groups were seasonal agricultural workers and local manual workers whose employment is often irregular. It was also observed that these households paid less attention to education, unlike the other household groups.

### **9.3.3 The gendered nature of resettlement**

In line with Sen's cooperative conflict, bargaining framework, an improvement in the labour market for both women and men has been observed. In addition, children have started to become involved in these opportunities since the resettlement. Once farmers, these families have started to participate in the local workforce. Indeed, some have started a business and were working as a family within these small businesses in order to make a living. Family members in paid employment were observed as having stronger bargaining power in terms of household decisions. Women in particular were seen as the decision makers in some cases, and in others they worked alongside their husbands and sometimes generated more income than the men. Due to the better availability of jobs, children, and in particular daughters, were now contributing to the household income and had gained some additional freedom in terms of their daily lives, their negotiating powers and stronger fall-back positions.

The higher levels of education can be considered to be the result of resettlement, due to the changes in cash flow for some families; and for others I would argue that it is the influence of the transformation within the town that has allowed the parents to send all their children to school, both girls and boys. This situation has led to a marked change in the local society, and this has, in turn, changed household arrangements. Finally, our findings are unique in the respect that the resettlement in some households has fostered women's participation in waged labour and has thus empowered women.

## 9.4 General conclusions

In order to implement a more general discussion we have divided our households into three categories according to their assets and their access to those assets. When we evaluated which households had the capability to use their assets to develop livelihood strategies this revealed who could best convert their assets into functioning. Better-off households, with the help of compensation or financial assets, seemed to have the most freedom to choose their livelihood strategies. However, middle-income families had more limited options in terms of their livelihoods, whilst poorer households were the most vulnerable and had no freedom to make choices. It was observed that resettlers have shifted from agricultural work to waged employment following the resettlement. The transition from agricultural workers to income earners may be insufficient for this category of household to escape poverty. On the other hand, agricultural migration appears to be a common livelihood strategy for poorer people as this requires no formal education, although literacy and education seem to facilitate the process. Agricultural employment is not sufficient to lift people out of poverty and has had only a very limited impact on the choice of livelihood strategy in Halfeti. Poor people in Halfeti have consistently less freedom to take up any options as they arise, and achieve low returns for whatever few assets they have. In addition, unlike the middle-income or better-off households, poor households lack skills or suffer from poor health - both are factors which can deprive them of access to certain assets and affect their livelihoods. We have seen that many members of middle-income families have the choice to work, but this freedom cannot always be seen as positive, because it should be taken into consideration that the risk of working long hours means that they do not have enough time and energy to take part in social activities, which might be a problem in the long term. This risk does not apply to the better-off households.

By linking the three frameworks discussed, we are able to explore the three different household groups in terms of how they function. It is observed that some of the better-off households have made a choice not to work, because they already have sufficient access to assets and therefore they have the freedom to make such choices. Their freedom to choose is greater than for the other groups. On the other hand, whilst middle-income households cannot make this kind of choice, they at least have the capacity to diversify. These households retain sufficient freedom to function at a reasonable level. However, poorer

households have no freedom of choice and most can only find temporary low-paid work, which does not allow them to make any livelihood choices in terms of diversification or investment in long term plans. Poorer households lack the required capabilities and this restricts their freedom in terms of decision-making. It is these freedoms that enable us to categorise our household groups as better-off, middle-income and poor households.

Therefore, it can be said that the building of the dam has had different impacts on different households. Whereas better-off households are more resilient to vulnerability, poorer households were observed as being more vulnerable to poverty, because they have few assets and lack the capability to combine these assets to make a sustainable living.

What affect has resettlement had on the status of these people within their own households, i.e. who gets to make the decisions in the household and has this changed since the resettlement? Resettlement caused by the construction of the Birecik dam has opened up new opportunities for some people. These opportunities have allowed some of the resettlers to work and generate income. Many of the available local jobs were for young girls or women, who have started to work and contribute to the household income, giving them a strong fall-back position within their families. They have now started to take decisions on their own, purchase goods for themselves and help to decide the future of the younger members of the family. This was an important improvement for people who were educated and now had the freedom to rebuild their lives and make their own choices. However, this would appear to be a temporary position and requires further assessment in the future. Most of the households appeared to function with most members in the labour market. However, when the daughters get married or children move to the cities in search of jobs or because of marriage, this situation might change. For this type of household it can be said that resettlement has had a temporary positive effect, but their financial situation is more likely to deteriorate.

## **9. 5 Directions for future research**

Whilst a sample of twenty-nine households is sufficient to provide a probable picture of the resettlement experience in the Southeast of Turkey, more research of this kind is needed to enable broader generalisations.

Nevertheless, this study has succeeded in revealing the diverse socio-, political and economic livelihoods in Halfeti where resettlement has taken place with government help. However, there is a need to study resettled communities where they have opted for cash compensation, and also cases where people have resettled on their own, and not as a group. I nevertheless believe this study does shed light on a resettled community that has been trying to rebuild livelihoods with government assistance.

In Turkey there is a need to focus further on gender issues in future dam projects by considering the strengths and capabilities of the community to be resettled. Focusing on opportunities and capabilities can open up new areas for research. This might increase awareness and enable a different evaluation of consequences when it comes to the impending Ilisu dam Project, which remains a controversial issue and has been postponed twice due to resettlement issues. Studies such as this one should highlight a path through the resettlement process and assist in the development of better policies for resettling a community. Finally, more research is needed with regard to the gender and sustainable livelihoods approach in Turkey and with other resettlement cases, to enable a better understanding of the resettled communities. Studying host communities are also very important, and the host populations should be recognized. In this particular study we focus on different areas and choose not to study host populations. However there is a need to research the host communities and their relationships with the affected population for future research.

This research may only shed light on resettlement arrangements at one specific point in time. Thus, the research may not fully determine whether the resettlement programme in Halfeti has contributed to livelihood restoration for those affected, in the long term. There is a need to repeat the research in the same area after several years in order to observe the longer term

impacts of the resettlement operation on the livelihoods of the resettlers in Halfeti. This would better explain the sustainability of the resettlers' livelihoods.

Finally, during the research analysis, it was observed that different institutions, such as local government, community, and some social and formal organisations, played an important role in mediating access to assets by local people, and that this would, in turn, shape their livelihoods. A fuller understanding of the institutions, their roles, social relationships and how these affect the power dynamics within families would be of significant benefit, and this is an important subject for further research. However, at the moment, this is not a popular focus for this type of research. Nevertheless, this study has proved that focusing on formal and informal institutions would highlight important issues for the community, as well as the behaviour of the resettled households.

## **9.6 Policy Recommendations**

As explained in this study, Cernea identified the risks arising from involuntary resettlement, in terms of people's livelihoods. We have explored the strategies that people in Halfeti have adopted to cope with these risks. However, this study has demonstrated that important issues still need to be addressed at the policy level. This final section of the study reviews some of these issues and provides recommendations.

### **9.6.1 Enhancement of the legal framework and resettlement plans**

Currently, resettlement policy does not constitute a national law. However, all of the existing resettlement regulations and resettlement action plans should be made law; and the objective to achieve genuine improvements in resettlers' livelihoods should be made central to this law.

There have been some alterations to the legal framework but these are inadequate. For instance, as outlined in Chapter 4, the GAP authorities have put in place a resettlement and rehabilitation project for those affected by the Birecik Dam, to help them to rebuild their

livelihoods. In addition, some of the resettlement policies have been revised. However, further improvements are necessary to ensure that impoverishment risks are minimised, or eliminated altogether. There are still gaps in the implementation process which prevent people benefiting from the resettlement project. Despite the recent changes to the resettlement and rehabilitation law, government commitment to resettlement remains weak. Resettlement policies require wider national and regional policy commitments (Cernea and McDowell).

As already discussed, some resettlement packages do exist in Turkey, but further action needs to be taken, in terms of tailoring resettlement plans to the needs of the affected communities. In particular, government resettlement packages, such as those chosen by the resettlers in Halfeti, should be made more attractive to better satisfy the needs of those resettlers who are entitled to them and to discourage other resettlers from opting for cash compensation. This can be achieved by providing a broader range of options and opportunities for the resettlers, taking into account their needs and preferences. In particular, landless people should be provided with land in the resettlement area, but if there is no land available the provision of other opportunities for them to generate income should be given the highest priority, as these people have less freedom of choice in terms of their livelihood strategies.

Understanding the needs, resources and preferences of those displaced or otherwise affected by a project is the key to any resettlement policy. Participation and consultation are important as a means to ensure the acceptability of resettlement and rehabilitation packages. Particular attention needs to be paid to the needs of the poor, the landless and small farmers, as well as women, children and the elderly. Moreover, resettlement policies need to incorporate a gendered policy perspective, ensuring that women and men are provided with equal opportunities to develop and utilise their skills, and to participate in decisions on their displacement and resettlement. We have found evidence that resettlement plans do not include these vulnerable groups and simply consider the community as a whole.

### **9.6.2 Building Institutional Capacity**

From an institutional context revisions and alterations have been made to the resettlement plans. This has led to some significant and positive changes. However, there are still institutional concerns that in some cases have led to the failure of resettlement plans.

As illustrated in Chapter 4, the main institutions involved in the resettlement activity are the State Hydraulic Works (DSI), General Directorate for Rural Services (KHGM) and the GAP Project Regional Development Administration (GAPRDA). According to the resettlement plan, they should work together under a unified institutional framework. However, it is also outlined in Chapter 4 that the link between these institutions is weak. This weak link might explain some of the problems experienced with regard to the implementation and management of the resettlement plans.

For instance, evidence from Halfeti suggests that the majority of the resettlers were dissatisfied with the valuations made by the DSI with regard to their immovable assets. This led to unhappy outcomes in terms of compensation payments. A further issue raised by the resettlers concerned the delays in issuing the compensation payments. It was observed that some public meetings were organised by GAPRDA to assist resettlers towards re-establishing their livelihoods. However, empirical data illustrated that the information and support available at these meetings was inadequate. As a result, people either did not participate in the meetings, or if they did, they remained unhappy and were unconvinced by the content and outcome of the meetings. Finally, there was insufficient encouragement to engage people in these meetings. Thus the meetings failed to assess the resettlers' needs. The KHGM, which is responsible for housing development within the new settlement, failed to satisfy people's needs in terms of their new dwellings. It is important to examine these institutions in depth and reconfigure them. Their interconnections should be strengthened; and this is critical to enhance the capacity of the implementing agencies to design and undertake resettlement activities.

In order to strengthen the capacity to plan, manage and monitor resettlement and rehabilitation operations it is suggested that a new independent organisation be formed to monitor and evaluate resettlement activities. Such an organisation does not exist in the current climate; thus there is no monitoring of the resettlement activities. If established independently this organisation could work within GAPRDA to help facilitate the resettlement - both during the process and afterwards. This independent agency should be directly involved in the consultation process with those affected by the resettlement. In view of the issues raised concerning inadequate assistance or the management of compensation, it is evident that people's rights and needs can only be addressed by direct participation and interaction between such an agency and those affected by the resettlement. This organisation could comprise experts, as well as local people who are more likely to understand the needs and demands within the region.

Finally, it is of paramount importance in the implementation of rehabilitation activities that the monitoring and evaluation reports are based on a local knowledge system. The responsibilities undertaken by this monitoring and evaluation agency could include organising and participating in public meetings; public awareness campaigns; focus group discussions; community meetings; meetings with women and men, both together and separately, to consider their views and perceptions – something which has never been done before. Feedback from these activities could be reported back to the implementation agencies to facilitate the development of better resettlement plans and implementation strategies. Future implementation plans could be organised on the basis of this feedback. However, it is important to note that all these services need to be tailored to the particular needs of women and other vulnerable groups. In short, it is important to have an independent institution that can support the other resettlement agencies in terms of their activities - both during and after the resettlement.



### **9.6.3 Provision of job opportunities**

Joblessness is a major issue in the resettlement sites and creating job opportunities is difficult, requiring substantial government investment (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Thus, as in the case of Halfeti, unemployment is a major risk among the resettlers and can remain so for a considerable period of time after the resettlement has taken place.

In Halfeti there were no detailed income restoration strategies within the resettlement plan and this has resulted in a situation where there is a lack of permanent jobs for the majority of the resettlers in the town. As already indicated, the resettlers in Halfeti were entitled to the 'rural resettlement without land' option. Thus, for them, income restoration through alternative means should have been the primary target of the implementing institutions.

Currently there are some jobs available in the town, but these are mainly temporary and are not suitable for everyone. Young educated women are active in the workforce, but they tend to move to the cities to obtain work due to the lack of local job opportunities. The Government needs to tackle this issue in two ways. One is the creation of local jobs, through investment in factories, agriculture and industrial establishments in close proximity to the area; because the provision of suitable, local employment opportunities could, in turn, avoid the problem of out-migration from the town by young people.

The second option is the development of communal production activities in the town - based on the skills already available to the resettlers. Communal production could be implemented through the development of animal husbandry. As outlined in the previous Chapters of this study, the resettlers in Halfeti used to keep livestock. They used to generate income from such activities and had therefore gained some level of experience. Currently, the regulations prohibit the keeping of livestock in the town. However, the establishment of small communal farms near to the town, where they are easily accessible, could prove a useful means to achieve communal production. This type of activity could help the resettlers to generate income or produce for their own daily consumption. The Government could provide small

loans to the resettlers to cover the initial purchase of the livestock. These resettlers could then pay back the loans with the profits generated from the livestock through the sale of produce.

However, monitoring should be an important element; and the evaluation and monitoring agency could be useful in evaluating these improvements. In addition to the possible economic benefits of these communal facilities, one of the concerns in Halfeti was the reduced social capital resulting from the resettlement, as most resettlers could not meet up with their neighbours or friends, due to the lack of proper housing, or pressure of time. This type of communal facility would allow resettlers to socialise with their friends and neighbours in a productive environment, as they were accustomed to do in the old town.

The Government resettlement option did not provide any land for the people in Halfeti to cultivate as gardens in which they could grow vegetables and fruit for their own consumption. However, it should be possible to develop communal gardens in the town, so that, on request, people could rent a plot and produce their own subsistence food. This would be particularly beneficial for the poor households who depend on market consumption, and whose earnings are insufficient to cover their expenses.

#### **9.6.4 Alternative agriculture**

Where there is a lack of skills, or financial capital it is crucial that resettlers engage in some form of income generation activity so that their livelihoods are secure. It is therefore important to support the establishment of sideline activities. Such alternative activities could include mushroom cultivation or greenhouse agriculture, both of which would be feasible in the area. It has already been mentioned in Chapter 6 that the Government did establish some training courses at the resettlement site, as a result of which some people were awarded with a certificate in mushroom cultivation. However, this was inadequate, as most of the resettlers indicated that they did not benefit from the training because they were unable to use their new skills. More genuine effort should be made to implement this type of activity. More emphasis should be given to the content of these courses and their efficiency. It would be useful to conduct a small pilot project to demonstrate the advantages and disadvantages of

alternative farming practices before selecting final strategies for economic recovery. These courses should be followed up with a credit scheme, to allow resettlers to establish their own greenhouses or similar small enterprises.

### **9.6.5 Self-enterprise**

It has been indicated in the previous Chapters of this study that resettlers were not provided with adequate support and guidance to help them manage their compensation monies. This issue could be tackled, as mentioned above, in terms of strengthening the institutional capacity to assist people; because, in Halfeti, most resettlers who are eligible for compensation confirmed that little assistance was offered to them and, as a result, they tended to use their compensation for local enterprise. It is observed that these small enterprises were of value and people were able to improve their livelihoods as a result. This type of activity could be further encouraged. Whenever there is self-capacity, but no financial security, to start new enterprises, cash compensation accompanied by technical support might be a good alternative, but one that would demand a great deal of time and effort. In order to help the affected individual to establish a business it may be worthwhile conducting a risk analysis with regard to the economic and environmental viability of the proposed productive activity.

### **9.6.6 Capacity Building**

There is no evidence of capacity building in the town. Capacity building involves ‘equipping individuals with the understanding, skills and access to information and training that enables them to perform efficiently’ (Global Development Resource Centre, 2005 in McDonald 2006). The development of human capabilities is an essential part of development and should be a key in any resettlement programme.

In terms of training for the resettlers, some vocational courses are available in Halfeti, but they fail to fully address the real needs of women and men. Some specific issues need to be addressed when establishing such programmes. One of the key issues is that training should be linked to job opportunities, for both women and men. As we have seen in the discussion

Chapters of this study, income earning is of significant importance for women, particularly in terms of their bargaining power within their households and the community. The women could be trained in skills that would enable them to generate income. The training courses also provide women with important opportunities for them to socialise with their friends and neighbours. Thus, the Government needs to place greater emphasis on training courses and encourage women to participate in these activities. It is observed that women in Halfeti who have been able to generate income have strengthened their position in the household. It is therefore important that employment is seen as a primary policy objective within any resettlement plans.

Vocational training is also important for men. The majority of the men in the town are unemployed or only have temporary jobs. Men would appear to lack skills; and attendance at training courses might provide a good opportunity for them to socialise, as well as acquire valuable skills. The alternative farming opportunities, as mentioned above, could provide a means of income generation, if based on good quality and efficient training.

The available training courses do not meet the needs of the resettlers and this is a possible indication of the absence of genuine consultation with the affected population with regard to the resettlement. It would appear that, in Halfeti, the need for participation in the planning process has not been properly addressed.

#### **9.6.7 Enhancing the quality of housing**

Reconstructing a poor family's new house should be the first step on the way to post-displacement recovery (Cernea and McDowell 200). However, the lack of good quality houses was one of the main concerns that resettlers had in the town. The majority of the resettlers spent their savings or borrowed money to get their new houses fixed before they moved in. The problems with inefficient housing were due to the lack of consultation concerning people's needs and the lack of participation by local people in the choice of housing offered. Therefore within the resettlement packages, people should be involved in the design and choice of house type to ensure that the new dwellings are appropriate for their

needs. To improve this situation it is recommended that the Turkish government revise its investment package to address the construction concerns. If people were given the opportunity to participate in the selection of house types at the outset, there would be less risk of tensions arising from subsequent dissatisfaction.

The reduction in available space within the new dwellings in Halfeti affected women the most. Women used to produce food and grow vegetables, but the housing in the new town is inadequate for this purpose. Policy makers should consider housing in resettlement areas in terms of people's requirements from a house, as well as the material details of the building. A participatory approach to resettlement planning is important to ensure that people's needs and expectations are identified and taken into account. Understanding the realities of people's daily lives and their real needs is crucial for the success of resettlement plans.

#### **9.6.8 Social support**

Rehabilitation is a social, not a technical, process (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Social disarticulation is also one of the risks identified in IRR. Social capital is important for everyone and in particular for women. More consultation on social relationships is necessary. Women need to have access to their friends and family in the nearby villages or in the old town. Meeting places can be established where women can get together and socialise; meetings or workshops can be organised frequently to enable women to exert control over their lives and to participate in society and maintain friendships. Social issues, and the need for social inclusion, should be emphasised in the resettlement plans.

If incorporated by planners effectively, the measures listed above would have the potential to significantly improve resettlement and rehabilitation operations, thereby reducing the risks of resettlement for those affected. Overall, this study has proved that it is very important to plan resettlement as a development, rather than simply as a resettlement that focuses only on the economic aspects, the construction of headworks or the development of downstream irrigation infrastructure. If resettlement is considered under a development model which has the full commitment of the government, as well as the resettled populations, and takes into

account the real needs and interests of the resettled communities (Patel et al 2002), the resettlement process could actually prove to be beneficial for the resettled population. It is therefore suggested that the relationship between bottom-up and top-down approaches is important from a policy perspective. For instance, 'bottom-up' approaches to resettlement that take into account the local conditions and the initial problems faced by the settlers, would avoid the negative impacts of resettlement. This is only possible with good assistance from the relevant institutions.

However, if not planned properly, top-down approaches may fail to consider local culture, past experience, rules or norms that are important for the livelihoods of the affected populations. In fact, it is likely that such failings are a key contributing factor in resettlement failure. Thus, the top-down/bottom-up dimension is an essential consideration. The implications arising from individual experiences need to be considered during the formulation of policies and plans if sustainable resettlement is to be achieved. Thus it is recommended that policy makers take particular care to include participation in resettlement plans, in order to ensure that they meet the international standards for resettlement, thereby allowing future development projects, such as the Ilisu Dam, to go ahead.

## APPENDICS

## Appendix 1

### Secondary Sources collected from Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration (GAPRDA)

- 1- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration, *Survey on the problems of employment and resettlement areas which will be affected by dammed lakes in GAP region*, executive summary, June 1994, Sociology Association, Ankara.
- 2- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration, *Social Action Plan*, June 1994, Ankara.
- 3- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration, *The status of women in the GAP region and their contribution to the development*, Turkish Development Fund (TKV), Rural development coordination, September, 1994, Ankara.
- 4- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration, *The trends in social change in the GAP region,, conclusion and recommendations*, The chamber of agricultural engineers (TMMOB)
- 5- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration, *GAP region population movements research*, executive summary, Middle east technical university (ODTU), Sociology Faculty GAP research team, July 1994, Ankara.
- 6- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration with the association of United Nations development Programme (UNDP), *Sustainable development and South east Anatolia Project (GAP) Seminar report*, March 1995, Sanliurfa.
- 7- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration, south east Anatolia Project Development Plan, Working report, September 2000, Gazinatep.
- 8- Acikalin O (1998), *the evaluation of fieldwork of the affected on the problems of employment and resettlement areas which will be affected by Birecik dam*. Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration
- 9- Republic of Turkey south eastern Anatolia project regional development administration *The Resettlement and Rehabilitation of the population affected by Birecik dam*, explanation report, May 1999



## Appendix 2

### Semi structured interview guide for the officials

**Background** – age, gender, position of the person, for how many years, how long has he/she has been in the town?

**Describe;** the resettlement process.

How have the resettlement occurred, have you got any main comments on the resettlement, planning, implementing? Do you know any specific households that have had impacted the most?

Specific problems and issues materialise in the resettlement process, how did those issues and problems get resolved?

Are you aware of the problems, strengths of resettlers (poverty, marginalization, conflicts finding employment, construction of housing, fractions, location etc). if there are any problems are there any solutions to these from side?

If you happen to select the best resettlement project in this area, what are the factors that you would consider whilst selecting it? In relation to your given criteria what it is the best resettlement project? How do you see it?

Do you think that most of the resettlers have adapted to their new environment by now, or do they still have problems/issues to solve? Yes/no reasons

What are the urgent steps one needs to take to further improve the socio-economic conditions of resettlers and their settlements in general?

Additional comments:

**Appendix 3**

A view from Ozlem's engagement ceremony



## Appendix 4

### HOUSEHOLD DATA CARDS

Household number –						
No	Member	Sex	Age	relationship to household head	highest level of formal education	main occupation
1						
2						
3						
3						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

## **Appendix 5**

### **Semi structured interview topics with the key informants (1<sup>st</sup> week)**

Name:

Occupation:

How long he/she has been living in the new town:

#### **General knowledge on Halfeti,**

What do they think about the new town?

Can they compare the new town with the old one?

What had changed the most?

How is the social life in the new town?

What are young people doing?

What are elderly people doing?

#### **General information about the resettlement**

What do they think about the resettlement?

Have they, effected from the dam being built?

If yes, provide details

Who has affected the most from the resettlement?

What has changed the most?

Do they know any people who might have different experiences in the new ton?

#### **General information on Women**

What are women doing in the new town?

What are their sisters, mothers doing? Daily lives, taks...

What might be their perception about the new town?

#### **Training courses**

What do they think about the training course in the town?

Have they/anyone they know attended to any of the course?

## Appendix 6

### Semi structured interview guide for in depth interviews with selected household heads

Have you been able to reconstruct your existing land-based or employment-based activities after the resettlement? How has the process developed?

Have you been compensated for your losses? How has the compensation been spent?

Have you been assisted during and after the actual relocation? How did the implementation process proceed? What were the difficulties? Were you able to overcome these? If yes, how did you overcome them?

Have you been assisted towards improving your former living standards?

What kind of assistance have you received in terms of income-generating capacity? Have the training programmes been useful in finding employment? Have you gained any skills? Have these skills been useful for generating income?

What types of opportunities have been provided for women? Have these opportunities been sufficient to enable the women to sustain themselves? Have they been able to participate in the planning and implementation stages?

Which agencies have worked on the resettlement? What are the local people's perceptions of these agencies?

Have the landless, or poor people who have informal land entitlements been considered in the resettlement scheme? Who are they? What are their experiences?

What is the level of participation by stakeholders in the resettlement process?

How could the situation be improved? (What can you suggest to improve your life, if any)

Adapted from (World Bank, 1986)

## **Appendix 6 continued**

### **Semi structured interview guide for in depth interviews with selected household heads**

#### **Additional checklist**

##### **SAVINGS;**

Have you got any savings?

Did you have any savings before the relocation?

If yes, did/ how did you spend it during the resettlement?

##### **EDUCATION**

How is the educational trend in the town?

What did you expect from educational status of your children?

What do you expect from educational status in the town as a whole?

Have anyone, friends, and family helping you?

How did you pay the tuition fees, expenses of the school?

##### **HEALTH CONDITION**

How is the health condition of the family?

How do you see the health sector in the new town?

Access to hospital, expand

##### **HOUSING**

How have you managed to get your houses fixed?

How was the situation when you moved in?

Details on; Construction material, space, physical appearance, infrastructure with the houses

##### **TRAINING**

Have your family got any training before and after the resettlement

Access; to training courses, expand

Perceptions about training courses

##### **SOCIAL REALTIONSIPS**

How are the relationships with the friends, neighbours, family?

Has/how it changed after the resettlement?

How is your social network? In and outside the community, hobbies, activities, family gatherings..

How do you maintain these networks?

## Appendix 7

### Photographs of Old and New Halfeti



Old Halfeti



New Halfeti

## Appendix 8

### Photographs of knitting course

#### A view of a knitting course



#### Another knitting course





## Appendix 9

Household well-being table

High well being	Medium well being	Low well being
Profession	Profession	Profession
<b>Financial Capital</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They receive remittances, pensions or wages from government.</li> <li>• They could invest, or manage compensations well.</li> <li>• Can save after maintaining the household cost.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sometimes receive remittances.</li> <li>• Cannot save after maintaining household cost.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No remittances or pensions from the government.</li> <li>• Cannot maintain their household cost with their income.</li> </ul>
<b>Human Capital</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good health</li> <li>• Educated, also children are educated</li> <li>• The good quality food consumption appropriate nutrition level.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not so educated. Children are going upto secondary school.</li> <li>• They eat less meat and less vegetables.</li> <li>• Good health but cannot spend much during sick.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly not educated children are going upto secondary school.</li> <li>• Not enough food on the table.</li> <li>• Bad health during the sick times, they loan money.</li> </ul>
<b>Social Capital</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have good relationship with friends and neighbours.</li> <li>• Good political social network.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good relationship with the neighbours but no social network.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No social network, or relationship.</li> </ul>
<b>Physical Capital</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Good house condition.</li> <li>• Mostly own, car, TV and good clothes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Half repaired house.</li> <li>• Owns TV but not car, have clothes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor house conditions, owns TV and not the rest.</li> <li>• Poor furniture and clothes.</li> </ul>
<b>Natural Capital</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Own land.</li> <li>• They have access to their land.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Own land but none or difficult access.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No land.</li> </ul>

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