

**THE SOCIAL and SPATIAL IMPACTS of LARGE EXPROPRIATION
PROJECTS in RURAL AREAS: the CASE of the MALATYA ÇAT DAM**

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İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

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**THE SOCIAL and SPATIAL IMPACTS of LARGE EXPROPRIATION
PROJECTS in RURAL AREAS: the CASE of the MALATYA ÇAT DAM**

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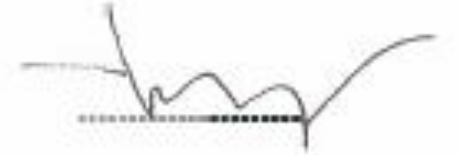
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ABSTRACT

THE SOCIAL and SPATIAL IMPACTS of LARGE EXPROPRIATION PROJECTS in RURAL AREAS: the CASE of the MALATYA ÇAT DAM

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The displacement and evictions stemming from large infrastructure public works constitute the most troublesome social aspects of public development projects. This study aims to discuss the social and the spatial impacts of large expropriations undertaken in the context of Malatya Çat Dam Project. The study is focused on the social outcome of displacement and resettlement. Subsequent to an overview on the previous experiences of displacement and new settlement following dam construction projects, the first section concentrates on the models of evaluation put forth by Cernea and Scudder. The second section presents an overview on expropriation, displacement and re-settlement and presents a detailed story of the resettlement in the last 15 years after the construction of the Çat Dam in Malatya.

Impoverishment risks incurred through displacement associated with development projects (i.e. dam constructions) are generally severely criticized. However, the field surveys suggest a well-planned resettlement process could contribute to the welfare of the displaced, when such a process is well planned and duly carried out. The displacement phase following the construction of the Çat Dam is shown to be an opportunity for the local people. Most of the interviewees were satisfied with the resettlement and had access to better quality public services such as health care, education, and transportation. Hence most of the participants acknowledged an improvement in their standard of living and the future and education of their children.

Key words: dam expropriation, displacement, and resettlement

ÖZ

BÜYÜK ÖLÇEKLİ İSTİMLAKLERİN KIRSAL ALANLARDAKİ SOSYAL VE MEKANSAL ETKİLERİ: MALATYA ÇAT BARAJI ÖRNEĞİ

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Büyük altyapı ve kalkınma projeleri sebebiyle toplulukların yerinden edilmesi kalkınma projelerinin en problemlisi olarak görülmektedir. Bu çalışma büyük çaplı yerinden edilmelerin sosyal ve mekânsal etkilerini Malatya Çat Barajı projesi çerçevesinde tartışmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışma yerinden edilmenin ve yeni yerleşimin sosyal sonuçlarına odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın birinci kısmında dünyada kalkınma projesi olan baraj yapımı sebebi ile yerinden edilme ve yeni yerleşim tecrübeleri ele alınmıştır. Bu tecrübelerin sonuçlarına ilişkin Michel Cernea ve Thayer Scudder'ın geliştirdiği bu çalışmanın da teorik çerçevesini oluşturan modellere değinilmiştir. İkinci kısımda ise Malatya Çat barajı yapımı nedeniyle istimlak, yerinden edilme ve yeni yerleşim tecrübeleri genel olarak değerlendirilecektir.. Yeni yerleşimin Malatya Çat Barajının yapımından 15 yıl sonraki sonuçları yapılan saha çalışması bulguları doğrultusunda ayrıntılı olarak anlatılmıştır.

Kalkınma projelerinden biri olan baraj yapımı sebebi ile yerinden edilmeler, özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yoksullaşmalara sebep olduğu için olumsuz eleştirilere hedef olmaktadır. İyi planlanmış bir yeni yerleşimin yerinden edilenler için bir fırsata dönüşmesi de mümkündür. Bu çalışmanın konusu olan Malatya Çat Barajı sebebiyle yerinden edilenlerin büyük çoğunluğu için bu proje bir fırsat olmuştur. Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre görüşme yapılan yeni yerleşimcilerin büyük çoğunluğu yeni yerleşimden memnundur ve yaşam standartlarının arttığı görüşündedir. Bu memnuniyetin sebepleri kişilere göre değişmektedir fakat herkesin ittifakla belirttiği sebepler: Yeni mekânlarında sağlık, eğitim ve ulaşım gibi kamu hizmetlerine ulaşımının kolay olmasıdır. Özellikle çocuklarının eğitimi ve geleceği açısından yeni yerleşimin daha avantajlı olmasından dolayı memnuniyetlerini ifade etmişlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İstimlak, yerinden edilme, yeni yerleşim.

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LIST of ABBREIVATIONS

GDSHW: General Directorate State Hydraulic Works

IRR: Impoverishment, Resettlement, and Reconstruction

SAP: Southeastern Anatolia Project

SHW: State Hydraulic Works

AVW: Agriculture and Village Works

CHAPTER I

1. Introduction

Since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, after the Turkish war of independence 1919-1923 the state has adopted policies to reach the “level of contemporary civilization”. However, it has been observed that World War I and II interrupted this modernization process demographically and economically. Whilst the 1950’s are recognized as a period of economic growth, industrialization and agricultural mechanization, the 1980’s were the beginning of the emergence of liberal policies, along with globalization and urban and rural development projects. The Southeastern Anatolia Project (SAP), which is planned in 1970’s and developed in 1980’s, was designed to eliminate regional inequality throughout the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions. This project aims to improve industrialization and includes large-scale infrastructure investments.

Within the scope of the SAP, it is planned to build roads, educational buildings, airports, dams and hydroelectric power stations (Kesgin and Sungur, 2010; Ökten and Çeken, 2008). The project includes the construction of 24 dams and 19 hydroelectric power stations. In 2012 it is reported that 14 dams have been constructed. Further, a number of other projects, such as road building, mining, and construction of industrial and commercial centers have been accomplished in the areas of transportation, education, and telecommunications (Benek, 2009). As Falsafi (2010) observes, *“Interpretation of the obligations of states in investor-state arbitration dispute settlements requires examination of the fundamental constitutional powers of states in the interest of the public and wellbeing of human beings”*(p.1). These projects should be implemented for national development and the common good, which *“benefit society as a whole, in contrast to the private good of individuals and sections of society”* (Common Good, 2013). Argandona (1998) argues, *“Common good [relates to] the overall conditions of life in society that allow different groups and their members to achieve their own perfection more fully and more easily”*(p. 1095). It could therefore be suggested that these projects are a necessary corollary of national development and the common good. It should also be

borne in mind that they have some environmental, political, economic, and social consequences (Akkaya *et al.*, 2009; Sönmez, 2012), including direct displacement, deprivation, and disturbance of the social fabric of some sections of the society.

So far, however, there has been little discussion about the social impacts of such large-scale development projects. It is therefore necessary to consider the negative social impacts of dam construction. One of the most important impacts is “expropriation”, referring to “*the power of governments to appropriate private property for public use without the owner’s consent in return for a compensation payment. Constitutional provisions in most countries require the payment of compensation to the owner*” (Eminent Domain, 2013). Furthermore, expropriation may lead to displacement of large numbers of people and the changing of jobs. It is necessary to reconsider resettlement plans to sustain development. Resettlement plans are important because they can protect displaced masses from the risk of poverty, provide social mobility, and improve living standards.

With respect to this, it has been found necessary to research the attitudes of populations who have been displaced due to development projects. These people undergo a process of resettlement and are obliged to adapt to the new living conditions. In general, social changes take place gradually in society. To research these sudden changes, studies may sometimes need to be carried out under clinical conditions. Sociological research on the social impacts and spatial outcomes of dam expropriations would enable social scientists to observe structural changes that would otherwise remain unnoticed.

Dam projects are intended to promote basic human needs and are implemented to provide irrigation and power generation. However, most of these projects lead to the displacement of populations and the change of the jobs.

Empirical studies conducted in Turkey and around the world have demonstrated that displaced populations are victims of these development projects. They are considered victims because they are displaced and resettled with insufficient compensation (Schutter, 2009). As the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Guideline on Development-based Displacement (1997) states, “*All persons, groups and communities have the right to suitable resettlement which includes the right to alternative land or housing which is safe, secure, accessible, affordable and habitable*” (quoted in Schutter, 2009, 7). As has often been the case in the past, the population forced to leave their land should be among the first beneficiaries of these

projects, not the first victims (Dao, 2010). Focusing on the social and economic impacts of the construction of the “Çat” Dam, in Malatya. This study contributes to the literature by discussing the social outcomes of related future projects leading to sudden mass displacement.

Research has been conducted on the social and spatial impacts of dam expropriation, large displacements and resettlement. For practical reasons, this study focuses on the expropriation and resettlement observed around the Çat Dam, located in the central eastern province of Malatya. The study attempts to shed light on its impacts with particular attention to resettlement, education, economic conditions, gender issues, and social change in relation to policymaking. The study is presented in five chapters. The introductory chapter presents a literature review of dam projects and the displacement processes in Turkey and around the world. This chapter also includes the study’s methodology. The second chapter concentrates on displacements with particular attention to those caused by dam construction, and discusses some general problems related to resettlement. In this respect, some empirical studies on the resettlement process and the outcomes of various dam projects around world are presented. Further, the risks of poverty and risk management are discussed in detail. The reconstruction (IRR) model of Michel Cernea and Thayer Scudder’s theory of the patterns of resettlement process are explained. In the third chapter, the experiences of the displaced populations are presented with an overview of the geographical, economic, social, and cultural structures of expropriated villages within the Çat Dam project in Malatya. The problems that emerged from expropriation and the distribution of compensation will also be taken up in this chapter. The fourth chapter reports the results of an empirical survey. Following an overview of Malatya, the village of Tohma, settled by the government, Sütlice and Tecde neighborhoods, those neighborhoods having received compensation and being resettled by their choice, and the economic, cultural and social conditions of those settled are summarized. The condition of the resettled populations is assessed and interpreted in the light of Cernea and Scudder’s theories on resettlement risks and the state of the displaced populations.

1.1. Sampling

The sampling of the study is based on the displacement of the people due to the Çat Dam, the claims for compensation filed thereafter and the stories of displacement which I witnessed as I was a child. The socio-economic situation of these people which I witnessed during my visit to these neighborhoods 17-18 years after the displacement, and especially my supposition about their tendency to behave conservatively for fifteen years after arrival at their new sites, motivated me to study this topic. When I decided to study this topic, I intended to conduct it as a cultural study, but this intention turned into a case study analyzing their experience of displacement and resettlement. So when I focus on the displaced due to the Çat Dam and their resettlement issue I wonder that what factors determine their choice of resettlement place and what are the impacts of dam expropriation socially and spatially. These questions led me to formulate the other questions presented below.

1.2. Research questions

1. How did displacement affect the social status of the people and their attitudes in the selection of resettlement areas?
2. How does compensation affect people's social welfare?
 - a. How did they use the compensation?
 - b. Did women receive a fair share of the compensation?
 - c. Compensations were allocated on household basis. Were there any problems in the distribution of compensation?
3. Inquiring into the ways in which the processes of displacement and relocation affected family organization, what was the impact on family structure and household organization?
 - a. How did the new settlements affect people's life style? What are the distinctive features of resettlement, accommodation, and the difficulties in adaptation to a new settlement? What were the comparative advantages and disadvantages of their new settlement area?
 - b. How did the processes and resettlement affect gender relations as well as the social, economic, and educational conditions of the community?

This study aims to discuss the patterns of social organization, reproduction and social change. The main concepts of this study are expropriation, displacement and resettlement.

1.3. Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research method by exploring the changed conditions of the displaced population within the area of the Çat Dam.

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the worlds into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversation, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. (Denzin and Lincoln, p.3)

Strengths of Qualitative research are, it emphasizes meaning and tries to understand reality not to illustrate it. It helps to get a detailed knowledge about the research objects. *“Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, and phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin& Lincoln, p.3).*

Qualitative research processes are not completely pre-specified, and in avoiding prejudgments there is openness so that it can generate new theories and recognize phenomena ignored by most or all previous researchers and literature. Qualitative research aims to *“get closer to the actor's perspective through detailed interviewing and observation” (Denzin & Lincoln, p.12).* The qualitative researcher has the awareness that the reality can never be fully apprehended, merely projected. Qualitative methods *“rely on multiple methods as a way of capturing as much of reality as possible” (p. 11).* Qualitative research emphasizes rich description of the world. So its methods are *“Semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival and phonemic analysis, even statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers” (p.7).* Qualitative research aims to take a photo of the living world so, *“qualitative researchers are more likely to confront and come up against the constraints of the everyday social world. They see this world in action and embed their findings in it” (p.2).* All of these strengths of qualitative research convinced me to employ this method.

In this study four kinds of qualitative data are used: written documents, in-depth open-ended interviews, focus groups, and direct observations.

Written Documents: This study is carried out in two stages. The first stage includes an extensive research to explore “insights and hints”, and prepares the ground for a comprehensive study in the second stage. The extensive research process will concentrate on documentary data sources, i.e. secondary data. These are: publications and reports maps of the General Directorate of The State Hydraulic Works (GDSHW), Agriculture and Village Works (AVW), and some other studies on displacement caused by dam expropriations and other public works in Turkey. The related investments will help to understand the common and different aspects of expropriation and resettlement policies, to assess their contributions and disadvantages. Moreover, this study will shed light on the changes after the resettlements.

Observation, Interviews, and Focus Groups: The second stage is intensive research aimed to collect primary data, which are conducted by interviews and observations from the field concentrating on three different places. These are the district of Tecde-Gedik and the villages of Tohma and Sütlüce. Interviews conducted with “*open ended questions and probes yield in-depth responses about people’s experiences, perceptions, opinions feelings and knowledge*” (Patton, p.4). 5 focus group interviews were conducted. ‘Focus group’ means “*collective conversations or group interviews*” (Kamberelis&Dimitriadis, D.L.p. 887). Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants. The research fields were visited several times to observe activities, behaviors, actions, conversations, interpersonal interactions and organizational processes.

Key informant interviews and snowball sampling: The qualitative field study was carried out through in-depth interviews. The samples for interviews were selected via snowball sampling. Nearly all respondents had been resettled as groups, and this facilitated the research process. Interviews with key informants were used for collecting, verifying data and reaching participants for this study. These key informants are listed below:

- Şükrü Ak. and Mehmet Ad., who know several villagers and participated in different phases of the expropriation process.
- An interview with the headmen of the villages of Tohma and Sütlüce,
- An interview with the director of the Çat Project under the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works DSHW, Sabahaddin Güler.
- An interview with the Lawyers, Mehmet G. and Remzi B.
- Interviews with other officers from Fırat Development Agency, Turkish Statistical Institute and Provincial Directorate of Agriculture.
- Interviews with one official and one non-official member of the value determination commission from Çelikhan.

1.3.1. Population and Population Groups

Those influenced by the Çat dam were: households which had to migrate due to the dam; the neighboring people who were somehow influenced by the situation though they did not have to migrate; households which did not have to migrate even though their properties were expropriated; and the people who had to leave due to the dam. However, this study was limited to include only the population which was displaced due to the dam. The reason is that the focus of the study is displacement, migration and the consequent changes. The following research groups were proposed in this context:

1. Households settled in Tohma: 312 of the displaced households were settled in Tohma by the State. These households could not receive compensation for their immovable properties (if any). Instead they received a two-story house located in a piece of land of 1.000 square meters and an parcel of agricultural land of 20.000 square meters.

2. Expropriated households which settled in Sütlüce: These households did not choose the settlement offered, instead opting to receive the expropriation price and migrate by their own means. Even though it is not possible for us to have access to the official number of households, which settled in Sütlüce, the villagers in Sütlüce claim that 100 households had settled in the village.

3. Expropriated households, which settled in Tecde and Gedik neighborhoods:

Like the settlers of Sütlüce, this group also preferred to receive the expropriation price instead of the resettlement proposal, and migrated by their own means. Instead of settling in a village, these households preferred to settle in the outskirts of the city center. It is not possible to have access to the exact number of the people who settled there. These households were reached via key informants.

1. 1.3.2. Field Study

The field study comprises four stages. These four stages are summarized below. We interviewed Mehmet G. the attorney of the most of the villagers who took active part in the expropriation processes for the Dam, and with two other key informants from the neighborhoods of Gedik and Tecde. Two other key informants were met via these two key informants. These two informants were the village headman of the Tohma village and a farmer from the village of Sütlüce. The locations in question were visited in the meantime and as a result of some preliminary interviews and observations, the field was seen to be suitable for the objective of the study. Furthermore, basic study questions were determined.

Research groups were visited between 1-25 February 2013 and in-depth interviews and focus groups interviews were conducted. In the process, three teahouses in the center of Malatya, the meeting places of the displaced villagers, were visited and focus group interviews were conducted with open-ended questions. In addition, interviews were conducted with the displaced owners of a charcuterie, clothing shops and tobacco shops in the city center of Malatya. We stayed in the Sütlüce village, the neighborhoods of Gedik and Tecde for 1 month randomly in the year 2011. The locations in the sampling were visited between 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. during the research. We stayed for one evening in Sütlüce and for three evenings in the neighborhoods of Gedik and Tecde.

The Branch Office of the State Hydraulic Works in Malatya and the Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Affairs were visited to access the written documents and the new data about the expropriation, displacement and new settlements, as they constitute the data source of the study aside from the interviews and the observations. In addition, the Turkish Statistical Institute and Firat Development Agency were visited to obtain the relevant statistics for the villages.

Some of the data in these institutions could be borrowed, while some of the data were examined within the institutions. Detailed information relating to all the processes as to the Çat Dam was obtained from Sabahaddin G. the Çat dam coordinator of the State Hydraulic Works. Remzi B. the attorney of the most of the villagers was interviewed to obtain detailed information as to the Çat dam expropriation processes and compensations.

Sample locations of the research were visited between 5-20 April and additional random interviews were conducted to determine the reliability of the data received. No situation contrary to the data received from the interviews and observations made in February were found. The State Hydraulic Works was revisited between these dates with the aim of making up for the lack of information on certain aspects noticed during the research. In addition, the District and the District Governorship of Çelikhan in which the Çat Dam is located was visited and the data for the previous state of the villages were consolidated. The retired member of the valuation commission, Mehmet A., who was a land registry officer during the expropriation processes for the Çat Dam in Çelikhan, was interviewed to detail and consolidate the information as to the processes.

An additional visit was paid to the locations between 1-15 September and some places in the Sütluçe village were photographed for the description. The village of Tohma and the neighborhoods of Tecde and Gedik were photographed between 24-27 January.

1.3.3. Limitations of the Research

Aside from the limitations emanating from the method of qualitative research, there are specific limitations peculiar to the case:

1. Qualitative research is termed as subjective not “*value-free objectivist science. The researcher needs to determine position, and perspective to collect data and evaluate it*” (Denzin & Lincoln, p.8). Objective criteria were considered during the research. The arguments of the research were supported with written documents, references and direct quotations. Nevertheless, the point of view of the researcher had influence on the structure of the text at hand.
2. Since the research is qualitative, a small number of people could be interviewed.

3. One of the most important limitations of the research was related to the problem of language. Since some of the interviewees spoke only Kurdish, they did not speak Turkish or could not express themselves well in Turkish. Interviews were conducted with these people via interpreters. Another problem of language is that the interviews conducted in Turkish and Kurdish are presented in English.
4. Since the research had to be conducted by the researcher in the research field, the time of the research was extended. Since the interviewees were not familiar with social research and since especially some of the elderly and the women were illiterate, they could not understand the objective and the position of the researcher. Some of them doubted the researcher and tried to know the researcher better for this reason. Some of the interviewees came to trust the researcher in time and then participated in the interview. However, some of them did not respond since they thought they could get into trouble later on. The key informants played an important part in overcoming the problem of trust.
5. Most of the interviewees were over 30, and people who could compare the previous conditions with the current one were chosen. There is not sufficient data as to how the new generation perceives the existing conditions.

1.4. Literature Review and Secondary Data

This thesis study is based on two kinds of primary resources in addition to the field work: the first involves a study of secondary literature published by state institutions involved in the planning and governing the process of dam construction. The Ministry of Agriculture and Village Works (AVW) disseminated comprehensive reports about the expropriated villages explaining the conditions of those villages before expropriation. It could be suggested the reports would make it easy to compare the social, economic, geographical conditions of the villages before and after resettlement. Besides this, village inventories¹ and the Yurt Encyclopedia² are two other resources providing detailed information about the previous status of the villages. It should also be borne in mind that there are comprehensive reports of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (GDSHW), which is considered the key actor throughout the planning, construction, and resettlement processes.

¹ i.e. “*Köy Envanterler Etüdüleri*” (in Turkish)

² i.e. “*Yurt Ansiklopedisi*” (in Turkish)

Among secondary literature, it has been found advisable to refer to studies exploring the social and the spatial impacts of dam expropriations conducted both in Turkey and other parts of the world. These comprehensive studies are expected to provide general information. They are also considered important to understand how the process of expropriation is conducted around the world, and to identify similarities and differences. This methodology will enable a comparison of different cases, and discuss the social impacts of expropriation.

Dam construction is considered a necessary part of the development process, particularly in third world countries. In this regard, the World Bank funds various development projects, and is involved in the project planning and implementation phases. The World Commission on Dams under the World Bank has also contributed to the literature on dam expropriation. As a series of studies, the Impoverishment Risks and Resettlement model (IRR) is the most famous and comprehensive theory developed during the 1990's (Cernea, 1990, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, 1999 and 2000; World Bank 1994). Cernea established this model that presents eight interlinked potential risks associated with displacement. These risks are: *“(1) landlessness, (2) joblessness, (3) homelessness, (4) marginalization, (5) food insecurity, (6) increased morbidity and mortality, (7) loss of access to common property and services, and (8) social disarticulation”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 9).

Impoverishment, Resettlement, and Reconstruction (IRR) model takes its roots from both empirical and theoretical findings. Its empirical background includes findings reported in the resettlement studies around various countries in the last three decades. On the other hand, the theoretical background comprises the experiences collected during the above-mentioned research period. It is observed that researchers have sufficient data for the evaluation of these processes and to identify the patterns of displacement and resettlements. Thayer Scudder, former commissioner for The World Commission on Dam and World Bank and Michel Cernea, Professor of Sociology, are important theorists researching on dams and development. Moreover, Scudder describes resettlement processes in four stages. These stages are (1) Planning and recruitment Stage, (2) Adjustment and Coping Stage (Transition Stage), (3) Community Formation and Economic Development Stage, and (4) Handing Over and Incorporation Stage. Scudder's model presents a general framework as described in Max Weber's ideal types. As Weber (1949) argues, *“An ideal-type is not intended to represent an “ideal” picture of a particular aspect of*

reality in any evaluative sense; rather, it is “a ‘model’ of what ‘ought’ to exist” (p. 92). This model is insufficient for explaining contextual, cultural, institutional, and political distinctions, and behavior patterns resulting from these distinctions. Studies on this subject throughout the world are significant in terms of understanding the social and spatial impacts of dam expropriation, and to identify its related patterns.

1.4.1. Dam Projects around the World

There has been an increasing amount of literature on the social impacts of dam expropriation. The Three Gorges Dam (TGD) constructed in China (1994-2009) is the largest dam project in the world, where 1.3 million people were displaced. There is a considerable amount of literature on its social impacts. The social impact of the expropriation and resettlement around the Three Gorges Dam is emphasized by social scientists who analyzed and discussed its social implications. Due to this large expropriation, some social scientists working on this project criticized the government's dam policy. This policy focuses on energy production, establishing flood barriers, and promoting irrigation. However, it seems that the policy lacks elements concerning the rehabilitation of displaced people. These populations were in fact the first victims of the dam project. Therefore the Chinese land acquisition policy was criticized because it ignores the rehabilitation of displaced people, in particular the people forced to relocate from rural to urban areas. In this respect, edited by Quing (1998), “The River Dragon Has Come” presents a series of essays discussing the possible impacts of dams in connection with resettlement (Stanley, 2004, p. 5). In addition, Hwang and Cao and Xi (2010) focus on the social, spatial, economic, mental, and physical health impacts of displacement. Their findings are based on a group of migrants, and cover the period before and after moving. Liet *al.* (2001) review involuntary resettlement after the construction of Three Gorges Dam. They discuss the hard conditions of rural to urban migration and the experiences of the displaced populations. Furthermore, Heggelund (2006) examines the resettlement program and the environmental capacity of the reservoir area. Heggelund's study evaluates the notion of risk consciousness in reconstruction strategy within the framework of the “impoverishment risks and reconstruction” (IRR) model. Wilmsen *et al.* (2011) carried out research about the people who previously derived their living from of the land and their move into cities due to not enough land for

everyone's needs. This study explores the conditions of a selected population and discusses the research question of whether they are able to sustain their livelihood. It examines the idea that availability of capital through benefit-sharing initiatives does not guarantee its productive use. As mentioned earlier, there is a growing literature about the impacts of the TGP. Due to the limited scope of this study, however, only some are discussed here.

Another project which has been displacing over 130,000 people, the Indian Narmada Sardar Sarovar Dam Project (SSP) (1987-2008), has been widely researched and discussed within the literature related to development-induced displacement and forced resettlement. It has also been called "the most controversial dam project" (Fisher, 1995). Dreze *et al.* (1997) conducted a study on displacement and resettlement caused by this project. Dwivedi (1999) discusses the resettlement policies and their implementation with action group mediation. His study mentions internal differentiation among the people by the reservoir created from the Navagam Dam on the river Narmada. Samitiet *al.* (1999) present a study on dam projects, displacement, resettlement, and rehabilitation policy and its related laws in India for the World Commission on Dams. They summarize the ongoing displacement caused by big dam projects in India over the last 50 years. In their study, they refer to some major issues within the scope of displacement and development, and explore the public resistance to dam constructions. Mehta (2005) offers an article about rehabilitative reforms in rural parts of India after the Sardar Sarovar Project. This study highlights efforts to protect vulnerable Indian citizens against displacement and resettlement after the SSP. There are also some recommendations for the rehabilitation of displaced populations.

As another example, the Aswan Dam, constructed in Egypt (1950-1965), is one of the biggest dams in the world with various social and environmental impacts. After the construction of the Aswan Dam, there was a 90% decrease in the water level of the Nile. The Aswan Dam was constructed in the district of "Old Nubia" whose population is called "Nubians". They were displaced because of expropriation, and there are some studies on the reaction of the Nubian families to displacement. Fahim's book (1981) provides detailed observations of nearly 100,000 displaced people in Egypt and Sudan after the Aswan Dam construction. Some of the dam's reservoirs were common property, and previously used by nomadic groups in the Nubian Region. The region's population consisted of thousands of people.

Moreover, no compensation was allocated for the displaced people there. Therefore, it could be suggested that the project failed in protecting the lives of those people.

There are other studies concerning not only the social and economic impacts of displacement, but also the psychological aspects. It has been observed that these vulnerable populations miss their memories and feel sorry to leave their homeland. In this particular context, there are studies discussing lack of awareness of the moral and emotional effects of the displacement, and the dependence on compensation. As an example, Raj (2008) offers a study on India's socialist expropriation policy. Swainson and MC Gregort (2008) also contribute to the emerging literature on the subject of compensation. They claim the people's values should be considered as much as economic and social criteria. Therefore, the planning should include the protection of cultural values. In their study, the Malaysian Government's policy is criticized in the modernization of the Orang Asli.

Today, dam construction and its social impacts are considered as inseparable issues that requires detailed studies. For this reason, the UN has established international standards for the process of expropriation and resettlement. Some projects have been carried out to understand the social impacts of large dams (Braun, 2004). In accordance with the UN standards, there are some countries that have developed resettlement policies to minimize the vulnerability of displaced populations. For instance, Vietnam has improved its practices on dam construction planning, and started to give more priority to the rehabilitation process (Dao, 2010).

On the other hand, there are also some successful examples of expropriation. In some cases, the long-term consequences of involuntary resettlement lead to a better life, and improved satisfaction. In the case of the Kotmale Dam in Sri Lanka, resettlement was applied in a successful way, where the living standards of the resettled populations improved and they regained control over their own lives in a period of 25 years after transfer (Takesada, Manatunge, & Herath, 2008).

Another successful resettlement plan can be observed in the Arenal Project implemented in Costa Rica. Partriage (1993) presents a comprehensive research on this project. He observes, *"The findings of ex-post evaluation show that the Arenal resettlement has improved the living standards, and the displaced population was able to gain control over their own lives within a period of 5 years"* (Asthana, 1996, p. 1474).

1.4.2. Some Examples of Dam Projects in Turkey

In Turkey, there is limited literature on the social impact of dam expropriation. Before reviewing the current literature, it is important to note there is no research has been done so far about the Çat Dam. There are studies about the Keban Dam that displaced 30,000 people. Silier (1976) explores the social and economic structure of expropriated villages after the construction of the Keban Dam. Atay (1985) presents a study about the problem of urbanization of displaced people because of the Keban Dam. Atay's study shows the urbanization process is not just related with spatial issues, but socio-economic conditions, education and social networks. It has been said that economic deprivation and lack of social, cultural, economic, and political capital prevent those affected from accessing resources. Further, all these issues may slow down the urbanization of the displaced populations. Öner's (2004) thesis "Responses of Female Immigrants of Keban to Resettlement" demonstrates the experiences of mothers and their daughters after the resettlement in the central district of Elazığ. The study's findings include hardships in occupation and education, participation in the decision-making mechanism, relationships with relatives and society in general, and the use of services in an urban area. Öner also shows the differences in post-resettlement responses, and their impact on the women's general position. This study provides data on urban settlement after the Keban Dam Project and the responses of the displaced women. In addition to this, Birsen and Parlak (2005) offer a comprehensive comparative research on the social structure before the Keban Dam Project and social changes in the 30 years after construction.

There are some studies on the Southeastern Anatolia Project (SAP), which is considered the most comprehensive rural development and transformation project in Turkey. This project includes 22 dams, 19 hydropower stations, and an irrigation scheme of 1.7 billion hectares. Birsen and Parlak (2006) conducted a comprehensive study into the problems of displacement and resettlement in the reservoir of the dams that are part of the SAP. Konak (1995) focuses on the resettlement of displaced populations due to the Atatürk Dam by researching the living standards of the resettlers to Yeni Samsat, Reyhanlı, and Söke. He analyses the resettlement process from a social anthropology perspective. Besides this, Parlak (2005) presents results of another research on the relationship between dams and sustainable development from

the point of the Ataturk Dam. Parlak highlights the implantation phase of the project, which is a part of the sustainable development program. In her study, it is emphasized that improvements in the livelihood of the displaced populations are required to sustain developments. Akyürek (2005) conducted a thesis study on the expropriation and resettlement process during the construction of the Atatürk Dam within the framework of the South Eastern Anatolian Project.

Güler and Savaş's (2005) study compares the consequences of resettlement before and for 10 years after the construction of the Karakaya Dam. The authors conducted socio-economic interview surveys of 200 households in two resettlement areas. They were resettled by the state in the ex-territorial areas of the region, particularly in Denizköy (i.e. one of the villages of the district of Didim in Aydın, the Aegean Region) and in Yenikent (i.e. one of the villages of Konya in Central Anatolia).

This study demonstrates that displacement could be a chance for social mobility for some people. Social mobility depends on the quality of the place of resettlement. As an example, socio-economic conditions of the resettled populations in Didim resulted in upward mobility because there was easy access to resources. The populations resettled in Yenikent could not develop positive socio-economic conditions compared to the resettled populations in Didim.

The PhD thesis of Şatıroğlu (2012) analyses the long-term socio-economic impacts of forced migration and resettlement in the case of the Tahtalı Dam Project. Şatıroğlu presents a survey based on the Kurdish people displaced because of dam construction. They were resettled in İzmir, which is located in the far west of Turkey. It was observed that, for most of them, it was the first time they had traveled to the western part of Turkey. She analyses the challenges and the changes that were experienced by the displaced people in this region. Şatıroğlu emphasizes that resettlement to distant places makes the adaptation process more difficult. In the case of the Tahtalı Dam Project, the Kurdish people were resettled in a place that is mostly populated by Turkish nationalists. Therefore they had a negative bias about the Kurdish people who were considered terrorists and faced discrimination.

Bakırcı (2002) explores displacement in the district of "Halfeti" in Şanlıurfa because of the construction of the Birecik Dam. This community was re-established near to the dam reservoir in the district of Samsat in Adıyaman. This study focuses on the social and spatial impacts of displacement. Bakırcı (2002) points out that

resettlement of the population near the old district made displacement less traumatic and the adaptation process easier than resettlement in distant places.

Şahin (2000) conducted a study on the displaced population after construction of the Altınkaya Dam in Samsun. Şahin focuses on the unemployment problem of the displaced population. It was found that most of them were not able to invest the allocated compensation into business due to lack of opportunities. Therefore, they spent the compensation without making any investments. Whilst some of these people are reported to be underemployed, others have unskilled jobs.

Finally, Sami (2009) explores the cultural and social separation that emerged from forced migration to urban areas in Diyarbakır.

It seems that forced migration and terrorism present similar problems, and have displaced hundreds of thousands of people since the 1980's. They also have various impacts on the urban and the social fabric which have created the present ontology of cities in the GAP Region. The internal migration triggered by terrorism in the region has already gone beyond being a problem of Diyarbakır, and has affected other cities, such as in the current demand for housing. Terrorism has become a major problem in Turkey. In general however, people have a primitive lifestyle due to economic conditions. Conditions in the original areas and the places of resettlement seem to make the problems even more difficult. If the problem of housing continues to coexist with the problem of emigration in the case of cities in the GAP Region (e.g. Diyarbakır), it will be necessary for the authorities and the decision-makers to create new solutions (Sami, 2009, p. 51).

This study conducted via qualitative method, there is no qualitative research among works mentioned above. As a case study the experience is unique but there is similar patterns and differences in outcome of the experiences studied in above mentioned studies. There is no one special study model guided this study from the reviewed literature but those mentioned works helped to formulate this study. But in terms of the Çat Dam experience as a relatively successful expropriation and resettlement project it can be classified in literature like Arenal project in Costa Rica and Kotmale Dam Project in Sirilanka. As a rare example rather than adverse ones.

CHAPTER II

2. Internal Displacement and Dam Induced Displacement

Internal displacement is an important issue similar to immigration and it is the most obvious problem of the 20th century. There are many reasons for displacement, including wars, ethnic conflict, natural disasters, and development-related displacement. As a consequence of these various factors, large numbers of people are evicted from their own surroundings and forced to find new settlements to sustain their livelihoods.

Forced population displacement is always crisis-prone, even when necessary as part of broad and beneficial development programs. It is a profound socioeconomic and cultural disruption for those affected. Dislocation breaks up living patterns and social continuity. It dismantles existing modes of production, disrupts social networks, causes the impoverishment of many of those uprooted, threatens their cultural identity, and increases the risks of epidemics and health problems (Robinson, 2003, p.8)

A internal displaced person is defined as:

A person or groups who have been forced or obliged to leave their homes or places of habitual residence in particular, to escape the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (Deng, 2007, p. 10).

Some common reasons for displacement in the contemporary world are civil war and famine in countries such as Somalia and Sudan in Africa, natural disasters such as floods in China and India⁷ and the apartheid policies in Arakan. In addition, there are cases of large-scale development and infrastructural projects carried out in some developing countries such as China, India, and Turkey, for national and regional development, economic growth, and improving social welfare. Some examples of these projects are mining operations, irrigation schemes, projects concerning both urban and rural transformation, construction of roads and highways, airports, industrial complexes, and dams, and they often lead to displacement of local people (Smith, 2009).

During the last two decades of the previous century, the rate of development-induced displacement is 10 million people each year. Over 200 million people were displaced in the world during that period. Considering the large development-induced displacement and its dire consequences, it has become a problem of worldwide proportions (Cernea, 2004, p. 6).

Development-induced displacements are the outcomes of constructing substructures for irrigation, energy generation, new industries, transportation, roadways, or for urban developments, such as schools, hospitals, and airports. These projects provide the necessary services, and are considered important to improve the quality of life. However the displacement emerging from these projects seems to produce a serious imposition on some population groups. Furthermore, these projects violate people's rights with state-authority interference through expropriations of land. They displace populations from their usual habitat, which often leads to worse living conditions in social, economic, and psychological aspects.

Such projects are justified by cost-benefit analyses that assign losses and gains on a political basis" (Smith, 2009, p. 4). The guideline of the utilitarian idea "greater good for the larger numbers" (Bentham, 1907) rationalizes expropriations and displacements and they are defended as unavoidable processes for development and benefit. Some people benefit from the outcomes of development, while others pay some cost through forced displacement. "During displacement, people lose capital in all its forms-natural capital, man-made capital, human and social capital (Cernea, 2004, p. 23).

The displacement of large populations seems to be necessary for mega-projects, particularly for hydraulic projects that require large tracts of land for reservoirs. However, national leaders and policy-makers consider this large-scale displacement as legitimate and inevitable costs of development, acceptable in the larger national interest i.e. the notion that the common good makes development-induced displacement acceptable (Negi & Ganguly, 2011).

2.1. The Difference between Development-Induced Displacement and Other Categories of Displacement

Although there are many similarities in displacement practices, development-induced displacement seems to be different from other categories of

displacement. For instance, whilst the displacements caused by natural or man-made disasters are unavoidable and go beyond the wish of human beings, the development-induced displacement is planned and advanced by the government.

The second difference is that, in the cases of unplanned displacements, the displaced populations can return to their previous settlements after the disasters end. However, people may not have the chance to return to their homes in most cases of development-induced displacements. In particular, there is no chance to return to the settlements submerged under the water in dam constructions.

Furthermore, the third difference is, in the case of development-induced displacement, people are encouraged to rebuild their new lives with the use of compensation. In other words, they do not have to live in unpredictable conditions as can be seen after the natural or man-made disasters. In those cases, the populations have nothing but the hope of government help to sustain their lives. Besides, they are often not offered social, settlement, and financial opportunities. The poor displaced people mostly live in camps with the hope of returning home, and they are forced to put their everyday life aside.

There are different kinds of development-induced displacement, such as mining operation, city transformation projects, infrastructure planning, dam construction etc. Dam-induced displacement is one type of development-induced displacement. Although dam constructions lead to large-scale displacement due to expropriations, they seem to be necessary for better water supplies, more energy, and more productive agriculture output for the needs of society. The expected benefits of dams legitimize the displacement of the local people. However, if the expropriation process is insufficiently financed, poorly designed, and incompetently implemented, many displaced people are pushed to the margins of society and the economy.

2.2. Some General Problems of the Resettlement Process

Current trends suggest development strategies will continue to promote large-scale projects that result in the resettlement of large populations. To what extent these kinds of developments can be carried out is subject to debate in terms of ethical, democratic, and application factors (Smith, 2009).

Theorizing DFDR (development forced displacement and resettlement) as a problem in human social and cultural organization has been inextricably woven

into applying concerns for developing approaches to deal with the dire needs of the affected people and their legal rights (Smith, 2009).

Funded by the World Bank, Cernea led a team to prepare a very extensive report on development-induced displacement in the world. In connection with this study, Cernea developed a model, which determines some patterns of the resettlement conditions of displaced individuals. He remarks that there is a high risk of poverty in displacement. The planners or agencies of development programs presume the displaced people have received compensation for their lost assets and will take effective steps for reproducing their livelihood productively. However, research on displaced populations and resettlement activities show that a large proportion of displaced people become poorer than they were before. Cernea formulated a model to identify some risk patterns of displacement. In his study, Cernea developed the model to reduce the risks in the context of risk management and reconstruction. The model is called the *IRR model: Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management and Reconstruction: A Model of Population Displacement and Resettlement*.

He presented eight interlinked potential risks related to displacement (1) landlessness, (2) joblessness, (3) homelessness, (4) marginalization, (5) food insecurity, (6) increased morbidity and mortality, (7) loss of access to common property and services, and (8) social disarticulation (Cernea, 2004, p. 9).

Landlessness: “*Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people’s productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed.*” (Cernea, 2004, p. 18). Expropriation of land causes people to lose their capital including the knowledge and ability of soil cultivation and growing crops. In the course of the expropriation process, it is obvious that human labor such as growing trees on the soil is being disregarded. All this labor, knowledge and ability may vanish through expropriation because it is not possible to find the same kind of soil in the resettlement area, and to use the knowledge and ability available. In some resettlement experiences, there may not be any fertile land to give to the peasant, as in the China–TGP example. In these cases, peasants tragically experience the loss of the land as well as the human labor, knowledge, and ability. Therefore, for the peasants, the loss of contact with the soil means dealing with soil loss both in human labor and natural resources.

Joblessness: *“The risk of losing wage employment is very high both in urban and rural displacements for those employed in enterprises, services, or agriculture.”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 19). Displaced people usually lose their existing jobs following an expropriation. In resettlement projects, reemployment should also be considered, but in most of the projects, that issue is not considered because reemployment requires huge investment and labor. The unemployment and underemployment issue becomes an ongoing problem of displaced people after resettlement. The lack of a systematic plan and the contribution of experts are important reasons for the unemployment problem.

Homelessness: *“Loss of shelter tends to be only temporary for many re-settlers.”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 20). Delays in the execution of resettlement may leave the people homeless for a while. However, *“For some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a lingering condition”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 20).

Marginalization: *“Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a “downward mobility” path.”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 21). Loss of economic power in some cases may result from not receiving enough compensation and in other cases from not being able to effectively utilize the money given. Marginalization generally results from not finding an opportunity to use the existing abilities in the new resettlement area, losing the human labor itself or its function. Marginalization does not only occur in terms of economics, but also of social and psychological aspects. With the fragmentation of a certain social fabric, individuals may feel alone, lose their social status and influence, and may become exposed to exclusion and labeling by the residents (Cernea, 2004, p. 21).

Food Insecurity: *“Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work.”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 21). Generally, groups which are affected by the project but are not recorded officially so do not have a right to receive support, are under the risk of facing this problem.

Increased Morbidity and Mortality: *“Massive population displacement threatens to cause serious declines in health levels. Displacement-induced social*

stress and psychological trauma are sometimes accompanied by the outbreak of relocation-related illnesses.” (Cernea, 2004, p. 22). Especially in older people, some psychological problems from longing for their past and old settlements are diagnosed. Children and elders may become vulnerable to illnesses due to physical and psychological aspects involved in compliance with resettlement.

Loss of Access to Common Property and Services: *“For poor people, particularly for the landless and assetless, loss of access to the common property assets that belonged to relocated communities results in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels.”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 23). Peasants benefit from pasture for their domestic animals, and they provide their cordwood from forest, and most peasants benefit from running water or spring water without paying bills.

Social Disarticulation: *“Forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric. It disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties; kinship groups become scattered as well.”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 24). We could summarize the loss of mutual aid, local solidarity, and existing social network as loss of social capital.

The risks determined by Cernea are mostly seen in large-scale projects whose social effects could not be calculated properly. Cernea proposed a model for execution to be carried out in appropriate circumstances and with proper management of the risks involved. The World Bank mostly adopted the standards of this model in projects it supported. In the displacement induced by the Keban Dam in Turkey, most of the displaced people experienced those risks determined by Cernea. In development-induced resettlements in Turkey, expropriations and resettlements are carried out according to relatively good standards. The risks indicated by Cernea do not reflect the expropriation and resettlement problems caused by DSI in the late 1980s, because there was work on policy development for coping with the risks mentioned. In order to decrease the losses of the displaced and preventing their impoverishment, some standards are required. Even though every country has its own displacement and resettlement policy, the World Bank determined some standards for resettlements resulting from development projects, which are assisted by loans from the World Bank. These standards are listed in the following table.

Table 2.1. Key Elements of the World Bank’s Resettlement Policy.

Key Elements of the World Bank’s Resettlement Policy

- ***Avoid or minimize.*** Involuntary displacement should be avoided or minimized whenever feasible, because of its disruptive and impoverishing effects.
- ***Improve or restore livelihoods.*** Where displacement is unavoidable, the objective of Bank policy is to assist displaced person to improve, or at least restore, former living standards and earning capacity. The means to achieve this objective consist of the preparation and execution by the Borrower of resettlement plans that are integral parts of Project designs.
- ***Allocate resources and share benefits.*** Displaced persons should be: (i) compensated for their losses at replacement cost, (ii) given opportunities to share in Project benefits, and (iii) assisted in the transfer and in the transition period at the relocation site.
- ***Move people in groups.*** Minimizing the distance between departure and relocation sites and moving people in groups can facilitate the re-settlers’ adaptation to the new socio-cultural and natural environments. The trade-offs between distance and economic opportunities must be balanced carefully.
- ***Promote participation.*** Re-settlers’ and hosts’ participation in planning resettlement should be promoted. The existing social and cultural institutions of re-settlers and their hosts should be relied upon in conducting the transfer and reestablishment process.
- ***Consider hosts’ needs.*** Host communities of re-settlers should be designed as viable settlement systems equipped with infrastructure and services, able to integrate in the regional socio-economic context.
- ***Protect indigenous people.*** Tribal and ethnic minorities, pastoralists, and other groups that may have informal customary rights to the land or other resources taken for the project, must be provided with adequate land, infrastructure, and other compensation. The absence of legal title to land should not be grounds for denying such groups compensation and rehabilitation.

(Based on *World Bank Operational Directive 4.30: Involuntary Resettlement.*)

Another important author who has worked on dams and development is Thayer Scudder, former commissioner for The World Commission on Dams along with, as previously mentioned, World Bank Sociology professor Michel Cernea.

Thayer Scudder formulated a four-stage scheme for development-induced resettlement analysis as a result of 40 years of research into development and resettlement. Scudder brought flexibility into his theory by stating that this scheme had been substantiated empirically many times before but the stages had been gone through very quickly because of the circumstances, or in some cases it may not have been possible to identify some of the stages which he formulated (Scudder, 1993).

The first stage of Scudder's framework is the Planning and Recruitment Stage. In the first stage primarily the area of the project is examined, the scope of the project is decided, the decision is reported to the project area and funds are allocated for the project. Later a resettlement plan is made for restoring the lives of those who will probably suffer because of the project.

The second stage, the Adjustment and Coping Stage, is the stage where resettlement and adaptation take place. In this stage people face many physical, psychological, and socio-cultural stress factors. They have to reposition themselves trying to get used to the new natural and social environment with the help of new neighbors and new relationship networks. In addition to all these hardships, they are in need of an income source that will be developed urgently. In this second stage people try to develop familiar strategies for adaptation and show an increase in dependence on familiar works and networks. In addition, they tend to be a closed society, which is observant of customs. In this stage re-settler's living standards generally decrease. This is because of the uncertainty of new settlements. People can attempt to work for their future by taking risks after they have well understood the features of the place where they settled (Scudder, 1993).

The third stage, the Community Formation and Economic Development Stage, is the phase where re-settlers adapt to the conditions of the new place providing their livelihoods, and gain self-confidence about their future. In this stage they make investments by taking risks against the new opportunities. Their level of education increases, they acquire habits of luxury consumption and turn to investment opportunities outside agriculture.

The fourth stage is the Handing Over and Incorporation Stage, which is “characterized by the successful adaptation of the re-settlers and the following generation to the point that they are competitive for jobs and resources at the local and national levels. In this stage the resettlement process reaching completion” (Scudder, 2005, p. 32).

2.3. Dam Induced Displacement and Resettlement Examples around the World

Dam induced displacement is the most common experience among the development-induced displacements. There are various types of dam-induced displacement carried out all around the world. It is possible to establish a framework for dam-induced displacements in accordance with the WBED (World Bank Environment Department). It is reported that there is an average of 10 million displaced people every year. 40 percent of this figure is displaced due to dam constructions, and this amount equals to almost 4 million people. These figures are important, not because they present the exact statistics, but they may give an idea about the scale of displacement. The International Commission on Large Dams reports that there were 5,000 large dams in 1950, and this figure had reached 45,000 by the late 1990's (Stanley, 2004, p.8).

The governments' dam policies do not differ according to the size of dams, and there are not many research studies on small-scale dams in the literature. In the following sections, some relevant studies on large-scaled displacements are discussed, and are intended to give some insight into the basic dam policies.

In particular, there are two countries responsible for the largest number of dam-induced displacements. These countries are China and India. “Taneja and Thakkar (2000) point out that the estimated displacement only from dam projects in India ranges from 21 million to 40 million” (Stanley, 2004, p. 5).

In addition to this, the Narmada Sardar Sarovar Project, projected to displace 130,000 people, is probably the most widely researched project in the literature of forced displacement.

Three Gorges Dam (TGD):(1994-2009)

The Three Gorges Dam is the biggest and most infamous hydropower project in the world (i.e. notorious as a “Dragon”). It is distinguished by the number of people

it displaced. This large project set records for the number of people displaced (more than 1.2 million), the number of cities and towns flooded (13 cities, 140 towns, 1,350 villages) and the length of the reservoir (more than 600 kilometers). *“The project has been plagued by corruption, spiraling costs, environmental impacts, human rights violations and resettlement difficulties”* (Bosshard, 2013). The absolute size of the displaced population made the planning of the process, controlling, and rehabilitation of the displaced people harder.

Discussions on the project commenced in 1994 and still continue because of the social issues it caused. In the process of building TGD, positive discourses were prevalent which fit the national development ideology generated, such as the promises about national benefits, flood control, hydroelectricity, and economic development of China’s undeveloped west. But its potential risks such as displacements and environmental damages were underplayed in the discourses (McDonald-Wilmsen & Webber, 2010).

Construction of the TGD was started in 1994 but the controversy still proceeds because of its social and environmental impacts. The government planned to resettle the displaced people in areas close to their previous settlements, and those new settlements would have better features as far as possible. The government promised to restore the livelihoods of the displaced people by taking several initiatives designed to assure a smooth re-adaptation and sustainable resettlement (Li and Rees 2000; Padovani 2006). Moreover, the government gave compensation, and *“would allocate a large relocation fund for building new towns, constructing basic infrastructures, reclaiming new land, and creating manufacturing and service jobs for the displaced”* (Li, 1998, p. 75).

Although government policies were partly successful in terms of urban resettlement, they were ineffective and unsuccessful in rural resettlement. It is possible to list some reasons for this as follows: *“It required converting steep hillside slopes into farmland which led to increased incidences of landslide and flooding directly tied to deforestation and erosion”* (Hwang, Cao & Xi, 2011, p. 75). The inadequacy of the soil and unemployment planning also caused important problems. Another group resettled successfully by the government was obliged to compete with the native population in terms of issues such as growing crops new to them and selling the goods that could be integrated into the market. In some cases, because of not finding enough land for agricultural resettlement, farmers were settled

in urban areas and obliged to turn to non-agricultural occupations unknown to them. Moreover, the peasants experienced deep social disarticulation since “*The kin-based network of many rural displaced is shattered in the process because it is necessary to divide larger villages into smaller units to reduce the accommodation burden on the host*” (Hawang, Cao & Xi, 2011, p.75; Li, et al. 2001).

Sardar Sarovar Dam in India: (1987- 2008)

It was planned to construct 30 large dams on the Narmada River in India. The Sardar Sarovar is the largest dam of all. This project displaced more than 320,000 people, and affected the livelihood of thousands of others, due to related displacements by the canal system and other allied projects.

This dam was controversial because of the size of the population it negatively affected. In this project, compensation and alternative accommodations were offered to the displaced people who were officially affected. Besides the people officially affected by the project, there were many others who were making a living from common properties such as forests, river and pastureland. Therefore, it could be suggested the project caused them to lose their livelihoods (Maitra, 2009).

The government could not allocate suitable lands for farming to the officially recognized displaced people. The allocated lands were “*far from the locations desired by the displaced people, and lacked basic necessities such as drinking water, schools, and health care. The Sardar Sarovar Project’s failure to provide satisfactory accommodation and compensation to the displaced people is inconsistent with the spirit of recognized international norms*” (Mehta, 2005, p. 635). Because the allocated lands and houses were not of sufficient quality, some people preferred to take compensation in lieu of their expropriated property. “*This method of compensation is particularly devastating for tribal populations because they lack experience in conducting cash transactions, as well as the diversified skills necessary to flourish in a market economy*” (p. 635). Moreover, the cash compensations were not adequate to recover or sustain livelihoods. The inability of the tribal people to make sound investments led families to poverty. Many studies have shown that lives of the displaced families have worsened (Dwivedi, 1999).

Arenal Resettlement in Costa Rica: 1978- 1983

There are some relatively successful resettlement practices in the world. In this respect, the Arenal Hydroelectric Project in Costa Rica can be given as an example. *“The Arenal Hydroelectric Project involved the construction of a 70 meter dam (i.e. nearly 230 feet) that would produce a reservoir of 1,750 cubic meters. Nearly 2,500 (i.e. roughly 500 families) people were displaced and resettled for this project” (Oliver, 2010, p. 232).* After the resettlement *“ex-post evaluation produced evidence that the Arenal resettlement succeeded in improving standards of living and returning the settlers control over their own lives in a period of five years after the moving” (Asthana, 1996, p. 1474).*

This project shows social sciences have a very important role in the planning and implementation of such development projects. At this point, it is possible to present many reasons in terms of recovering the lives of displaced people as follows:

- 1- Some interviews on resettlement were carried out with the displaced people before displacement.
- 2- The displaced people were well informed and participated in the preparation phase.
- 3- The resettlement plans were finished years before.
- 4- Experts on agricultural resettlement supported the project in the context of available economic production systems.
- 5- An anthropological research was carried out on how new production systems would affect the social organization, and new projects were developed to handle the process successfully during the resettlement. Analyses of land, water and production capacity were performed on the area and the findings were implemented before the resettlement phase.
- 6- And finally a small-scale project would make resettlement easier to execute and control (Partridge, 1993).

The Kotmale Dam in Sri Lanka: (1985)

Another successful resettlement example is the *“Kotmale Dam, which was constructed in 1985 for the purpose of hydroelectric power generation, irrigation*

and water supply. Almost 3000 households were evacuated and relocated in the construction of the dam” (Takesada, Manatunge, & Herath, 2008, p. 245). The displaced people were resettled in two places: “The first choice was to stay close to the reservoir, and receive smaller land plots. The other was to settle in newly developed areas... being located >100 km from original villages, but receive larger, irrigated land plots” (Takesada, Manatunge, & Herath, 2008, p. 245). 25 years after resettlement, a study, made by interviewing 250 households about the socio-economic condition of re-settlers, “indicated that the majority of the re-settlers in both places perceived their livelihoods as being improved after their resettlement” (Takesada, Manatunge, & Herath, 2008, p.245).

2.4. Dam-Induced Displacement Experiences in Turkey

In Turkey, the number of affected people from the dam projects of the SHW (State Hydraulic Works) is approximately 350,000. Furthermore, the number of the people that are predicted to be affected by the upcoming projects will be around 250,000 within twenty years.

Compared to the previous examples around the world, the Turkish legislation on expropriation and resettlement is formed in such a way as to protect the rights of the displaced people (Gökçe & Parlak, 2006). In the late 1980's, social problems emerging from the expropriation projects of the SHW became apparent. Since the early 1990s, work on the resettlement issue has been initiated within the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works and the Department of Real Estate and Expropriation. Moreover, the SHW has improved the standards of resettlement in order to fulfill the criteria of the World Bank (Özkalaycı & İçten, 2005).

Table 2.2. The Number of Dam-Induced Displaced in Turkey

Dam Name	Affected Populations
Keban	30,000
Karakaya	45,000
Atatürk	55,300
Çat	4,000
Dicle	2,878
Batman	10,858
Tahtalı	7,331
Other (191 Dams)	200,000
Total	355,067

The General Principle and Objective of Resettlement Planning: The general principle and objective of resettlement planning decided by SHW is to sustain the affected families' level of economic and social welfare. A resettlement action plan of SHW is classified as shown in the table below:

Table 2.3. Resettlement Action Plan of SHW

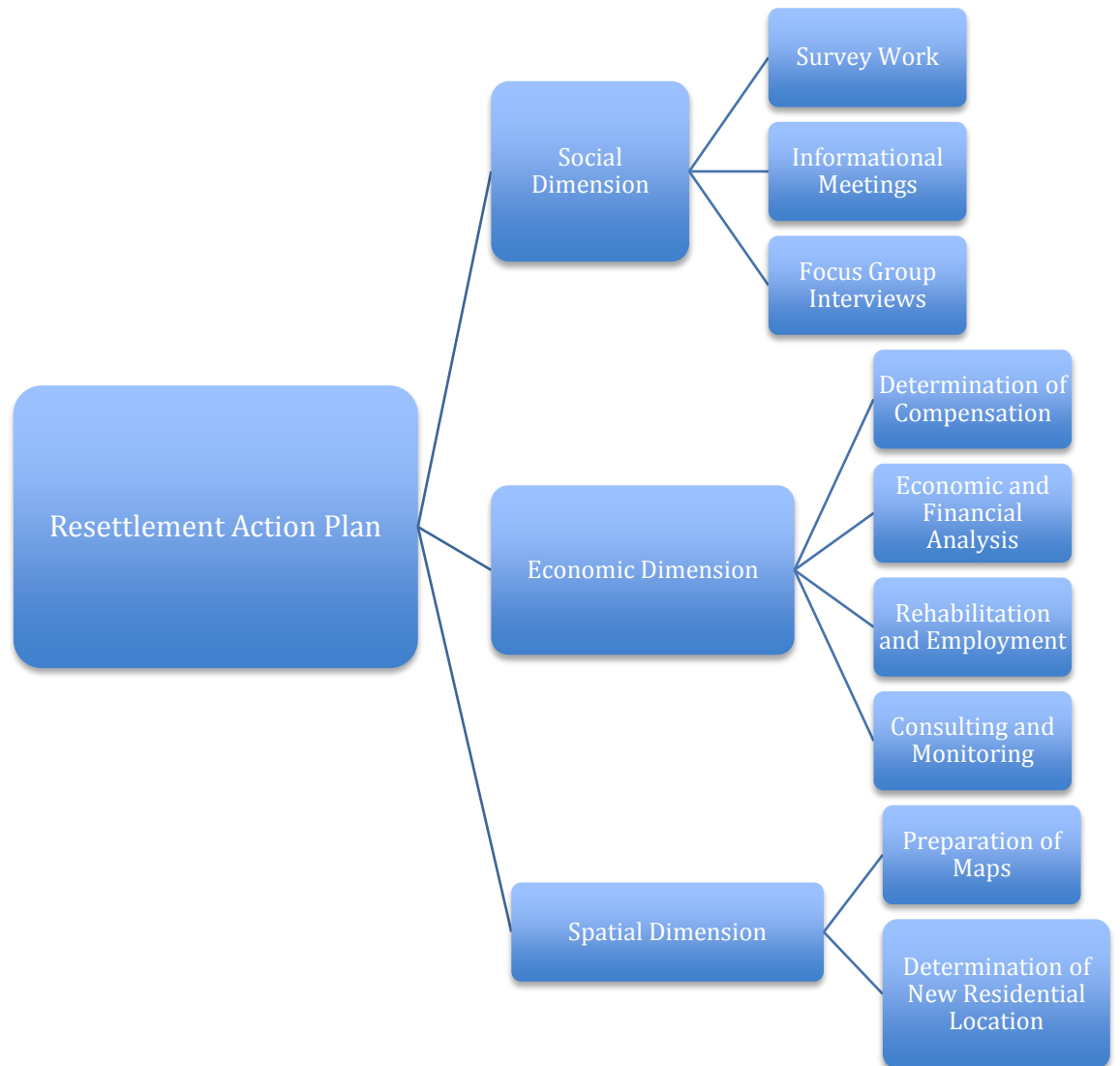


Table reproduced from (Özkalaycı & İçten, 2005).

In Turkey, the Keban, Ataturk, and Karakaya Dams caused mass displacements. These projects significantly affected the displacement and resettlement policies of the state. In this respect, the construction of the Keban Dam revealed the necessity to discuss and examine the issue of resettlement. Therefore, research was carried out by the Sociology Association of Regional Development Administration under the name, “Employment and Resettlement Problems of People Who Will Stay at the Reservoir”. This research was intended to identify the previous problems in order to avoid any challenges that might occur in the future.

In this process, social scientists intended to lead the project as much as possible in a planned manner, recognizing all the factors including the human resources available in the region and target groups that would be affected by the project (Parlak and Birsen, 2006).

In the case of the construction of the Keban, Karakaya and Ataturk Dams, even some of the settlers who chose the resettlement place themselves took the prices of real estate for the expropriation by their own choice. However, they began to live in much worse conditions around the outskirts. Further, they consumed their money in a very short period of time because they were not informed about any source of livelihood other than stockbreeding and agriculture. It is important to note that buying a house is the main necessity for living in rural areas of Turkey. Therefore, the displaced populations primarily tend to purchase a house with their compensation. It seems that they are unable to assess their needs in a proper way and follow those who previously made investments in real estate, or a similar field. These populations became poorer than before. It could be argued that the displaced people in the Keban Dam project faced (1) landlessness, (2) joblessness, (3) marginalization, (4) increased morbidity and mortality, (5) loss of access to common property and services, and (6) social disarticulation risks as stated in Cernea's model (Öner, 2004). The living conditions of the displaced people around the Ataturk and Karakaya Dams were improved. In connection to this, displacement policies and standards similar to the World Bank's were developed. Besides this, these three dams were constructed close to each other, and the displaced people benefited from each other's experiences. Although in the case of the Keban Dam, most of the compensation was wasted, the displaced people, in the case of the Karakaya and the Ataturk Dam, were able to make up for this with real-estate investments.

In these projects, dispossessed peasants or peasants with few possessions preferred to be settled by the state. Developed by the state, the housing project following the construction of the Keban Dam was of poor quality and unsuitable. On the other hand, the housing allocated by the government was of a higher quality in the case of the Ataturk and Karakaya Dams. The problem of producing low quality houses in the Keban case is due to the partner institutions' desire for getting unearned income rather than the lack of funds allocated for housing by the government (Öner, 2004).

In the above-mentioned resettlement projects, urban and agriculture-based resettlement was preferred. The people who did not want to move away from their hometown and their relatives preferred urban resettlement. In the case of the Keban Dam, the people who preferred urban settlement moved to the district of Abdullah Pasa. Similarly, in the case of the Ataturk Dam, the rest of the population settled in New Samsat. As a result, the migrants in the district of Abdullah Pasa did not face any cultural and psychological marginalization. However, they could not sustain their previous jobs since most of them were farmers and stockbreeders. In their new settlement area, they became unskilled workers, and had to resort to working in temporary jobs. Moreover, some landowners took compensation in different amounts and they could not use the compensation in a proper way to find a source of income.

The lack of experience in investment caused large amount of capital loss. The failure in the retention of capital led to loss of reputation. Another problem in the Keban case was wasting capital in the leisure industry, such as casinos, refreshment bars, and pubs, so draining the cash. In the first years after resettlement, it was observed that most people wasted their compensation in these places. The people who wasted their compensation in leisure centers migrated from resettlement areas because of social stress. It could be argued that this condition is a sort of marginalization, social decay, and social disarticulation (Öner, 2004).

The inhabitants of the district of Abdullah Pasa come from different villages whose inhabitants were scattered to different places. Hence, the social fabric was necessarily destroyed. However, the inhabitants also come from the same culture and socio-economic class, and thereby the reestablishment of social organization was not difficult (Öner, 2004).

In New Samsat, as an urban resettlement, people faced marginalization because nearly all villagers were farmers and stockbreeders and there was not enough land to produce income for the people engaged in agricultural labor. Also there were no suitable places for stockbreeding. In New Samsat, people resettled in a district and there were no risks of social disarticulation or social and psychological marginalization because they preferred resettlement in New Samsat to avoid these risks. They did not want to resettle in different areas and in more distant places so they could protect their cultural and relational ties. But those resettling in New

Samsat, aiming to protect social and cultural capital, faced poverty due to unemployment and landlessness (Konak, 1995).

Yalıköy village and Deniz village in the town of Didim, Aydın were built for those displaced due to the Karakaya and Atatürk Dam projects choosing agricultural resettlement. Every house was given some land ranging from 30 to 80 acres depending on the nature of the terrain. Konya Yenikent and Hatay Tayfur Sökmen were also built for those displaced because of the dam projects. Lands ranging from 190 to 230 acres depending on the quality of terrain were given to the ones settled in Yenikent, and ranging from 20 to 30 acres to the ones settled in Tayfur Sökmen (Güler & Savaş, 2011; Birsen, 2006).

In the rural resettlements, people did not face economic marginalization. They did, however, suffer from social and psychological marginalization and social disarticulation. In the case of the re-settlers in Yalıköy and Denizköy, the lands given to them had touristic value, and the local habitants did not want them in those places because of the value of the land and their ethnicity (most of the re-settlers were Kurdish). The local habitants, even local authorities, labeled them as outsiders, and humiliated them. They were ignored in terms of services, but because of the importance of the place, the re-settlers benefitted from services anyway. The local inhabitants were not willing to interact with the migrants as their equals. The migrants were depressed during the first years of their resettlements, but this social oppression led them to create social organizations as outsiders to integrate into society and to make local authorities recognize their existence. In the case of Yenikent, the village is far from the city center, and the distance between the city and the village is 90 km. The people are isolated both from the city and local inhabitants. This village was constructed for them but there were not enough public services. Half of the road, which connects the village to the city, was not paved, there were drinking water and transportation problems, lack of a health center, high school, etc. The new settlers were depressed because of discrimination in terms of public services and they thought that services did not reach them because of their ethnicity. These problems deepened their notion of alienation. They faced social and psychological marginalization during the first decade of their resettlement. In the case of Tayfur Sökmen, the village was constructed for 150 households displaced by the Altinkaya Dam in Samsun. These people had come to be seen as local inhabitants by the time 20 households from Adıyaman came. These two groups had suffered

thesame fate because of displacement so the former re-settlers did not discriminate against the ones coming from Adıyaman, and helped them in the process of resettlement. However there was a language problem. The new re-settlers mostly spoke Kurdish, and the neighbors were Turkish, and furthermore the local inhabitants spoke Arabic. Communication became a problem. But even though they were not humiliated and alienated by other people, they still were depressed from being small groups, without power and social solidarity. They suffered deeply due to social disarticulation (Güler & Savaş, 2011; Parlak, 2006; 2007).

In addition to the foregoing problems, most of the peasants were assetless or had few assets. Even though they faced some problems due to displacement, it is obvious that the probable risks that every group might encounter were minimized. In these cases, peasants choosing rural resettlement had much better living conditions than their previous ones in the long term. In particular, those settled in Denizköy and Yalıköy were in very good economic circumstances as I observed through some of my interviews.

CHAPTER III

3. Expropriation and Displacement Process in the Case of the Malatya Çat Dam

The Malatya Çat Dam was conceived to address the problem of underdevelopment in Eastern Anatolia with a sustainable development plan. Since the 1970s, from dam construction to road and factory constructions, many projects had been carried out in the region (Parlak 2006). In 1983, with Turgut Özal's election as prime minister, his hometown Malatya gained visibility in the eyes of the government. Some significant investments Turgut Özal made in Malatya were to establish one of the three organized industrial zones, to build İnönü University Research Hospital Turgut Özal Medical Center to serve Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and the Middle East, and to construct the Çat Dam meeting the need for irrigation in Malatya. It was built in 1985, filled with water in 1997, and completed in 2002. The Çat is an embankment dam, with a volume of 2.5 hm³, a height of 64.5 m and a reservoir volume in normal water code of 240 hm³, and an irrigation area of 21,464 square kilometers.



Figure 3.1. Çat Dam Provinces from Google Earth 2006



Figure 3.2. Çat Dam Provinces From <http://www.adiyamanli.org/celikhan.htm>

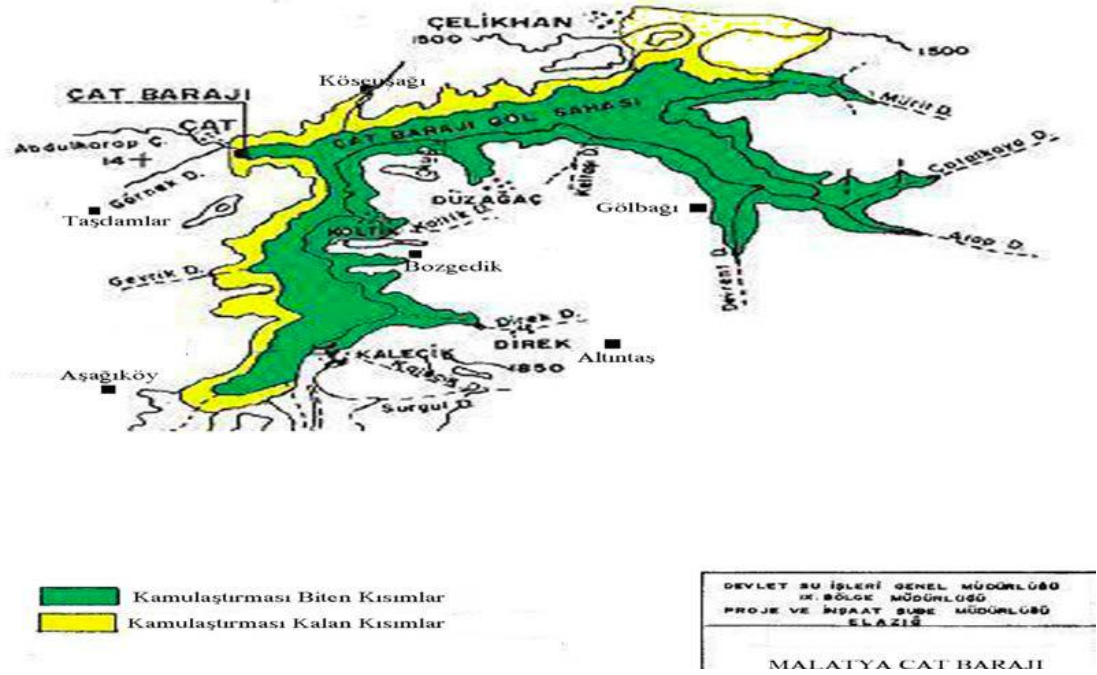


Figure 3.3. Çat Dam Province From SHW

3.1. A General Overview of the Previous Socio-Economic States of the Villages Expropriated Due To Dam Construction

The Çat Dam was planned to be built on Abdulharap Rill in the town of Çelikhan. Adıyaman. Kalecik, Bozgedik, Gözbaşı, and Köseuşağı villages were expropriated due to dam construction in accordance with the 12th article of the Land Acquisition Act. According to this article, if 65 percent of the lands of a village are expropriated for a reservoir, the rest of the village land is also expropriated and the peasants are given compensation for their property. Some parts of the Altuntaş, Aşağıköy, Ortaköy, Taşdamlar villages, and 12 hamlets in those villages were also expropriated. Approximately 4,000 people were displaced due to this project. Before going into detail about the process of dam construction it will be beneficial to mention the configuration of those villages before the expropriation.

3.1.1. Environmental Structure of Çelikhan

East of Çelikhan is the Sincik district of Adıyaman, to the west is the Doğanşehir district of Malatya, to the south is the center of Adıyaman city, and to the north is the Yeşilyurt district of Malatya. There are 17 villages and one town in this district. Residential areas of the villages and the district are generally hilly or mountainous. The altitude of the district center, located among the high continuation of southeastern Taurus Mountains between Malatya and Adıyaman, is 1,388 m. Due to the hilly and mountainous geography, the land suitable for agricultural production is very limited as a proportion of its total land area. The county has a continental climate, summers are hot and dry, and winters are cold and snowy. Due to its high altitude, the temperatures in each season are lower than the center of Adıyaman. The most important rivers are the Bulam and Abdulharap Rills. The Çat Dam was constructed on the Abdulharap Rill.

The villages expropriated because of the Çat Dam construction are villages for which a development plan and determination of village settlement were not executed. They are villages that have limited lands for agriculture and are mountainous in terms of geographical structure. For example in his anthropological research, performed in two villages in Kayseri, Stirling (1965) determined two village typologies according to the balance of land-population. In the first group are villages whose large lands cannot be used due to lack of technology and manpower, and the second comprises villages that have reached the land-population balance. In other words these are villages that have no land for expansion in line with population growth and need. The villages expropriated in that area of research can be seen in the second typology. These villages have not received immigration but sent emigrants since 1960 because of not being able to expand their territory in response to population growth (DİE, 1997).

3.1.2. Economic Structure

The main factor determining the economic structure of the regions in a general sense and of the villages in particular, is their economic resources. These resources were also limited in those villages whose main economic advantages were land and water. In spite of that, farming in these villages was carried out in quite primitive conditions because agricultural structure and production were largely determined by natural factors. Technologies that reduce the impact of natural

conditions on agriculture allowing the producer to direct production, and which enhance agricultural productivity, were not available. The first reason for this is that the villagers were not able to produce enough surplus value to bring in mechanization. The second reason is they could not use most of the existing agricultural technologies because of the hilly and mountainous land (DİE, 1997). Dry farming was done in these villages where a continental climate is dominant. Field crops such as cereals, haricot beans, red lentils, and chickpeas were the most important agricultural products of those villages. In irrigated areas, grapes, tobacco, and vegetables were produced for the needs of households. Apart from Gölbağı, in other villages the fields had limited irrigation potential. Gölbağı Village had the most advantages for farming because of its very moist and fertile land and having more arable land in comparison with others. Also in most of its moist fields, the famous tobacco of Çelikhan was raised. Since tobacco has its own market they could sell it without resorting to intermediaries. And since the manufacturer has power in determining the price of the product, Çelikhan tobacco was a good source of income.

These villages are different in terms of land distribution and the proprietary form of the semi-feudal structure in Southeastern Anatolia where the greatest part of the traditional agricultural land is in the hands of a small group, and most of the peasants have no land. Not only are the arable lands of the villagers limited but also most of them have small, fragmented lands. In general agriculture provided an income below subsistence level. Stockbreeding, the second source of income of these villages, in general was performed in conventional conditions. Animals of indigenous breeds have low productivity in both milk and meat production (Adıyaman, 1981). In the interviews, although some villagers are relatively better off in terms of economic status, the majority of them were said to be very poor:

The villagers were very poor and doomed to poverty among these mountains. We would count someone as rich if they had income enough to feed themselves (Personal Communication, Abdurrahman, age.45, village guard, 2013).

Economic and technological progress was almost non-existent and this prevented the development of specialization and a division of labor, which would create differences and stratifications in the community. In this context, in the villages apart from farming and stockbreeding, peasants were involved in activities supplying

local needs such as merchandise trading, animal trafficking, and trade in animal feed, and there were also some making a living through the driving of village minibuses. Villageroadswere not paved and this made transportation difficult. Also in winter the roads were closed for long periods.

Living conditions in the village used to be very difficult. In winter for almost three months we had no contact with the town center because the roads were closed (Personal Communication, Hamdi, age.47, tea house owner 2013).

Every village had only one minibus to shuttle between the village and Malatya and these buses went in the mornings and came back in the evenings (DİE, 1997).

The village minibus used to come early in the morning and go back at 5 o'clock in the evening. We had to adjust all our work according to this schedule. To commute between the city center and village was an ordeal for us (Personal Communication, Abuzer Ş, age 35, construction foreman, 2013).

The main market for this village in particular and in general the whole of Çelikhan was the center of Malatya with all trading business happening there (Adıyaman, 1981).

Adıyaman was like a village, its roads were terrible and as well we could not find anybody to sell our products to. (Personal Communication, Sabri, age.60, headman, 2013).

3.1.3. Social and Cultural Structure

The traditional production methods, undeveloped technology and limited transportation opportunities of the expropriated villagespreserved traditional cultural structures. The main purpose of economic activities was to meet the needs of the family. There were no market opportunities or integration with the national economy. Villages that had a closed economy remained outside of technological and social changes. Change in the economic and social structure of these villages was so slow that it prevented the formation of different business segments.

Everyone in the village was involved with either farming or stockbreeding - there were no different job opportunities (Personal Communication, Mustafa A., age. 45, Farmer, 2013).

As it is a closed society, in the villages there is a traditional family structure based on blood ties. However this structure was not in tribal form but in nuclear family form. In these villages, apart from the need for one son to live with his parents, individuals organized themselves in nuclear family form, settling in their own homes after marriage. In these villages, as in the rest of Turkey, the patriarchal family type is common, which consists of the household head (male), his wife, and a married son living with them.

Women are invisible actors, as will be mentioned later in terms of inheritance. Most women did not have even an ID card. It was said by the peasants that most of the women were illiterate.

It was frowned upon to let girls go to school; they used to say - girls do not need to learn reading and writing. (Personal Communication, Mustafa G., age. 35, worker in municipality, 2013).

In this regard, they were invisible, in spite of having a much heavier workload.

The work in the village would never finish. We had always work to complete such as field, garden, animals and household chores. During the winter season, field and gardening tasks would finish but then we made carpets for about three months (Personal Communication, Ayşe T., age.60+, housewife, 2013).

Along with helping their husbands in the field, taking care of the children and housework, they were also responsible for the production of dairy products. Also they used to contribute to the family's livelihood by making carpets.

These villages embody the stable social structure which is a feature of traditional society: agricultural-based economy, a low rate of literacy, low technological level, low standard of living, horizontal and vertical immobility, intensity in face to face relationships in social life, dominance of traditions in administration rather than the law, and the sovereignty of a fatalistic mindset and practices in beliefs and ways of thinking (Coşkun, 1994). In social relations, the society exerts a serious and decisive pressure on the behavior of individuals. It was a closed society, where everyone was related to each other and aware of each other's lives. Individuality did not develop due to the intensity of face-to-face relationships in these traditional societies. The peasants had much free time as they cultivated once

a year, and this allowed them to intrude into each other's lives. These interventions created serious social pressure, therefore most of the peasants who had emigrated did not look on their lives in the old village with longing.

We got rid of the pressure and limitations of village life. There was gossip, envy, strife and ignorance in the village. We were relieved after coming to the city. Thankfully we have come here. Fighting, jealousy and gossip dehumanized us (Personal Communication, Şerif, age. age.40, farmer and small retailer, 2013).

We came to the city and we saw civilization. Many things that we thought to be right in the old days sound ridiculous to us now (Personal Communication, Mustafa A., age 45, farmer, 2013).

It is good that this dam was built and people could escape from each other. There was jealousy in the village and people did not use to want goodness for each other. If a household had a good income, they used to burn their crops with lame excuses and break the peace by beating someone from home or by throwing stones at the house (Personal Communication, Zakine, age 60+, housewife, 2013).

I was not pleased with our old village at all. People used to follow the movements of each other. They used to gossip and criticize each other. We used to do every move thinking of what people would say. The fear of condemnation made life difficult for us (Personal Communication, Mahmut A., age 55+, retired security officer, 2013).

In closed rural societies where there are few opportunities for people to improve their pecuniary and non-pecuniary human development levels. Both physical and symbolic violence is widespread due to the intensity of personal relationships.

Symbolic violence, the gentle, invisible form of violence which is never recognized as such, and is not so much undergone as chosen, the violence of credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, gratitude, piety –in short, all the virtues honored by the code of honor. (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 192; White 2004).

In these villages, symbolic violence reinforced inequalities by dictating the individual's behavior on the grounds of traditions and customs. Moreover, the level of education was very low, as elsewhere in the Southeastern Anatolia Region. Each

village had an elementary school but it was not well attended, in particular because of the nomadic livestock.

I did not go to primary school; I started but could not continue. In winter seasons we used to take our sheep to Şanlı Urfa where the weather was mild and there was no frost. When we came back from Urfa it was the last month of the school year and I did not want to go because I had not gone for 4 months already. Anyway, they used to say that it was not necessary for girls to be able to read and I also believed that I did not need to go to school (Personal Communication, Emine, age.37, housewife, 2013).

For example, in the district where these villages are, there were only two people who graduated from higher education (DİE, 1997). The children had to go to boarding school after elementary school to continue studying. Since the peasants were so poor, they could not allow their children to go to school after primary school both because they were unable to meet the costs of boarding school, and because they needed the children in the workforce. In other words, the economic disadvantages of the villages and the inadequacy of infrastructure especially in transportation caused these villages to remain underdeveloped especially in education.

These peasants were invisible to the state except at voting times and could not get any services other than primary school education and health care. The latter was provided in a health clinic in one of the seven villages, Kalecik, and had very limited facilities.

3.2. Displacement due to the Çat Dam: Expropriation and Resettlement Processes

3.2.1. Expropriation Processes

Expropriation means, where the public interest requires it, appropriating for public purposes and for a set price, the real estate owned by private persons, with or without the consent of the owner. Expropriations in Turkey from 1983 to 2001 were made in accordance with the Law of Expropriation No. 2,942.

According to the 3rd article of this law, authorities can expropriate real estate, resources, and easement rights that are required for public services or enterprises by paying the price in cash or in equal installments under certain conditions. According to this law, if the public interest is involved, it is not necessary to take into

consideration the preferences of individuals. Paying the cost of the real estate is considered to be sufficient in terms of not violating the rights of individuals. The legal principle invoked is providing the greatest good for the greatest number, which is the basic principle of the utilitarian paradigm. The public interest is prioritized rather than the rights and preferences of individuals. Expropriation is not only an interference with property. More importantly it means displacement of people spatially, detaching them from their existing social fabric.

The expropriation process follows certain steps. In the first stage, the relevant authority makes a decision to implement the public project and the application phase begins after the publication of the decision in the official gazette. The decision to construct the Çat Dam for irrigation was published in the official gazette in 1985. In the second stage the expropriation plan is prepared. This plan is prepared by the DSI, which carries out dam projects in Turkey, or by other relevant authorities. In the case of the Çat Dam, almost all of the land that would be expropriated had no cadaster. Determination of the land that had no cadastral work was executed in accordance with the 9th article of the Expropriation Law. The administration required the selection of four experts (two original and two substitutes) to assess the lands that did not have cadastral survey or land registration, by the district official in the place of expropriation. Upon the request of the administration, the district official provides the election of experts and notification of the names to the administration, which would make the expropriation by attesting them in the appropriate court within eight days. During the determination, the village headman or his deputy, two members of the council and two experts serve together.

In the process of dam planning, none of the villages that would be expropriated except some parts of Gölbaşı had a cadastral survey. A team formed in accordance with the 9th article of the Land Acquisition Act came to the village and made the land registry cadastral operations. These villages had no cadastral survey but does that mean that they are all public lands? In this case where the properties were unrecorded, it did not make them public property, so the rights of the citizens were protected through registration of the properties. Describing these lands as public property by the state and doing its actions accordingly would undermine the legitimacy of both the project and the state. Since the right to property and its protection is essential and guaranteed by the state, violation of it by the state is out of question. In expropriation cases, the unrecorded property is recorded as well as

recorded property. Poor people, or those having little property but living in the expropriation area, were entitled to be protected also. Anyone living around the dam was included in the group of those affected by the dam. The expropriation process was carried out legally in accordance with this procedure.

After the lands were recorded by cadaster, in the third stage the people that would be affected by the dam construction were informed with notifications saying that a dam would be built by the state and thus their property would be expropriated.

In the fourth stage, to determine the price of the property that would be expropriated, in accordance with the 10th article of the Land Acquisition Act, a valuation commission was established within the body of district governorship. This commission, consisting of an agricultural engineer in charge of agriculture and rural work, an officer in charge of the land cadaster, two staff working for DSI and two peasant representatives, made the inventories of immovable property and valuation of natural resources on basis of the 11th and 12th articles of the Land Acquisition Act. The commission set the compensation to be paid to the villagers by the state by estimating the value of the villagers' properties.

Even if they consented to the amount estimated by the valuation commission at first, the peasants increased their compensation by 50% through seeking additional compensation legally. In the interviews, one of the valuation commission members and a DSI officer who was the lawyer of most of the peasants said that the valuation commission determined the prices taking into account the socio-economic situation of the peasants. They said that they tried to determine the best possible price, which would let them establish a new life for the peasants who had small lands. The DSI center investigators sued to reassess the price again since they thought that it was high. But the same members of valuation commission determined a higher price than the previous one and Çelikhan Court of First Instance always adjudged in favor of the peasants.

Experts who participated in the process had a very important influence in shaping the process. One of the valuation commission members expressed his ideas about the expropriation process as follows:

These are mostly poor people involved with farming. There are even ones who make a living from two cattle. If you displace those people, you must take into consideration the value of mountains, pastures, forests and even the water that they benefit from in the compensation you will give. You

cannot leave that peasant who has a little property unequipped to build a new life (Personal Communication, Mehmet Ç., civil servant, 2013).

In addition, during the process, anyone in authority such as the district governor, the trial judge in the court, the mayor and land officers, tried to avoid creating victims and to protect the rights of the peasants. The peasants, who were mostly Kurdish and could not speak Turkish, would have suffered from not being able to express themselves and demand their rights. However as the local authority participated in the process very actively by informing the peasants and raising awareness among them, they were able to express themselves and demand their rights in the best possible way (Personal Communication, Sabahaddin, age.46, manager in GDSHW& Remzi, age.57, lawyer, 2013).

3.2.2. The Resettlement Processes

Displacement, in other words, forced migration, is an event of spatial change in which people are resettled from one area to another for part of or all of their lives in the future. Resettlement means not only a spatial change but also a change of cultural environment, social status and roles. This situation affects not only horizontal mobility, which is defined as transportation of the population, but also vertical mobility in terms of class change (Gökçe & Parlak, 2006). Expropriation and resettlement are both directly related events. The resettlement is carried out within the framework of the law No. 2510. There were two options for those displaced under this law. The first was to get compensation for the property and to have all the initiative for resettlement. The government would not be responsible for organizing the settlement and rehabilitation of those in this group. The second option was to be resettled by the government. This right is granted to households rather than individuals. Accordingly each married or widowed person had the right to be settled by the government. In accordance with the law No. 2510, those who had to leave their places and those who did not have real estate and had settled in the project impact area at least three years before the budget year that resettlement works began were eligible for settling (Özkalıcı & İçten, 2005).

Resettlement by the state takes different forms, such as agricultural resettlement, urban resettlement, and transportation of villages by credit. However,

all of those who were affected by the Çat Dam Project were peasants, and it was understood after the investigation of peasants' socio-economic structure that the displaced people might have difficulty in adapting to the city, so the peasants were directed to agricultural resettlement. According to the agricultural resettlement procedure, families dealing with agriculture, upon their request, may be subject to agricultural resettlement. This type of resettlement gives each household a house, farm buildings, and farmland upon request, for stockbreeding and agricultural primary production. Credit for purchasing equipment is also given. (Özkalaycı & İçten, 2005).

Resettlement by the state is executed by giving public land to the poor peasants by debiting. In this project, the procedure is implemented by making the displaced people indebted to the state for 20,000 TL providing they pay back in twenty years starting after the 5th year of settlement. Given that the citizens were settled in 2000, they would have gained a property by paying 1,000 TL to the state every year as from 2005.

While households owning no land or only small lands, and married individuals living in households owning land who did not have any registered property found it preferable to be resettled by the state, households owning enough land to set up a business preferred to receive the expropriation compensation. Moreover, a number of peasants who did not have enough land to set up a business but preferred to receive the expropriation compensation first requested to be resettled by the state but because it was not certain where the state would resettle the displaced people, they abandoned their requests. These peasants did not want to move away from the familiar social structure and elements of life such as relatives and friends after the resettlement. They also did not want to live in geographically remote, or in their own words, "foreign" places.

We did not have much land in the village so we requested to be resettled by the state but then we thought that we would have difficulty in living in a foreign city so we deregistered. If we had known that the state would resettle us in Malatya, we would not have deregistered (Personal Communication, Aşhan, age.60+, housewife, 2013).

It was planned for these peasants to be resettled in public lands out of the region such as in Konya, Niğde, Yozgat, and Hatay. But since there was a terrorism

problem in East and Southeast Anatolia in those years, the native population did not want the Kurdish people coming from those regions to settle there.

The government took us to the places planned for resettlement by buses and the people living there did not let us even get off the buses, they treated us like terrorists. People living in Yozgat and Niğde also did not want us. Then we said to Recai Kutan, the Prime Minister, in a meeting for planning of resettlement that 'since the water of Çat Dam will go to Malatya, give us land from Malatya and we will not go away from our hometown.' And he allocated land belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs to us and they built a village there for us(Personal Communication, Sabri, age.60, headman&farmer, 2013).

When the first option became impossible, and on the request of the peasants, land which belonged to General Directorate of Agricultural Enterprises was allocated to the displaced people. A village consisting of 306 two-story, fully serviced houses, each built on 1 acre of land was established. Every household was given 15 acres of irrigated and 5 acres of waterless land in addition to the house and the land on which the house was built. Also it was promised that every three houses would be given a tractor, a facility for modern stockbreeding, and a dairy factory. However, later the Directorate backed out of these promises.

3.2.3. Expropriations and Problems Arising From Distribution of Compensation

Most of the peasants who preferred to take the compensation tried to benefit from the advantages offered by the state at maximum level. For example the property of the household was registered on just one member of the family and the other married or widowed members of the family were settled by the state and consequently these peasants both took the compensation and gained ownership of a property.

The experts among the peasants, the headman and the landowners participated in this land registration process. There were some disagreements in families about application of the land registration and cadaster results.

Where cash compensation is given to the male head of the household, for example, he may be tempted to use it for the purchase of consumer goods rather than for the wider benefit of family members. Or he may use it to marry a younger wife at the risk of leaving his previous wife and children

destitute. Where a “land for land” compensation policy is followed without other development opportunities, kin groups can break apart when one family member – the oldest son, for example, in a family where the registered owner of the land has died – attempts to register compensatory land in his name alone (Scudder, 2005, p. 36).

Although there were some negative situations as mentioned above among the households in terms of compensation, none of them went to the courts. The problems were mostly dealt with in the councils where the relatives and peasants gathered. This case reflects the specific behavior patterns, standards of judgment and control mechanisms of the peasants’ social structure.

3.2.4. Some Problems Regarding the Compensation Issue:

If the father or head of the household had passed away, all the property was deeded over to the eldest son, and the rights of all the other members of the family were left under his initiative. Such cases happened in the families who had land in the village but did not live there. The headman and the experts had the all property registered in the name of the eldest son in accordance with the patriarchal mindset.

We moved to city before the dam construction, one of the fields belonging to my father was registered in the name of my elder brother and the other was in the name of my father. All of the lands belonging to uncles were registered in the name of the eldest brother (Personal Communication, Hatice H., age.55, housewife, 2013).

In the meetings, which the elders of the village participated in, it was decided that the inheritance right was going to be taken by brothers and the other siblings consented to the decision taken (Personal Communication, İbrahim, age.60, retired worker, 2013).

The compensation share for women did not even come into question. In the interviews, the peasants noted that this was not deliberate, but when it comes to the maximization of individual interests one prefers to maintain traditions that favor them by suspending the sense of justice. As a result of this preference and also although there was no overt pressure, everyone, including the women, internalized this decision as if it was legitimate.

Of course it is unjust not to give any rights to women but because of human desire one finds it difficult to share the money... Then no one was

giving any money to women so we bought a ring, a bracelet or a gold coin and presented it just to please them” (Personal Communication, H. Mehmet, age.75, farmer, 2013).

The women also did not want to take the compensation because they were afraid of being condemned and falling out with their families. (Personal Communication, Mahmut T. age 55, old headman and farmer, 2013).

One of the important reasons for the internalization of this action by women is the structure of social organization. In a society in which women do not have the right of succession, the perception of men’s property as the joint property of the family, and of men’s responsibility to provide for the maintenance of the household, have influenced behavior, leading to the acceptance and internalization of this situation.

In this social organization the daughter-in-law of the family is seen implicitly as having more rights than the daughter. In other words, women can benefit from the inheritance via their husbands. It is one of the factors producing inequality between women that they have different advantages in families prior to and after marriage. As a result, while some women have economic advantages from birth but cannot keep them after marriage, there are those who did not have economic advantages as of birth but obtain them after marriage.

It is also mostly women themselves who provide the internalization of women’s not having a distributive share in the society. Mothers as well as fathers do not want their daughters to take a distributive share.

My husband’s financial situation was not very good. In the land my father left there were shares of my mother, my brothers and me. Because my elder brother took more than his share from another land, my mother wanted this land to belong to my little brother. She and my elder brother waived their rights and my mother begged me to waive my right too. They told me that if I waived my share officially, they would give me half of the money, which belonged to me in fact. But at the end of this process they gave me half of what they promised. In this case, from the land of which I was officially entitled to have a share, I took only a quarter of my real share (Personal Communication, Hatice H., age55, housewife, 2013).

The daughters-in-law who benefited from the situation also created social pressure for the case proceeding in this way. As a result, the daughter wanting to

demand her right seemed to waive her shares voluntarily because she did not dare to stand up against her family and resist the existing social pressure. In other words, she did not even attempt to demand it.

The attempts of peasants to maximize of their benefits did not only occur in the form of not giving the women their rights. The peasants perceived the expropriation of the whole village as a great opportunity. In the villages partially expropriated (Taşdamlar, Altıntaş, Aşağıköy) peasants sued for a total expropriation and lost the cases in Turkey. Then they went on demanding their rights by applying to the European Court of Human Rights. These villages, as mentioned previously, were in mountainous land to which the services of the state did not reach. In terms of human-land balance they had reached saturation point. The villages had already begun to experience emigration before the expropriation because of the insufficiency of the available land to ensure the livelihood of the people. The expropriation of the whole village was perceived as an opportunity to move from a place lacking facilities to a place where facilities were available, or an opportunity to migrate, with a capital gain, from a place they had already decided to leave. Another dimension of the issue was that, although the whole village was expropriated, some peasants continued living in the condemned houses and using the condemned lands. The expropriation of the whole villages is important in terms of the peasants' receiving maximum benefit from the situation rather than merely replacement. Moreover, most of the peasants in these villages had already moved away for reasons unrelated to dam construction. The reason for the court cases, as mentioned earlier, was desire to make use of the opportunity.

In this case, while the expropriations became advantageous for most villages, there was a village, Gölbaşı, which suffered from the process. Gölbaşı Village had very fertile lands before the expropriation and had a relation with markets for the sale of tobacco providing an economy beyond subsistence level. After expropriation the peasants got poorer. Gölbaşı peasants were only able to receive their compensation 4 years after they were determined. During this time devaluation in 1994 occurred and the Turkish currency depreciated by 51%. In 1997, the compensation calculated for the peasants had depreciated in value by 75%. In 1997, the peasants who received the amount first set could barely resettle with their devalued money. The late receipt and the receipt of a devalued amount made things hard for the peasants, but there was an additional hardship. Hot money entering Çelikhhan because of the dam expropriations

led to an increased interest in real estate and a corresponding increase in demand, such that real estate and land prices increased in neighboring provinces. These peasants who received their money last suffered seriously because of the devaluation and rising real estate prices.

Our village was not like the other villages of Porğa. There was a lot of arable land and water, our fields and gardens were fertile. They were saying 'if you plant a human, even he will grow in these soils' referring to the fertility of our land. We had our sheep, cattle, we fed our animals with dried fruits falling from trees and grass in our pastures and gardens. We did not spend money to feed our animals. Our village was very fertile, we did not know poverty, we were busy with our fields, gardens and animals, and we were always busy. We were working hard and the soil was giving more value for our labor. After the dam construction they gave our money four years after the value of our property had been determined. The value of the money calculated for us depreciated but we received the same amount, as had been determined 4 years previously. Because the other villages moved earlier than us and our village received the compensation last, the prices of real estate in Malatya and neighboring provinces had increased. Most of our peasants could barely afford a house with the compensation they got" (Personal Communication, Ayşe G., age.60+, housewife, 2013).

CHAPTER IV

4. Research Findings

In this chapter, I will discuss the field findings of research in the new settlements of Tohma and Sütlüce villages and Tecde and Gedik neighborhoods. These experiences will be discussed in terms of economic, sociocultural, educational, and gender issues using the framework of Michel Cernea and Thayer Scudder. This chapter begins with general information about Malatya describing the condition of the city and the reflection of these conditions on the re-settlers. Second, the findings about Tohma village are evaluated under the following headings: general information about this settlement, economic conditions, education, family structure, social life, and living conditions. In conclusion, findings are evaluated in the framework of the Cernea IRR model and Scudder's four stages of resettlement. These stages are first, Planning and Recruitment, second, the Transition stage, third, Community Formation and Development stage, and fourth, the Handing Over and Planning stage. Finally, Sütlüce village, Tecde and Gedik neighborhoods are evaluated under the same headings.

4.1. Background Information on Malatya



Figure 4.1. Map of Turkey from www.bijenweb.com



Figure 4.2. Map of Malatya in Region From www.loadtr.com

Malatya, located in the northwest of the eastern Anatolia region, is surrounded by Elazığ in the east, Erzincan in the northeast, Sivas in the northwest, Kahramanmaraş in the west, Adıyaman in the south, and Diyarbakır in the southeast.

Malatya is a developed region in terms of highways as it is the transportation center of the Eastern cities, and it is the transition center of the transport routes going from Eastern Anatolia to the Mediterranean and the Southeast. The railway system serves as a bridge connecting east, west, north, and south (Yuyaa, 1998, p. 7).

The surface features of the region consist of the southeastern Taurus Mountains pass, the Malatya plain, and the Tohma basin (Yuyaa, 1998, p. 5). Apart from the Malatya plain there are Doğanşehir, Yazihan, Sürgü, Çaplı, District, Erkenek, Akçadağ, and Mandara plains. The most important rivers of Malatya are the Euphrates River, Tohma Stream, Kuruçay, Sultansuyu, and Sürgü Stream. Malatya has important dams such as the Sürgü, Medik, Polar, Çat, and Sultansuyu. Among them, the Polat, Sultansuyu, and Çat dams were built for irrigation, the Medik dam was built for irrigation and electricity, and the Sürgü dam was built for irrigation and for flood prevention (Bilsam, 2011, p. 25). 34% of the region's land is

agricultural land, 11% is forestland and heathland, 30% is grassland and pastureland, and 25% consists of non-agricultural (settled or non-settled) lands (Yuyaa, 1998, p. 5).

Malatya is located in the Euphrates basin and has a climate that is cold and snowy in winters and hot and dry in summers. Some of the region's precipitation is snow and some is rain. The climate of Malatya is actually a microclimate between continental and Mediterranean climates. Most of the annual precipitation occurs in winter, spring, and autumn. The precipitation is very low in summer months.

According to the address-based population registration system, as of 31 December 2010, the population of Malatya was 740,643. 49.83% of this population is male, 51.17% is female. Malatya makes up 1% of Turkey's total population. Among 81 major cities, Malatya is the 29th city in terms of total area population and 26th city in terms of city population (Bilsam, 2011, p. 26). Malatya's population growth accelerated in the 1980s as a result of demographic mobility.

The main factors of this acceleration were:

1. People coming from surrounding districts and villages due to the process of mechanization in agriculture.
2. People coming from the villages evacuated because they were in the Karakaya Dam catchment area.
3. People coming from the villages evacuated because of the terror emerging after 1980.
4. People who came to Malatya for the easy transportation and communication opportunities and decided to settle in Malatya as a result of these contacts although they lived in districts of the neighboring cities.
5. People coming as seasonal workers (some of these people decided to settle in Malatya because of their contacts and acquaintances made during these visits).
6. Military personnel mobility that occurred when the Second Army was transferred to Malatya.
7. Student mobility occurring because of İnönü University.
8. Officers coming to Malatya because of appointments and transfers (Gezer, Özcan, Tuğrulca, Özbudak, Korkmaz, & Kabadayı, 2011; Gezer, Pektekin, Aygül, & Polat, 2009).

The distribution of the working population in terms of economic opportunities and employment can be listed as agriculture and agricultural products,

industrial, commercial, institutional and non-institutional services sectors and others. The number of employees in the agricultural sector constitutes more than 60% of the working population. The main reason for this is the apricot farming widely carried out in the province. Apricots produced in Malatya are marketed as dried apricots rather than fresh fruit. Malatya apricots, which broke into international markets especially after the 1960s, are of interest worldwide. Malatya meets 90% of world demand for dried apricots. The economic well-being of the province is significantly linked to the apricot. The apricot, with its export potential in excess of \$150 million, is a source of income for 60 thousand households. The industry consists of mostly small and medium-sized businesses and is mainly to meet the domestic demand of the city (MIAD, 2009; Bilsam 2011).

Malatya has a developing profile in terms of education. While the number of non-primary school-graduates is above the national average in Turkey, the number of Bachelors, Master and PhD graduates is below it. However the number of primary, secondary and high school graduates is above the average.

Table 4.1. The Educational Condition of Population of Malatya From BILSAM 2011 (6 ≥age).

	TURKEY	MALATYA
Illiterates	4, 672, 257	64, 207
Literate but non-graduate	13, 517, 214	138, 979
Primary school graduate (5) years education	18, 523, 823	152, 276
Primary school graduate (8) years education.	7, 432, 613	81, 371
Secondary school or equivalent graduate	2, 795, 917	32, 876
High school or equivalent graduate	10, 379, 229	114, 495
College or bachelor graduate	4, 320, 813	41, 320
Master's degree	279, 268	1, 385
PhD degree	95, 502	731
Unknown	3, 032, 457	34, 034

4.2. Tohma Village:

Tohma is a plains village with 312 households that was established for the people evacuated for the building of Çat dam in 1997. The village is located on the Malatya plain and it is on the border of Akçadağ Plain. The Sultansuyu irrigates the village lands. However, irrigation opportunities and methods that are used are not well developed. For this reason, the irrigation needs of the land are not fully met.

4.2.1. General Information

Expropriation and resettlement are executed in two different ways. One is cash compensation whereby the government merely pays people cash and does not get involved in the process of resettlement. *“The other choice is resettlement by the government. This resettlement, having total or partial governmental aid, aims to preserve the productivity of the families mostly engaging in agriculture at least at their previous levels”*(Akyürek, 2005). In the latter option the government chooses a settlement type for the people who cannot get an expropriation payment because they

do not have property, or those who do not have enough property to start a new life. In these cases, there are three types of motivation. The first is the amount of land owned before expropriation. The second is to provide for the needs of security, in their words:

First, we have a roof over our head, a stable location, and then the rest is easy (Personal Communication, Abuzer, age 55, construction worker, 2013).

The third is the wish to move to a place where their acquaintances and relatives are located. The idea that relatives and neighbors from close villages settle in this village and they will not suffer from being considered outsiders has become a factor that influences this choice.

We did not have much land in the village. We had our names written just for the government to give us a place. We thought that we would not have difficulty, because we would settle in together with our villagers (Personal Communication, Hüseyin, age 38, construction worker, 2013).

The villagers have developed tactics where they can re-secure their lives against a sudden evacuation. For instance, they tried to take precautions against the eight impoverishment risks specified by Cernea by choosing to be settled by government (Cernea, 2004, p. 9). The government gives housing and land to these households and this prevents them from facing the risks of (1) landlessness, (2) joblessness, and (3) homelessness. While landlessness and homelessness are prevented directly, the probability of the villagers being engaged in farming can be seen as a precaution against the risk of joblessness in this context. (4) Marginalization. These villagers are settled in the village collectively and are given land so they can engage in farming. This method, attempts to prevent occupational and social and psychological marginalization. (5) Social disarticulation. People are settled in the village together with their relatives and acquaintances so as not to face these risks. While loss of the old social fabric is inevitable, settlement with relatives and neighbors as a group makes it easy to form a new social fabric. (6) Loss of Access to Common Property and Services. The villagers lose the opportunity of using forests, pastures, and water, which are free common property. However,

villagers with no property who benefited from common property were added to the group affected by the project and they were settled in Tohma. Also, access to education, healthcare, and transportation services became easier. (7) Food Insecurity. Against this risk, the government provided financial assistance for a period of time to the people who were affected by the project. Also, this risk was not faced because job opportunities for unskilled workers are higher in the new settlement areas. (8) Increased Morbidity and Mortality. Also, new settlers did not face this risk. Because the new settlement place was in accordance with the wish of the new villagers, psychological stress was reduced to a minimum. Also, because of the fact that access to the healthcare services became easy, villagers got the support that they needed for physical rehabilitation.

Despite all these precautions and systems, the villagers who settled in Tohma had to evacuate the villages in 1997, but they managed to settle in Tohma only in 2000. During the intervening three years, people who were evacuated from their places had to live in rental houses, the rents being paid by government. The reason why the government did not build the houses in time for settlement is because it could not find a place to settle the evacuated people as a whole, because the cities where there were suitable places to build a new village did not want the Kurdish people coming from Eastern Anatolia to settle there. Because of the absence of alternatives, Tohma village connected to Malatya's central district was built for the evacuated people in accordance with the wishes of the villagers. (Mehmet, age60, headman, 2013; Sabahaddin, age 55, manager in GDHW, 2013; Mehmet, age 60+, one member of the valuation commission).

Nobody from other cities wanted to give us a place. They considered us terrorists. In the end, RecaiKutan, God bless him, allocated here to us in Malatya (Personal Communication, Mehmet, age60, headman, 2013).

During the fieldwork in January 2013 in Tohma, eight households were visited. During these visits, detailed interviews were performed with the members of these households. At least one of the households from each expropriated village was visited. In the visited households, interviews were made with the all members of household present at that time. Also, an interview was made with three heads of households in a teahouse, which is a popular place for villagers in the city center. In

these interviews, information was obtained not only about both villagers' experiences and opinions but also general attitudes and experiences of the villagers.

4.2.2. Economic Conditions

People who settled in this village are generally poor villagers with no property or with little property. The evacuated villagers who settled in Tohma village were given 15 decares of irrigated land and 5 decares of dry land by the government to overcome the economic difficulties they might face. By this method, the government tried to eliminate the risk of joblessness and landlessness, which are the risks most likely to be faced by evacuated people. But the promises of one tractor for every three households, the agriculture credit and two cows for every household were not fulfilled. Also, the modern stockbreeding facilities that were planned to turn the stockbreeding into a sustainable income source were not built.

The government did not keep its promises but neither did we insist upon our rights. Our headman then was old and not strong enough to seek our rights. At the same time peasants had no idea of their rights and most of them were illiterate so they did not know how to act in public institutions. The government should have known this and should have protected the rights of the peasant (Personal Communication, Mehmet, age 60, headman, 2013).

Villagers did not blame the government, stating they never claimed on these promises, and not fighting to claim their rights caused these promises not to be met. On the other hand, it was the plan of the government to place the responsibility on the villagers considering that most of these villagers were uneducated and they might not have been aware of their rights and how to claim them.

The villagers who did not possess skills other than agriculture and stockbreeding could not perform agricultural activities that required a certain capital because they were not given agricultural support. Also, because the agriculture lands are far away from where they live and they were not given a tractor that is necessary for land work and transportation, their attempts to engage in agriculture failed. Especially because of the fact that income acquired from cereal production did not meet the expenses, villagers did not want to produce field crops. On the other hand,

labor with no income and capital investment for seven years are necessary for apricot production, which is the agricultural staple of Malatya. Because most of the villagers have to make a day-day living, and they do not have labor and capital in surplus, they could not engage in agriculture in the first seven years of their settlement. Some of the unskilled villagers who could not find employment in agriculture worked in temporary jobs such as construction worker or porter, while some worked in factories in the industrial areas of Malatya. Women, especially young girls, worked in apricot factories and made contributions to the family income.

Finding jobs for unskilled workers and the work ethic of the people among the evacuated population has prevented the joblessness problem. Sufficient income was acquired to meet basic needs. Also the government provided evacuated people with cash and fuel and other assistance to prevent them from having hunger problems. For this reason, people did not face the food insecurity risk, a serious danger for evacuated people.

Re-settlers stated they had free access to many things in their old village and their expenses in this new place had increased along with the increased opportunities.

In the past, we used to provide our wood from oak forest in the mountains near the village, we used to pasture our animals in the meadows, we used to dry plants and give it to animals in winter. We did not have many expenses. We used to get water from the stream and water our vegetable gardens, vineyards and orchards. But now, everything means money: wood, animal feed, water, electricity... (Personal Communication, Abuzer, age 55, construction worker, 2013).

Although some villagers complained about access to common property, all participants interviewed are very happy about the services they get in the new place. All of the villagers stated they have better conditions in terms of job opportunities, healthcare, education, transportation, settlement, and they have easier access to public services. Loss of access to common property, which is one of the risks Cernea warned about (2004), did not affect the villagers very much because the opportunities and services they were given outweigh their losses even though the evacuated people inevitably lost some opportunities. For example, most of the people who settled in this village did not have property. Because everybody in this village was counted as affected by this project, the government gave them both land and

houses from common property. Also, access to common services is one of the new benefits. They settled from a place where public services like healthcare, education, and transportation were limited, to a place where they have easy access to public services.

4.2.3. Education

In interviews with the families, it was found that the women's rate of literacy is lower than men at the age of 35+. The importance given to education is more a sign of socio-economic status than a sign of social values and attitudes. Families generally stated they want their children to continue their education to university if possible, but actually, the condition of "possibility" is seen as a condition that justifies attitudes to education. Most of the villagers living in Tohma were poor before expropriation. In the new settlement place, the villagers who could not engage in agriculture and stockbreeding started to engage in the labor market. Because people received low basic income in these jobs, women and young girls began to work in the apricot factories. Because every family member who was able to work found a job even with a low standard, this made their adaptation easier in the short term and it enabled the family head to have more money than they could earn on their own in the long term. As a result, instead of making a sacrifice by sending their children, especially their girls, to school, they preferred them to work to contribute to the household. They had their children make this choice sometimes with emotional abuse.

My father did not want to send me to school. He told me that our financial conditions were bad and he could not afford the school expenses and we should work and support our family in these hard times. Therefore, I did not want to put my family in trouble. But when I think now, I think that my father did not want to send me to school for his own comfort. He does not want to work for others, he does not work and he loaf around. My siblings and I work and take care of our house (Personal Communication, Zeynep, age 21, blue collar worker, 2013).

Sometimes, they had to accept this fate by force and violence.

My father did not send us to school under the cover of protecting our honor by saying that girls do not go to school. If they go, they get out of line(Personal Communication, Ayşe, age 20, blue collar worker, 2013).

There is a primary school that provides an eight-year education in the village. To go to high school, it was necessary to go to the city center. The extra expense of this situation is one of the reasons why education did not continue after primary school in the first ten years of resettlement. Despite all these conditions, there are some households who sent their children to school until they graduated from university. But the general attitude of families about education is changing. In recent times, every household pushes their chances and they give importance to the education of the new generation.

Families now think sending their children to school is important, assuming it will increase their chances in the labor force. For villagers, sending their children to school means guaranteeing their lives. It is thought that higher education paves the way for earning a good salary by working in more qualified jobs and working less instead of working more and earning a low basic salary.

For these families, education has become a means to an end. For families, education and knowledge are the capital thorough which people earn money rather than a value in itself.

4.2.4. Family Structure

Households in the village consist of married couples who live with their spouses. Almost all of the married couples are monogamist. The family structures are patriarchal. If there is one son in the household, he continues to live with the family after he gets married. If there is more than one son, the one who gets married first stays in the household until the other brother gets married. When the other son gets married, the first one leaves the household with his wife and forms his own nuclear family. The younger son is responsible for the care of their parents and generally he does not leave the father's home after he gets married. Some differentiations are seen in this family composition with the increase in the rate of schooling. The son who studies and is a government officer can live out of the city and for this reason, he cannot stay with his father's household after he gets married. Actually, no household

wants her daughter to get married with someone who lives with his family, but economic difficulties cause this arrangement to continue. Because of the fact that the family compositions and economic opportunities in the same network resemble each other, the girls get married and their families get involved in this family system of necessity even if they do not want to continue this structure. Due to the fact that most of the households in this village make their living within the labor force, the number of workers among the family members defines the economic situation of the household. In some households, because the family head is sick or is too old to work and there is no one else in the family who can make the living of the family except the oldest son in the household, the older sons of the family who get married have to stay in the household until the younger son grows up and starts to contribute to the household budget.

I am old. I do not have strength, and my husband passed away. My son looks after us. My daughter-in-law takes care of housework and her children; my daughter works in the factory and helps my son (Personal Communication, Ayşe T., age 60+, grandmother, 2013).

Some households want their sons to stay in the household after they get married until they have the financial wherewithal to set up their own home because they do not work, or because it is hard to get married and set up a home on a minimum wage.

My husband and I loved each other and wanted to get married. We live in the house of my father-in-law because my husband is still a student in the university (Personal Communication, Asiye, age 23, housewife bride, 2013).

While male dominance is seen in the family structures, it was observed in the interviews that women have also active roles in decision-making. Even though men are the heads of the family, men stated that they consult their wives in their work and their wives have the right to speak about subjects related to the family. Opinions about the roles and duties of men and women in the family give important clues about the world-view of these people. Among these villagers, the dominant role of men is to make a living for the family, and the duty of women is to take care of the housework. But the income source of most of the families in this village is blue-

collar work. Because it is difficult to meet the needs of the family with one wage, almost all of the young women of the families work part time in apricot factories along with the young men. Most of the women go to the factories for a couple of days a week. They give their salaries to the head of the family and they help to meet the needs of the household. In this context women contribute to the family income, which is perceived as the duty of men. The reason why most women work in the factories part time is that most of the employers want informal and cost-efficient workers and even if they work full time, they work under substandard conditions and with no social security benefits. On the other hand, workingwomen decrease the workload in the house. Also, tough factory conditions and low wages create obstacles for working full time.

During interviews, almost all participant households said that there are some changes in marriage style, which is another socio-cultural sign that affects the family structure. In the past, they were a closed society. Compulsory kin marriage or arranged marriage was generally common. While these marriage types are still present, young people generally meet and in their terms they “love” and get married. Another sign of the socio-cultural change of families in marriage types is young people giving importance to gaining the consent of both sides in every type of marriage.

4.2.5. Social Life

One of the most important risks that evacuated people face is social disarticulation. We can sum up this situation as corruption of the social fabric, disintegration of communities, changes in human relations, disintegration of mutual assistance, local solidarity and current social network, in short, as losing social capital. People from seven villages, one Kurdish-Alevi, one Turkish-Sunni, and five Sunni-Kurdish settled in Tohma. These villages were neighboring villages very close to each other. Villagers used to be in touch with each other before the resettlement. The people in this village had been in close relationship due to some of the people who live in Tohma being relatives, some living in the same village before expropriation, and some being acquaintances from expropriated villages close by. In addition to all these relations, they shared the same destiny as they were evacuated from their places and settled here. Most of the villagers settled in Malatya where they

had relations before and they continued their relations with their old social networks. In this context, even though the villagers did not face the social disarticulation risk in a traumatic way, some important changes happened in terms of human relations and communication in the new settlement place.

The village consists of two-story houses with the same form, which were built in a very regular way. In these houses and their gardens, it is forbidden to raise animals. But despite this prohibition, most households raised animals in their basement or in the barns they built in their gardens. Raising animals affects social relations due to animal husbandry limiting the free time of some people. The village location-wise resembles a collective housing structure in the city rather than a village. This structural difference of the village is also seen in the difference of social relations. In the past, there was a relation type where social stress was dominant, which was fed by intimate face-to-face relations. Interviewees stated people now are in more remote relations with each other in the new place. The households are introspective. They try to keep relations at a certain level in the network that they formed in the village.

Here, everybody minds their own business, we meet each other on holidays, in sickness, in condolences, in weddings and in memorial ceremonies. The more you are close to people, the more they cause you trouble. We are comfortable in this way. Nobody interferes with each other. The thing inside the house stays inside the house. Our relations are more respectful because of more remote relations (Personal Communication, Türkan, age 55, housewife, 2013).

Socializing, which is a social necessity, appears in different types. Men socialize in the coffee houses, which have been one of the most important places of socializing from past to present. Also, Quran lessons are given in the mosques for men in the evening hours. Mosques act as a socializing place for the ones who prefer to perform their prayers in mosques and who attend these lessons.

Before and after Quran lessons, we chat with our friends, we drink tea in the teahouse in its garden (Abuzer, age 55, construction worker, 2013).

Socializing among women appears in different forms. Workingwomen socialize in shuttle vehicles and in factories.

Because of the fact that young women of the village generally work, you do not get to see people a lot when you are at home. But when we go to work, we make friends with the people who work in the same factory. We develop our relations with our own villagers in the shuttle vehicles. For us, even though working means earning money, it is also for preventing boredom and being together with friends (Personal Communication, Serpil, age 20, part time blue collar worker, 2013).

Another way of socializing for women is in ‘gold parties’ held once a month and memorial ceremonies held infrequently. ‘Gold parties’ means a group of women organize and make an agreement to congregate every month in one member’s house. The guests bring a quarter gold coin to the host, and the host prepares a party for the guests. Every month this party occurs in the home of a different member of the group.

In fact, all of us are close neighbors but we cannot see each other so much. These gold days are very good in that they enable us to chat and get closer (Personal Communication, Hatice, age 45, housewife, 2013).

Nobody wants symbolic violence to continue in social relations. Families want to avoid social pressure. They do not want anyone to interfere in and direct their lives. Families prefer being introspective instead of socializing and forming close relations. They have a remote social organization, which resembles the relationships in the cities. In the development of these kinds of relations, the fact that most family members work, that they do not have the spare time necessary to develop social relations, and that there is TV in every household, have restricted their need for socializing.

4.2.6. Living Conditions

When we look at the living conditions of this village, we can say these villagers did not face the risks of homelessness or settlement in low standard houses which are among the risks defined by Cernea. Families used to have ownership of the houses where they lived. Today, they have ownership of the duplex houses they live in. All families are happier with the houses they live in now than their old houses.

In the past, our houses were made of earth. They were small, everybody used to sleep in the same room, water was far from the house, and there was no electricity, no toilet, no bathroom, and no kitchen. When we came to this village, we met civilization; we had comfort in our houses. We would never build such houses with the money we used to earn in the village (Personal Communication, Mehmet D. age 32, Construction Worker 2013).

When we look at the facilities of the houses, there are many important differences between the standard of their current houses and their old houses. For instance, while their old houses had no water mains, kitchen, bathroom or toilet, their new houses have them all. Also, their new houses have almost one decare of land to build a garden and produce fruit.

There is also an important increase in household goods in terms of furniture and electrical home appliances. For example, devices such as a television, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, and clothes iron are present in every house. Also, as furniture, lounge suite, dresser and coffee table are present in almost every house. The reason why the number of people who own these household goods is high is because these things are cheaper than in the past, because the cash money entering the house has increased and because every member in the family works, their purchasing power has increased.

For communication, mobile phones are preferred to fixed phones. Also, there is one Internet café in the village. Because at least one member in the family has a mobile phone, communication is easier. Also, there are improved opportunities in this village in terms of transportation compared to the old village. The roads of the village were sealed. There are minibuses that make hourly journeys between the city center and the village. However, the fares of these minibuses are twice the buses' fares. Villagers demand hourly bus routes from the municipality for cheaper and easier transportation.

This village has 312 households. Villagers have to go to the city for work, education, shopping, or for healthcare services. There is an hourly minibus but the village has no bus service. The minibus fare is 3.5 Turkish Liras; it is 2 Turkish Liras for a student. If there was bus, the charge would be 1.7 Turkish Lira and student fare would be 1 Turkish Lira. Our children who go to school pay 4 Turkish Liras for transportation every day. If we had a bus, they would be paying 2 Liras

(Personal Communication, Huseyin, age 38, Construction Worker, 2013).

Despite the transportation conditions, the interaction of the villagers with the city has increased. Villagers, including women, are directly in touch with the city for shopping.

There is a minibus service to a shopping center every hour. When we need, I go to the shopping center with my daughters and do our shopping because I am illiterate (Personal Communication, Fatma K., age 50, Housewife, 2013).

The villagers did not face the risks of increased morbidity and mortality defined by Cernea or social and psychological traumas, caused by malnutrition, or because of difficulty in access to the healthcare services often experienced after leaving the old place and by the difficulty in getting used to the new place. Because the new settlement places are under the security of the government and the villagers are settled collectively, social and psychological traumas decreased to a minimum. Easy access to healthcare services made it easier to eliminate this risk. There is one primary health care center in the village and almost all villagers have health coverage. Some of them have SSK (Social Security) and the others have a green card. Because transportation opportunities are good, villagers can take advantage of the healthcare services of public hospitals and private hospitals in the city center.

4.2.7. Conclusion

Re-settlers to Tohma were the poorest households and this poverty determined post resettlement conditions. The re-settlers were given lands, but they were not supported economically to engage in farming. These people who lacked economic, political, social, cultural and human capital could not engage in farming. They engaged in unskilled jobs instead of farming. The settlers of Tohma have good conditions in comparison with the period before the resettlement. However relative deprivation is still seen after resettlement.

Improvement in educational conditions came about slowly because of the economic conditions of the settlers of Tohma. Settlers did not school their children because they needed the labor of the children during the resettlement process. If one

thinks of the importance given to education as a criterion for socio-economic status and social values, the reason that, during the first years of resettlement, people did not give importance to education can be explained by the economic, social and cultural deprivation of the re-settlers.

Patriarchal structure of the family still exists, but there are some changes in gender roles. Influence, responsibilities and burdens of the women in the family have been increased. Women are engaged in unskilled jobs in factories as well as housework. The importance of women for interfamilial relations has increased their burden. The view that the maintenance of the household is the responsibility of the men is still dominant, but women and children are working for the maintenance of the household as well.

There is introspection of households in terms of social relations. Households establish limited social relations with their neighbors. Distant relations are preserved because of the fact that close social relations turn in to social pressure and this situation may irritate the households.

The villagers who were settled in the village of Tohma, had to face and cope with some of the eight risks Cernea defined as commonly affecting displaced people. The coping strategies of the villagers were shaped in accordance with circumstances. The effects of these risks were small. For instance, fully equipped houses and a 21,000-m² area of agricultural land were given to the villagers who had few or no possessions. Accordingly, the risks of homelessness and joblessness were avoided and prevented. The villagers had not worked at any job apart from agriculture and stockbreeding; therefore, most of them were unskilled in other jobs. Giving villagers land prevented the risk of occupational marginalization. However, the villagers did not engage in farming, because farming requires unpaid labor for a while and capital investment. They started to work in factories and the city center as unskilled blue-collar workers. The villagers did not face the problem of joblessness and food insecurity as a probable outcome of joblessness. The villagers did not face problem of loss of access to common property and services, which is an economic risk for displaced people. On the contrary, they were given a home and land from common properties at nominal prices. Additionally, they could access common services in this new place more easily than in the previous one. In case of being displaced, deformation of social fabric is inevitable, but effects of problems such as social and psychological marginalization and also social disarticulation in Tohma Village were

minimal, because the villagers were resettled all together with their families and relatives in such places that they were already familiar with and wanted to live in. Finally, we can say the risk of increased morbidity and mortality as an outcome of physical deficiency, which accompanied the social and psychological pressure of resettling have not adversely affected the villagers. The resettling of villagers all together with their families, relatives, and acquaintances and also government support during the resettling process minimized social and psychological pressure. Childhood and elderly deaths were prevented by health services in the new settlement.

Considering the stages of resettling under Scudder's theory of resettlement, we can say that the villagers are in the second stage. They have already got through the first stage, which is the stage of planning and recruitment. They are now in the second stage, the transition stage: they have been trying to adapt themselves to the new natural and social environment by establishing relationships with their new neighbors. In the second stage, the re-settlers try to develop known and common strategies with the aim of adapting themselves to the new settlement, caused by their dependence on action and networks they are familiar with. They show a tendency to be a conventional closed society. Besides, they are urgently in need of new labor resources in order to provide and support their livelihood. In general, the re-settlers experience lower living standards during this process because of uncertainty in their new settlement. The re-settlers can take risks to have a better future only after they know the circumstances of the new place very well (Schudder 1993). In the light of the above, we can say that most of the re-settlers are in the Security Stage.

4.3. Sütlüce Village

Sütlüce Village is within the boundaries of the district of Malatya, 20 km from the center of the city. The village, whose economy is based on agriculture and animal husbandry, has a continental climate, but the areas near Karakaya Dam have a mild one. The village has a water supply network and land that is suitable for agriculture.

4.3.1. General Information

Another sample group for this study consists of the people who settled in Sütlüce where their relatives had settled before after taking the expropriated compensation by their own choice. There was resettling in Sütlüce in a 50-year period before the expropriation from Bozgedik village. After the expropriation, 100 households from Bozgedik village settled in Sütlüce near their relatives. The displaced ones who settled in Sütlüce seem to have developed the most reliable tactics. When these tactics are analyzed in accordance with risk model of Cernea, it can be seen that the ones who settled in Sütlüce took precautions against the eight risks. The displaced people spending the compensation to buy land for farming or building houses took precautions against three risks directly. These are (1) Landlessness (2) Homelessness, (3) Joblessness. The ones who chose to buy land in order to engage in farming developed a tactic for avoiding joblessness. The settling of the Bozgedik villagers in Sütlüce collectively exemplifies cutting the social fabric in a place as a whole and relocating it to another appropriate place. For this reason, they did not encounter (4) Marginalization and (5) Social Disarticulation risks. Villagers did lose the opportunity for freely using the forest, pasture, and water, which are common property (6) Loss of Access to Common Property and Services. However in the new space, they gained opportunities through which they could get better income. Villagers who had no other choice than farming and stock breeding settled in a place whose physical conditions gave them the opportunity to be engaged in both agriculture and stockbreeding, with the advantage of an irrigation system. Moreover, villagers have access to services for education, health care, and transportation, which were previously almost nonexistent. As for (7) Food Insecurity, the ones settled in Sütlüce did not encounter this risk, because they received their compensation 5 years before the new settlement. In terms of (8) Increased Morbidity and Mortality, villagers also did not encounter this risk, because the new settlement place accorded with the wishes of the villagers so psychological stress was reduced to a minimum. Furthermore, villagers got the support they needed for physical rehabilitation because of easy access to health care services.

Eight houses in Sütlüce were visited during the fieldwork carried out in January 2013, and in-depth interviews were made with the households. Focus group interviews were made in a “mevlit” meeting consisting of women. An interview was made with the teacher of the Quran Course of the village with whom the villagers have a close relationship. Individual interviews were made with individuals of the

households and their thoughts about the new settlement and Sütlüce were uncovered. Another in-depth set of interviews was made with a person who was the advocate of the villagers during the period of expropriation and new settlement.

40-50 years before the dam construction, almost 50 households from Bozgedik settled in Sütlüce. Because Bozgedik was the first expropriated village during the dam expropriation period, the villagers who preferred to take the expropriation payments were able to receive them five years before they left their village. Because of this, the displaced people got the expropriation payment before moving so they had enough time to determine their new settlement place and make settlement plans. As with other displaced people, the Bozgedik villagers also preferred to settle in a place where their relatives or contacts were, and a place they knew before settlement. Villagers whose houses were expropriated bought lands in Sütlüce, planted apricot trees on these lands and built their houses in this village. During this process, the fact that relatives of Bozgedik villagers were residents of Sütlüce eased the problems of the displaced people. A middle-aged villager, who sells animal feed and bottled gas in addition to apricot farming, explained this situation,

My uncle settled in Sütlüce 40 years ago. We bought land there with our expropriation money. Before we moved to Sütlüce, we planted apricot trees on our lands, and had our houses built. We used to come to Sütlüce from Bozgedik in order to till our lands, and we used to stay with my uncle. When we were not in Sütlüce, our uncle used to take care of our garden. Most of the villagers' situations are similar to ours (Personal Communication, Şerif, age 40, farmer and small retailer, 2013).

After the building of the houses in Sütlüce was completed, the Bozgedik villagers moved to Sütlüce with the support of the GDSHW. Compensation was paid to the displaced villagers for their real properties such as house, trees, land, etc. While they were leaving their village, they pulled down their houses and used the building materials in their new settlements and sold their trees to lumbermen. 100 households in the Bozgedik village who preferred to get the expropriation payment settled in Sütlüce. These are the villagers who had owned small land (maximum 10-

15 decares) before. Some people who owned smaller lands preferred to move to Sütlüce because their relatives had moved there.

We did not encounter any difficulty during the migration period. God bless our state. They gave our expropriation payment on time, they did not make us suffer, and we were prepared to move as we got our money five years before the new settlement. We cut our trees, pulled down our houses and got the building material, which would be useful for us. The State moved us to the new settlement place by truck (Personal Communication, S. Zeynep, age 55, housewife, 2013).

4.3.2. Economic Structure

The villagers who settled in Sütlüce were those who chose their new settlement place on their own after getting an expropriation payment. An officer who had a task within the whole operation process of the Çat project in the DSI, stated that the expropriation payments were satisfactory, for example 3-5 decares of fertile land could be bought with the expropriation payment of 1 decare of land. When the displaced people were asked about their views of the expropriation payments, they stated the amounts were satisfactory. They bought at least two times more land than they had before expropriation and they built their new houses with the amount they received for their old houses.

The money we were given was good. We were able to get set in our way without having too much difficulty (Personal Communication, Ayşe S., age 55+, housewife, 2013).

We are villagers so we did not know many jobs. We wanted to do the job that we knew after buying land in Sütlüce with the money we were given. The compensation given us by the state was a good amount, we were able to buy land sufficient to make our life and we were able to build our houses. Now we have good conditions that we could never have in our old village (Personal Communication, Mehmet, age 40, farmer, 2013).

The economy of Sütlüce village relies on farming. Farming for the market is carried out in the village where irrigation conditions are sufficient. Apricot farming is common because it is productive and they can find a market for the produce. The

climate of the village is moderate because the village is on the lowland and near the Karakaya Dam. Occasionally in this village the yield declines as a result of the flowers of the apricots being damaged because of frost. Stockbreeding is not a common source of income. Few houses are engaged in cattle fattening for slaughter and most of the houses have cattle for the needs of the family.

During the first years of new settlement, most of the people made their living by farming. Differences in labor division started with the influence of the income obtained from farming and increase in mechanization in agriculture. The increase in mechanization in agriculture shortened the time needed for maintenance of the land. For example, intensive labor is required for 30-45 days in summer in apricot farming. For this reason individuals in the house who have other work are pursuing a different job and they are working the land at weekends and when they take their annual leave. Workers both from city and outside of the city are coming to this village, as apricot farming requires a great deal of work in a very limited time. Some of the youth are doing different jobs in Malatya or other cities after graduation from university and some of them continue their education in universities or high schools. Among the ones who did not continue their education, some of them are providing transportation with the truck belonging to their families, and others are working in skilled or unskilled jobs in building, landscaping, textiles, and apricot and food factories.

The following are examples from a few families:

My elder son is a teacher in Istanbul, my younger son is a dentist, my two elder daughters are married, the youngest one is studying theology in Istanbul (Personal Communication, Mustafa, age 56, farmer, 2013).

My elder son works as a driver, we have a truck and his brother works with him. My other son is a teacher, my daughter is also studying teaching in the education faculty. My husband works on our land (Personal Communication, Ayşe S., age 55+, housewife, 2013).

My father works our land, I sell bottled gas and animal feed. My two brothers won a tender with the municipality, they are doing landscaping. My other brother is an engineer and my sister is a teacher (Personal Communication, Şerif, age 40, farmer and small retailer, 2013).

When the economic conditions of the ones settled in Sütlüce are analyzed it can be seen that they developed appropriate tactics to avoid the landlessness and joblessness risks determined by Cernea, and they did not encounter food insecurity because of economic limitations. Furthermore, the displaced people took precautions against the occupational marginalization risk by engaging in farming which they knew well.

4.3.3. Education

In interviews with parents, compared to men the percentage of women who could read and write was less, girls' school attendance was deemed unnecessary and was also considered as a shame in Bozgedik Village where the old settlement was.

In Sütlüce both girls and boys went to school. If we were in the village, my sisters wouldn't have gone to school. The girls' attendance at school was considered a shame in the village (Personal Communication, Mahmut S., age 60, farmer 2013).

My father was saying to me "Son, how come are you sending your daughter to school?" She got a place at the medical school but my father was saying; "Listen to me son, don't send her to school" (Personal Communication, Hanefi K., age 55, diary owner, 2013).

In Bozgedik village only seven people, including the village headman had a reading habit, and this group evaluated the books they read once a week. Moreover, these villagers had a connection with the world at a certain level thanks to books. They informed the villagers the about expropriation and this assisted the social readjustment in a new settlement place.

When Bozgedik villagers moved to Sütlüce for the first time, they had education available in the city center. Having communication with different socio-economic children and receiving education in schools with higher standards than village schools helped to increase children's success and progress.

Education modifies social attitudes and manners, and opens up possibilities. The importance villagers gave to education was quite changed in the new place. Parents generally said that they wanted their children to continue education until university. They did not make gender discrimination in terms of allowing for education. The villagers started to send their children to school from the time they

had moved to the village and within 15 years there was at least one graduate student in every house. All the possibilities are offered to the kids who want to receive education. It is evident that schooling in the village is spreading. The ones who could not continue their education at school age are trying to complete their high school or college education by distance learning.

Parents mentioned that sending their children to school, being educated, and increasing their knowledge is important. Moreover, they added that they wanted their children to have respected jobs.

A primary school giving four-year education was opened in the village in 2011. There were reading and writing courses opened for illiterate women who were able to take the advantage of the courses. Moreover, there is a mosque in the village and a Qur'an course. The women who do not go to school in wintertimestudy Qur'an in the course and try to enhance their religious knowledge. So many old women in Sütlice who do not know reading and writing know how to read Qur'an.

4.3.4. Family Structure

Households in the village consist of married couples living together. All of the married couples are monogamous. There are sons who live with their family after marriage, some of them living in the same house with their family and the rest living in upper floor of their houses.

I have been married for two years; I am living with my husband's family. My sister in law has been married for five years. When we married, they moved to the other apartment that was built for them on the upper floor (Personal Communication, Melek, age 21, housewife, 2013).

The family structure is patriarchal. Especially the words of elders in the family are highly respected. It was stated in the interviews that women are also effective in decisions relating to the family and their words are also highly respected.

As the children get higher education this has been influenced the elders. Their social and cultural perspectives have changed. People in the village were ignorant, it was thought of as bravery that when they hit each other. But when they moved near the city, their perception of life changed. Social relations, both relations between the women and the

men have changed” (Personal Communication, Şerif, age 40, farmer and small retailer, 2013).

In terms of the woman and man within the family, it is expected that the task of the man is to bring home the income and the woman is responsible for the housework and maintaining the animals if they raise any for the needs of the household. Men are working to supply the income of the household. Men are responsible for the maintenance of the animals when they are being fattened commercially. All the houses have apricot gardens of different sizes and men in the houses are responsible for the work such as spraying, pruning, spading, irrigation, and finding workers at harvest time, harvesting, sulfuring, and selling. As the apricot gardens are close to their houses, or the ones whose gardens are not close have necessary equipment for transportation or garden work, farming work has become easy. Generally one of the men in the house is responsible for the garden work, and the other adult men are engaged in other different jobs. However at harvest time, all the individuals in the house help with the garden work as far as possible.

I am a teacher and I am working in Istanbul. My father is responsible for the garden. Among my brothers and sister, some are studying outside of the city; the others are working also outside of the city. All of us come together and go to the village to help my father at harvest time (Personal Communication, Ebubekir, age 30, 2013).

There is not much obvious change in the form of marriages, which are the main socio-cultural influence affecting the family structure. As it was a closed society in earlier times, the kin marriages or prearranged marriages characteristic of rural life were common. Prearranged marriages are still common but there are huge differences in the realization of these marriages. For example, even if a marriage is prearranged, young people have an opportunity to meet individuals within a broader network as the schooling rate has increased and the social networks of the villagers have expanded because of dealing with the market.

I met my husband in a prearranged way. We met up on the suggestions of our contacts (Personal Communication, Melek, age 21, housewife, 2013).

Kin marriage is not much practiced anymore.

We gave our girls to foreigners, and daughters-in-law that we took are also foreigners (those who are not a relative) (Personal Communication, Zakine S., age 60+, housewife, 2013).

In previous times, the individuals could only see each other for one or few times in prearranged meetings, but now the individuals can meet with each other throughout the process until the marriage and they try to know each other.

Now, nothing is similar to the previous times. Fiancés are talking with each other, going out; we could not see even the face of our fiancé, otherwise it would be criticized before (Personal Communication, Zeliha, age 40, housewife, 2013).

Kin marriage is progressively declining and it is also seen that the youth may decide to marry on their own, but this is not so common. It is not so common in this village that the youth decide to marry independently from their family. The reason is there is not a major challenge to the marriage traditions despite the developed relations of the villagers with the city center and the increase in the schooling rate, because the villagers continue to observe religious rituals reinforcing traditional limitations as a determinant factor in relations between men and women.

Relations within the family and between relatives are very close. Elders of the families are treated respectfully and they also encourage this respect. Relatives can make common decisions and they can apply them. For example, when one of their relatives was killed by stray bullet, elders of the village forced the individuals in his house and his immediate family to leave the village and sell their land in the village. All the villagers acted in cooperation to enforce this.

4.3.5. Social Life

The most significant risk that displaced people face is social disarticulation. This situation can be explained as destruction of the current social fabric, disintegration of communities, changing of human relations, mutual aid, local solidarity, and the collapse of the existing social network. In short, it is the loss of social capital. As Bozgedik Villagers collectively settled in Sütlüce, they faced the risks of social disarticulation and social marginalization. The villagers are very bound to each other as they used to be before. On important solidarity days like

deaths, births, and weddings they are tightly attached to each other. However, there has been some change in their relationships. Differentiation of place and the things they do have changed the social relationship as well.

In winter women wove carpets, in summer they both took care of chores and the fieldwork. That is to say, their work is easier now thanks to new tools used in chores, and the houses having full facilities. Also they do not weave carpets anymore. For these reasons, women have more leisure time and they can participate in social activities.

In the past, we always had things to do. We were busy as a bee because of fieldwork, animal care, chores, and children's care. Now, we have machines for every task. We have electricity and water in our houses (Personal Communication, Zeynep, age 45, housewife, 2013).

For instance, women have neighbors and relatives that they see and chat with everyday over tea. In contrast to Tohma, instead of distant relations, they emphasize close relations as important. There are women in the village who regularly continue attending Qur'an courses on weekdays. For these women the course is a kind of socializing opportunity. The other social activity of these women is to have a religious gathering with the Qur'an course teacher every week in a different house. After they listen to the lecture they have cake or cookies with tea. At that time the women chat to each other.

In the past, the men worked only at certain periods of the year because they dealt with agriculture in the village. They had enough time to socialize, but because their life styles were similar, instead of improving the people, this socialization tended to strengthen conflicts. In interviews, the expressions of the villagers support this idea.

We didn't know the world before, we didn't know anything and we considered the aggressive and violent person as a "brave man". Just to be called that some of them deliberately were starting fights (Personal Communication, Şerif, age 40, farmer and small retailer, 2013).

Another villager says,

I was only dealing with my job but people were jealous about me because my fields were a little bit fertile. So without any reason they

were fighting with me and giving harm to my products (Personal Communication, Mahmut T., age 55, old headman and farmer, 2013).

Most of the villagers were relatives, so they knew about each other's lives. Because of these close relations they harmed one another directly or interfered with their lives by using rumors as a substitute for violence.

Now, the men have leisure time only in the evenings and they chat in houses with particular groups. Apart from this, they continue their social relations by going to the teahouses in the city center. The villagers mentioned that by coming to the new place, both the solidarity among them has increased and social relations have improved. Education levels and interaction in the city center have increased. In other words, because the villagers interact with the market, the developed network changed both their lives and their relationships.

4.3.6. Living Conditions

When we look at living conditions in Sütlüce, we can see that these villagers did not encounter the risks determined by Cernea such as homelessness or settling in houses with lower standards. The property of the dwellings they inhabited before belonged to them and now the situation is the same. Most of the new dwellings are two-storied. Sometimes a married couple from the family lives downstairs, or one part of it is used as stable and the other part as a storeroom where they put the tools used for farming. All of the families are more satisfied with the new dwellings when compared with the old ones because the standards of their new houses are above their old ones. For example, there was no water supply in their old houses. Although there was electricity in their old houses, they were living with frequent power interruptions. Moreover they had no bathroom, WC, or kitchen in their old houses but now they are living in more spacious and fully equipped houses.

There is also a big increase in household electrical appliances. Television, washing machine, clothes iron, and vacuum cleaner exist in all houses. There is not so much demand for furniture such as sofas, glass cabinets, etc. Living rooms are generally furnished with carpets and mattresses. Some of the houses are furnished with the traditional Kurdish carpets and mattresses.

Cell phones are preferred to fixed phones for communications. At least two individuals in each house have a cell phone, and this provides a big benefit in

communication. In terms of transportation, there are better services in the village when compared with previous times. The roads of the village have been sealed and there are municipal buses making hourly services between the village and the city center. Villagers are in continuous contact with the city center where they do their shopping directly.

There is no health center (sağlık ocağı) in Sütlüce. All the villagers have health insurance. Most of them have SSK and some of them have a green card so they can get health services from state hospitals and private hospitals in the city center. Villagers are satisfied with the accessibility of health services. These villagers did not encounter the increased morbidity and mortality risk stated by Cernea, brought on by social and psychological trauma resulting from lack of nutrition, difficulty in accessing health services after leaving the old settlement, and not being able to get used to new settlement because of the displacement.

4.3.7. Conclusion

The settlers of Sütlüce are villagers who had land and property before the displacement. They received their compensation in time and in a satisfactory amount, and this made it easy for them to make a new life. Their economic condition has improved thanks to the fact that they continue to engage in the job that they were familiar with and by settling in a familiar place of their own choice, and they produce goods for the market. Their economic development caused an increase in the division of labor. Their improvements have increased thanks to the fact they have social, economic and cultural capital, even if those are very limited. Furthermore, they have invested in a business in which they can make use of their human capital, and this allows them to get the best out of the situation.

Their educational conditions have improved, in parallel with their economic condition. There are many reasons for this improvement. The first of the three reasons that I observed during the fieldwork is that they have economic capital. Second, people who are interested in books and education have a transformative influence on society through close relations with their relatives and neighbors. Third, because there is no school in the village, the children going to the city center both receive a better education than in the village, and their social networks and perspectives on the importance of education have improved.

Households in the village are close to one another in terms of social relations. Furthermore, the networks of the villagers have improved thanks to their closeness to the market and their relations with different environments because of the increasing educational level.

According to the research results, it can be said that the villagers who settled in Sütlüce acted in their own best interests and they have not encountered any of the eight risks that Cernea determined. It was not because of the individuals who moved to Sütlüce, it was due to the social fabric. The displacement of this social fabric affected villagers' life in a positive way. The villagers who settled in the new place did so with confidence and started to progress by finding a suitable niche in terms of their economic and cultural lives. According to Scudder's new settlement theory, these villagers are in the third stage of settlement. They have passed the first stage, which is planning and settlement, and the second stage, adaptation. The displaced people mentioned that because they did the planning over five years and they moved somewhere they knew, it was easy for them to pass the second stage.

The third of the stages, Community Formation and Economic Development Stage, is the phase where-settlers adapt to the conditions of place providing their livelihoods, and gain self-confidence about their futures. In this stage they make investments by taking risks for the new opportunities. Their level of education increases, they acquire habits of luxury consumption and they turn to investment opportunities outside of agriculture (Scudder, 1993).

4.4. Tecde and Gedik Neighborhoods

Those two neighborhoods are separated from each other by a hill. New settlers settled mainly near this hill. The Gedik neighborhood is within the borders of Yeşilyurt, whereas Tecde is within the borders of the central district. Yeşilyurt has an ethnically Turkish majority population. The only neighborhood having a Kurdish majority population is the Gedik neighborhood. Although these two neighborhoods are officially recorded within the boundaries of different municipalities, I considered them as a single settlement since the new settlers dwell in both of them.

4.4.1. General Information

The displaced people who preferred to settle in the Tecde and Gedik neighborhoods moved to these places after receiving their public money according to their own preferences. People who were expropriated from six different villages moved to these districts. Çelikhan and the villages had all of their market dealings with Malatya. Both in the past and now, these villages' transport from Yeşilyurt to Malatya is by means of animals. So many people from these villages moved to Yeşilyurt Gedik neighborhood and to Tecde, which is linked to the city center. Gedik and Tecde are two neighboring districts and Yeşilyurt is a town in which the Turkish population is dominant. These villagers preferred to settle in the Gedik neighborhood, an empty hill with little settlement, instead of settling next to a Turkish population. Some of the villagers settled on the hill next to the Gedik district. Before the expropriation, when the villagers went to the center of Malatya for shopping or health problems, they would have seen the villagers who had settled in these districts, stayed at their places and got help from them to find work in city. This is one of the reasons the displaced people chose this place- that they had already known about the neighborhood and their relatives and acquaintances were there before them.

At first we were sorry about moving, but because our relatives and acquaintances are here, we got used to this place immediately, and now are pleased to be here (Personal Communication, Aşhan, age 60+, housewife, 2013).

The reason we came to Tecde is that our relatives are here. All of our neighbors and villagers chose to come here (Personal Communication, Ramazan T, age 60+, jobless, 2013).

My husband's sisters were in Mersin. They called us there as well and we moved to Mersin, but we couldn't get used to its climate and people. A few months later we wanted to come back to Malatya. One of our villagers bought a house in Tecde and he suggested this house we live in now. We could afford to buy this house (Personal Communication, Ayşe G., age 60+, housewife, 2013).

In interviews only one of the villagers' had a reason not related to his relatives, but he settled in this place on a friend's suggestion.

We don't have relatives here. We thought our job would be better. We came here by trusting in God, not because we have relatives here ... Our

chance (destiny) showed the way here. One of my friends said to me "This house is good, buy it" and we bought it. I think it is good that we bought it. I was trading in animal before. Now, I'm retired. I was selling straw and this place needed it too. Thus, I settled here (Personal Communication, Ramazan A, age 60+, retired & lorries owner, 2013).

Like the villagers who moved to Sütlice, the villagers who preferred to settle in the Gedik and Tecde neighborhoods received compensation to establish their new life. A very few of them also moved to these places although the public money they received from government was insufficient to establish a new life. The reason for this is that, when they were displaced, the government had not yet found a new place to settle the villagers. These villagers said that they asked for a settlement, but because the government had not decided where to place them, they gave up the settlement request.

We didn't invest in land. We couldn't capitalize on our compensation and we finished it. We were signed up for settling by the government, however, because we didn't want to go another cities, we deleted our names. We went to Tecde because of our relatives. All of our neighbors and villagers preferred to come here (Personal Communication, Fatma, age 35, housewife, 2013).

The government was going to give us land in Hatay. We didn't want to go to another city, so we gave up our (agricultural settling) right. We had our name deleted from the list (Personal Communication, Emine, age 37, housewife, 2013).

The ones who moved to the Gedik and Tecde neighborhoods were the most at risk group and this group had to establish anentirely new life with limited capital. This group faced the eight risks Cernea determined: (1) Landlessness, (2) Joblessness, (3) Homelessness, (4) Marginalization, (5) Increased Morbidity and Mortality, (6) Food Insecurity, (7) Loss of Access to Common Property and Services, and (8) Social Disarticulation (Cernea, 2004, p. 9). Most of the villagers, who suddenly had to invest a lot of cash to save themselves, did not have any other skill except farming. They were in danger of sinking their money in some riskyenterprise, in the entertainment area, or of getting defrauded (Öner, 2002). Using the research data, it will be analyzed how the displaced who moved to these neighborhoodsfaced up to these threats.

In the fieldwork in February 2013, first, an interview was done with a key person who knew all of the newcomer villagers and as a result, using the snowball method, 10 households were found and the interviews were carried out. Four of the households were visited more than once and the observations were as reliable as possible. Moreover, the households that moved to this district are more complicated than the ones that moved to Sütlüce and Tohma. What distinguishes these households is that the villages they lived in before expropriation was different as were their economic opportunities. However, the most important factors influencing the villagers to make their choices are: they knew the place before, and their relatives, acquaintances had already moved to these neighborhoods.

4.4.2. Economic Structure

It is difficult to generalize about the previous economic circumstances of the villagers who chose to move to Gedik and Tecde. In other words, people who preferred settle to here, decide to do different jobs because they received different amounts of expropriation. In this situation, the displaced ones gave priority to security. For this reason, every household primarily wanted to own a house. Most of the households bought a piece of land and built at least two- or three-storied fully serviced houses. In the process of new settlement, because there was an intensive demand for land, the prices increased. Under these circumstances, some of the households who bought land and built a house had less money to use for business investment and in time this money was spent in non-productive areas.

Some displaced ones who bought a house and had more money opened coal, straw, or construction material shops or markets. Although those jobs do not require any special skills, those kinds of workplace owners mentioned that they had been dealing with forage, animal, and tobacco trading on a small scale in their former place. The other investment type was transportation. Some of the villagers did shipping by buying a pickup or lorry, and others bought a passenger van or minibus fleet and rented them out to provide additional income for their households.

In the past I was doing forage and animal trading. I was selling straw and the straw was being sold here too. So, I came here. Now, I'm retired. We have lorries and storehouses for selling animal feed; my son is running these. Our economic status is better compared to the old

times (Personal Communication, Ramazan A, age 60+, retired & lorries owner, 2013).

We had a van when we were in the village. We were providing the transportation of village. When we had to move from the village, we bought a minibus station and minibuses with the compensation we received. We moved here because we have jobs here. All of the family lives on the money coming from the station. We sent one of my brothers to school and now he is a nurse. My other brother is a service driver and I'm a driver too. I work at our station (Personal Communication, Süleyman, age 40, minibus driver, 2013).

When I was in the village, I had so much land. It was so fertile. I had a land measure of about 50-60 decare. I was trading in tobacco as well as farming. We came here when our lands were submerged. I built a house, opened a market, an ironmongery, and also a storehouse of construction materials. Now my jobs are pretty good. My three sons and I are working these businesses (Personal Communication, Sabri, age 50, small company owner, 2013).

The households among the newcomers that had vertical mobility in an economic sense are the ones that invested their compensation in businesses as well as in buying a house. In their choice of work, they tried to invest their money according to their previous experience. Apart from these ones, because most of the new settlers were unskilled, in the early years of settlement, they chose to work in jobs that do not require any qualifications. For instance, they worked as construction builders, as laborers in a factory, or as porters. In time, they started to work in jobs that required more experience and have better wages, such as a foreman in construction or in a factory.

We weren't able to do husbandry or farming. We didn't have an opportunity to go to another village. When we had a choice, we became a laborer. I bought a wool card machine and started a business but it didn't work so I closed it. We didn't buy a license for the machine. The municipality didn't give a license. When we first came here my daughters were working in apricot factories to help the cost of living. I'm retired now and my elder daughter got married. The youngest daughter and the son are in university (Personal Communication, Mehmet P, age 55, retired, 2013).

I was working in apricot gardens in summer. My husband never worked after moving. He both feels humiliated about being a laborer and also he is fond of comfort. My husband did not invest our money in land because the fieldwork is hard to do. We only bought the house we live in

now by my efforts. We didn't invest the money and we finished it. We were signed up for settling by government. However, because we didn't want to move another city, we deleted our names (Personal Communication, Aşhan, age60+, housewife, 2013).

In the past we were dealing with agriculture and animal husbandry. We had land of about 40-50 square meters. With the compensation I received I built two houses for myself and for my brother. Moreover, I bought a minibus route, I didn't know any other business opportunities. I'm a construction foreman right now, but this job is seasonal. Every month a payment is coming from the minibus line as a minimum wage, so that my current status is good compared to the other villagers (Personal Communication, Abuzer Ş, age 35, construction foreman, 2013).

As we see, the new settlers of the Gedik and Tecde neighborhoods have different economic circumstances, and they all own the houses they live in. Some of them have established their own business and some earn their living by being laborers. Some of them have a living income and some of them have a little more. The common point of the two groups is both of them think the new place has better economic opportunities for themselves and their children than the old place. The displaced people who moved to these neighborhoods improved their situation with the motivation of security for their families. First of all, they took precautions against the Homelessness risk. Whilst some of them were improving the standards of the houses they built they finished most of their capital. That is why they did not turn the rest of the money into a business investment and they had to be laborers. Although most of the new settlers were unskilled workers, they did not encounter the Joblessness risk. They worked in construction as builders, and in factories. Five of the households we interviewed work in their own businesses. Two of them have seasonal construction foreman jobs. At the same time, they have a partnership in a minibus station and they have extra income from the station. Three of the householders are full time laborers.

4.4.3. Education

In interviews with parents, we found that, compared to the men, the percentage of women who can read and write was less. Most of them did not go to school when they were in the village, and in the city, while they were busy with household chores, they thought they did not need to learn how to read and write. In

the first few years of the new settlement, only primary school aged boys had the opportunity to go to school. After primary school, girls were not allowed to go to school. With the introduction of eight-year compulsory education, both girls and boys are motivated to continue their education until university.

The only change here is that the kids go to school. If we were in the village, we would not send them to school (Personal Communication, Abuzer, age 35, construction foreman, 2013).

I'd like to send my kids to school. It will be nice if they succeed. Even if they win a university place at other city, I will let them go (Personal Communication, Süleyman, age 40, minibas driver, 2013).

Primary schools, Imam Hatip High Schools, Anatolian High Schools, and regular high schools are available in each of the Gedik and Tecde Şentepe neighborhoods. These schools can be reached by walking. Both in Yeşilyurt and Tecde, there are different schools and high schools available, but students prefer to go to the nearest school in their districts. The students in these schools have the same family conditions, thus rates of success in school and progression to university education are quite low. Most of the students drop out of school after primary education or in the middle of secondary school because of being unwilling to continue their education. Girls want to get married at a young age - they feel ready for marriage from 17 years old. At this age, marriage is common among girls, for their school success is not high, and when they learn that to continue higher education requires a serious effort, they prefer to get married instead of pursuing further education. This situation is like a manifestation of Bourdieu's statement about cultural wealth.

Cultural wealth accumulation begins in childhood. It requires "pedagogical action": parents and other family members or paid experts, in order to make the child sensitive about the need for investment of time to make cultural differences. Acquisition of predisposition which is acquired with culture, requires people "to be free from economic necessity", therefore it converts class-based inequalities into cultural differences. Inherited cultural wealth invested in schooling returns as profit: while those who possess high amounts of cultural wealth are rewarded, deprived ones will be punished (Bourdieu 1989, p. 48-81; Swartz, 1997).

These families lack the cultural wealth to make their children sensitive about cultural differences. They also lack economic capital to spend for cultural improvement. The maximum investment that low socio-economic families can do for their children is to forgo their labor by sending them to school. This sacrifice is not enough to profit from education.

The importance given to education, which is an indicator of social values, attitudes, and opportunities, has increased in the last five years. The families generally said that they want their children to take education until university. They do not make gender discrimination in terms of allowing education. They indicated that it is important to have a respected job with a good salary and less physical labor. In answer to the question, what other importance does education have, they answer: *“Going to school is a good thing, so the knowledge and the literacy rate will increase.”* In this context, it is considered that going to school raises the personal reputation as well as professional reputation.

In this neighborhood the mosques have Qur`an courses as well. In summers, kids and youths take religious education and study the Qur`an. Many girls, who do not continue their education after primary school, take education in these courses for one or two years. Some of them take the education of being hafiz. Also, there are some women who attend the courses. Most of the women take part in religious conversation every week.

4.4.4. Family Structure

Most of the displaced people who settled in Gedik and Tecde were organized as immediate families. In some houses, married sons live in the family home. When the household's sons are of a marriageable age, they get married and generally start to live with the family. They keep staying with their family until the time they are economically independent enough to have their own houses apart from their families. When the second son of the family gets married, the first married one leaves the family house and moves to another one. If there are more sons, this situation continues in the same way. Generally, the youngest son stays with his family and accepts the care of his parents. If there is only one son, he generally stays with his family even after marriage. In interviews with 10 households, a married son stays with his family in five of them.

The patriarchal system dominates the family structure in these neighborhoods. It was indicated in the interviews that women are influential in household matters, but men make the final decision. When their thoughts about the duties of men and women are asked, most of the households responses were in the classic patriarchal tradition, that men need to provide the maintenance of the family and the women need to take care of children and the housework. In reality, the situation is as indicated. The women do the housework and take care of the animals if they are for the household's needs. The men try to provide for the maintenance of their family.

Ideas of marriage affect the family structure as a socio-cultural indicator and as one might expect these ideas have changed. As a closed society in the past, villagers generally got married with their relatives, or because of rural traditions, arranged marriage was common as an obligation. Arranged marriage is still common but there are important changes in the process. For instance, even if there is an arranged marriage, marriages outside of kinship ties have become popular. In old times, when two people were about to marry by arrangement, they had the opportunity to see each other only once or twice. However, it is different now. They can see each other until the time they marry. Also, the young people's consenting to get married to each other is becoming more common.

4.4.5. Social Life

Significant changes have occurred in the social life of the Gedik and Tecde Şentepe's re-settlers. Differentiations of place and jobs have made social relations different as well. People have not built distant relationships as in Tohma, yet they have not very close connections as in Sütlüce. While they have some separation, they support each other and act with solidarity in events such as births, deaths, and weddings, where intimacy and solidarity is of great importance.

We see our neighbors often. We visit our relatives in the city (Personal Communication, Aşhan, age 60+, housewife, 2013).

Women used to weave carpets in winter and both do the housework and work in fields in summers while living in the village. New household appliances, and

quitting carpet weaving have eased the women's lives. Thus, they have more free time, allowing them to participate in a number of social activities. For instance, they meet their neighbors and relatives at tea times and chitchat, or they attend regular Qur'an courses, which is a meaningful tool for socialization. Another social activity of women is meeting in Qur'an courses and listening to religious lectures.

We see different kind of people here, meet more people, and we acquire good manners. It is very advantageous to live here. Access to healthcare services and education is easy; we got used to living in different social surroundings (Personal Communication, Safiye, age 20, university student, 2013).

Men used to work only in certain periods while living in villages, since they were engaged in agriculture. They used to have enough time to socialize. However this opportunity began increasing conflicts rather than improving human relations due to the fact that people's life styles were very similar to each other. All villagers were aware of one another's life since they were relatives. As a result of this, they could interfere with each other's lives through direct interference or by circulating rumors as a means of symbolic violence. For example, one interviewee emphasized:

Previously there used to be rumors and jealousy in the village. People could not stand seeing one doing a good job and another a bad one. They could disturb each other in all kinds of ways. Now, everyone works as one wishes, we live on our own, I'm at ease here (Personal Communication, Mahmut A., age 55+, retired & security member, 2013).

These sentences reflect the pressure arising from the previous situation, and indicate the reasons of sensitivity for having separation in the new place. Complaining about the restrictions of past village life, another interviewer stated:

The more people, the more abundance. We came to the city and we saw lots of things, Thank God, He paved the way for us. Our neighbors are good people; they do not interfere with us. We started complying with our religion's requirements much more and earning much more money (Personal Communication, Ramazan A., age 60+, retired and lorries owner, 2013).

Re-settlers have had more opportunities to choose people with whom they want to have intimate relations in populous neighborhoods. Moreover, these populous locations are very near the city center. Due to both factors, social

surroundings have changed and social spheres have expanded. These have brought about partial freedom and ease in human relations.

Young men do not have specific places to socialize. They participate in social life through chatting in front of the barbershop, market or mosque, or else playing soccer in vacant lots.

4.4.6. Living Conditions

Families own the houses they live in. Most of the new houses have two floors. On the first floor generally there is a married couple living, or they use the first floor as a barn. All of the families are happy about their new houses compared to the old ones, because the equipment in the houses is of a higher standard. For example, they did not have a water supply in their old houses; there was an electricity supply but it was being cut very frequently. Moreover, there were no bathrooms and kitchens in their old houses, but now they have fully serviced large houses.

There has been a significant increase in the possession of electrical appliances. Televisions, washing machines, clothes irons, and vacuum cleaners are found in every house. In addition, sofas, sofa beds, armchairs, lounge suites, china cabinets and factory woven carpets are also found in the houses. There is no fixed telephone in the houses because cell phones provide communication. There are at least two individuals who have mobile phones, which makes for ease of communication. On the subject of transportation, there are quite advanced facilities available compared to the past. It is about 10 km between these districts and the center and it is possible to be in the city center in 15 minutes by various means. At least one member of each household is in the city center every day for various reasons like business, shopping, etc. These neighborhoods are in indirect connection with the city center.

There is a hospital in the Gedik neighborhood, and there are health centers in Yeşilyurt and Tecde. There are pharmacies in both places. Also, there are supermarkets, grocery stores and bakeries for everyday shopping. Warehouses are common in these districts. There are warehouses for construction materials in busy periods of new settlement, coal warehouses for winter fuel needs, and warehouses for animal feed.

In these neighborhoods, due to population density and land scarcity, it is impossible to engage in farming. However, despite a ban on the feeding of animals in these districts, the majority of households keep cattle to meet the daily milk needs of the house.

4.4.7. Conclusion

The ones who settled in Tecde and Gedik neighborhood as well as the ones in Sütlüce preferred to settle in this place after receiving their compensation. There is no homogeneity in the economic conditions of this group that want to engage in work apart from farming. Some of them established their own business relying on their previous experiences and improved their economic conditions. Some of them spent their compensation instead of using it as investment for a business and they are working in unskilled and seasonal jobs. A common feature of the ones who established their own business is that they have human capital to be able to maintain this business.

Educational improvement among the people settled in these neighborhoods is slow even though they are extremely close to the city center, and it seems difficult to explain the reason for this situation. Because of the fact that the adaptation of school age children to school in the early stages of settlement is difficult and there is no effort in the houses to stress the importance of education, progress in education is slow.

In terms of social relations, there is introspection as a community. The ones who knew each other before resettlement have maintained their relations after resettlement. They have established limited relations in the new settlement area with Turks and their neighbors who are not relatives or acquaintances.

According to the research findings, re-settlers in the Tecde and Gedik neighborhoods have tried to take precautions against the possible dangers and risks. When we review the strategies for handling these risks, we can say that these re-settlers have acted with the motive of security. Each and every family tried to become a homeowner due to this concern for security. They took measures against “Homelessness”. While they felt threatened by the risks of possible “Landlessness” and “Joblessness”, they stated they did not want to live dependent on the soil any more. Instead of being land-owners and farmers, they preferred doing different kinds

of jobs in which some of them worked as building workers, porters, factory workers and drivers, while some of them set up their own business. Since they were living below the poverty line in the village, they stressed they had better conditions now, even if they were working and living in low standards. By investing in businesses they were familiar with before, those re-settlers who experienced upward mobility have acquired better economic status. This group has not encountered the risk of “Food Insecurity” whose source is economic problems. The risk of “Loss of Access to Common Property and Services” has affected displaced people as follows: displaced people have lost the opportunity to access common property, but it is easier for them to reach public services now. The displaced have acquired more visibility as citizens following this process.

It cannot be generalized whether re-settlers in this neighborhood have dealt with all the challenges according to Scudder’s new settlement theory or not. They have passed the first stage consisting of planning and settlement. However, they cannot be considered as having passed through the second stage (adaptation stage) in full. They have overcome physical, psychological, and socio-cultural stressors in this stage. They have got accustomed to the new environment and surroundings, repositioned themselves thanks to new relationships with the new neighbors. They have created labor resources to earn money. Some of them have begun working in jobs that allow them only to maintain themselves. Since the uncertainty in the new settlement has been overcome, their living standards have not decreased. Yet, this group could not reach the level of taking economic risks and making the breakthrough to increase their capital. They lack both social and economical capital for realizing such a goal. In this stage, re-settlers have begun applying familiar strategies for adaptation. Their dependency on familiar actions and networks has increased. They have tended to be a traditional, closed society (Scudder, 1993).

The other group who resettled and used their capital to start up new businesses in accordance with their previous experience is in the third stage of settlement. This third stage of Community Formation and Economic Development is the phase where re-settlers adapt to the conditions of the place, making a living and gaining self-confidence about their future. In this stage, they make investments by taking risks against the new opportunities. Their level of education increases, they acquire habits of luxury consumption and they turn to investment opportunities outside agriculture (Scudder, 1993). However, no improvement as to habits of

education and consumption parallel to economic development has been observed in this group. No members of the families forming this group have graduated from university. There are only two families whose children are attending university, yet their departments are not highly valued ones. This group is in the second stage of the settlement framework regarding education level and social relations.

CHAPTER V

5. Conclusion

Research findings on the social and spatial effects of dam expropriations are summarized in the previous sections. To conclude, I will concentrate on how they relate to the research questions formulated at the start of this thesis. The Çat Dam case is analyzed with the help of Michel Cernea's Impoverishment Risk Factors of Resettlement (IRR). Moreover, resettlement analysis has been conducted using Thayer Scudder's four-stage framework, which was developed for development-induced resettlement analysis.

Turkey needs to improve expropriation standards in rural development projects, and those that relate to displacement and expropriation policies to ensure their compatibility with those of the World Bank. Those standards were formulated in response to the critics and protest against large dam projects. These criticisms focused on the question of sustainability, and some of these critics were active in the area of development. *"Due to the increased involvement of these actors, arguably facilitated by globalizing processes, the institutions, such as the World Bank, that create and produce the guidelines for 'proper' (or, sustainable) development have had to respond"* (Braun, 2004, p.3). Through these standards, the World Bank (2004) aims to protect the rights of displaced people and ensure measures are taken against impoverishment in their new settlements. While good intentions of the World Bank's standards in protecting the rights of the displaced is disputable, there are weaknesses: *"Abstract guidelines will always have problems resolving threats to identity, spiritualism or sense of place, yet such factors may be of the utmost importance to the displaced communities"* (Swainson &McGregort, 2008, p.164). Moreover, the standards of World Bank are generally not applied in real world situations; there are many projects, which do not take into consideration those standards, in fact conducting unqualified expropriation and resettlement projects. The Keban Dam is an example from Turkey of this kind of project. The Çat Dam project, the subject of this study, is a successful and well-done project thanks to

government policy, quality of project executors and awareness the rights of displaced people rather than focusing on abstract standards.

The people displaced because of the Çat Dam project stated that they have much better living standards in their new settlement in comparison to the old one. There are many reasons for this general well being. The first reason, as is well known from experiences over all world, it is almost impossible to organize resettlement plans and to make rehabilitation of displaced people in large scale dam projects. On the other hand, controllability of small-scale projects is possible. Rehabilitation of displaced people and applying of resettlement plan in a controlled manner are possible under certain circumstances. In the literature, the Kotmale Dam in Sri Lanka and the Arenal Project are cited as examples of successful resettlement projects. In this regard, we may claim that the size of the dam is influential in changing the characteristics of social and spatial factors.

The second reason in the success of the project is the role of the experts whose application of the project affected the success of the expropriation end resettlement. Specialists tried to actualize expropriations as decently as possible and raise peoples' awareness of their rights in a timely manner. As a result the affected people became more aware of their rights and interests; they had better access to information and put more pressure on the government to improve its policies.

The third reason of the success is the spatial suitability. Almost all displaced persons resettled close to the old places, so they have a relationship with those areas through their relatives and friends. As a result, displaced people are protected from social and psychological traumas, which are a probable outcome of unreliability and uncertainty.

The fourth reason is, social and spatial constraints of the conditions of old place led to a positive perception and evaluation by the displaced to the resettlement area. Their former experience influenced their expectations and improved satisfaction. So most of the interviewees were satisfied with the new conditions, which are relatively better. All participants expressed the view that the new conditions are better, especially for future generations.

Irrespective of all reasons and outcomes, and the discourse about the adverse experience of displacement and resettlement, our main claim in this study is that immigration may be an opportunity for migrating people even if it is compulsory. A person wants to act so as to maximize in his/her status in society. So immigration

- a) increases the number of opportunities from which migration people benefit;
- b) provides professional and social mobility to those people.

In addition, the distribution of people in social system by settlement changes continuously. These villages are migrant-giving settlements because of their location. Expropriations induced villagers to resettle with a fund. In parallel with changes in technologies of production, transportation and communication and also in the foreign affairs of social systems, pressure for change occurred for places in the social system:

- a) By redistributing population in places,
- b) Distributing labor in a manner that makes production more effective and plentiful, immigration is one of the most effective mechanisms in adaption of place organization to new circumstances and environment (Tekeli, 1975).

The general inclination of immigrants and its reflection in this study will be expressed below. Before evaluating the resettlement tendency and evaluation of findings through research question the expropriation conditions will be summarized below by both advantages and disadvantages:

- The best possible price was determined for expropriation. Although the price was determined according to the villagers' demand, the villagers claimed a 50% increase by proceeding with legal action. In line with their demand, the price was increased.
- People living in villages subject to expropriation but with no property in their old settlement were given the right to benefit from housing.
- During the expropriation process, title deeds of lands registered in cadaster were transferred to one person from each household. While this person was claiming compensation, the other married members of household in their old village demanded housing. Most of family deserved housing and also received compensation due to their property in old settlement. As a result, displaced people were better able to overcome the economic trauma which immigration may create.
- Because land registry and cadaster deeded lands according to the recommendations of peasant experts reflecting the traditional perception of villagers, most women were not recognized as holding rights.

- In some villages, the expropriated price was given gradually, which put the villagers in a difficult position. Particularly many villagers of Gölbaşı affected by projects preferred to settle in Malatya. Increased interest and price rises in real estate related to demand prevented resettled people from profiting from this situation.

None of displaced people claimed that they sustained a loss because of this process. However, villagers of Aşağıköy, Taşdamlar and Altıntaş, who wanted the whole of their village to be expropriated, complained about partial expropriation of their village. They complained, not because of victimisation, but because they wanted to benefit from all the opportunities of expropriation. On account of expropriation, they aimed to receive compensation from lands that were not valuable under normal conditions. Expropriation of these lands allowed villagers to make a profit in any case. This is because places subject to expropriation could be used after expropriation. Or, for displaced people who live in the city center and could not make use of their land in the village, compensation because of expropriation was an extra profit.

5.1. The Evaluation of the Findings Through Research Questions

The displaced people who resettled in three different settlements were interviewed. These are the villages of Sütluce and Tohma and the neighborhoods of Gedik and Tecde in the periphery of Malatya's city center. If we look at the first question of our study, *“How did displacement affect the social status of the people, and the attitudes in the selection of resettlement areas?”* we need some analysis about the general potential immigrant attitudes.

In the expropriation process of Tohma Village, voluntary selection of a new settlement was out of the question. As a consequence, the question of how new settlement was selected is not relevant importance and is left out of the analysis. However, we can evaluate the settlement policy with respect to Tohma village, considering that Tohma Village is a unique mass resettlement by the administration of the project.

5.1.1. Failures of Resettlement

- Determination of resettlement and construction of houses were put into practice upon emptying the expropriated places. Displaced people had to live in rented houses. The government covered rental expenses but uncertainty created stress on displaced people.
- The needs and demands of Tohma Village, which was established for resettled people, were not taken into consideration. Special attention was not given to rehabilitation of resettled villagers.
- Promises such as giving tractors, bovine animals and milk plants to people settled in Tohma Village were not realized. Hence, those people were not employed in the sector of agriculture and stockbreeding, which they were familiar with. Those people had to work as blue-collar workers rather than being farmers.
- Even though the roads of village are sealed, because transportation was in hands of private companies and expensive, and this condition was affected the village in terms of the slow developing in the education field.

5.1.2. Successes of Resettlement

Successful points of settlement are as below:

- Having a property in the old settlement was not a requirement for housing, so tenants and all users living in the region had a right to receive housing.
- As a consequence of their own demand, the displaced people were settled in places, which resulted in minimal damage to their social network and are near to their old places in terms of relatives.
- Houses are larger than and have higher standards in comparison to their houses in the old village.
- Infrastructure in terms of water, electricity and canalization in the village was ready.
- Schools, village clinic, mosque were available, ready and in working order
- Roads were sealed and there was easy accessibility.
- Most of the resettled people, especially those people who did not have any land or home in their old village, came to have a home or field thanks to expropriation and they are generally content with their new settlement and its opportunities

- Houses and fields in the new settlement have been divided into equal shares for every member of family, so there is equality for everyone both women and men. The consent and signature of all members of a family are necessary and compulsory for the sale of houses and fields.

Let us return to the research question *“how did displacement affect the social status of the people, and the attitudes in the selection of resettlement areas?”* Firstly we attempted to analyze which factors motivated the tendency of selecting resettlement places, upon this selection how their social status was affected. We determined three factors that affected the selection of resettlement places. Before mentioning these factors, it is important to state that social and economic opportunities determine preferences. Also immigration can be an opportunity for new, different or better living conditions.

People who settled in a certain place and potential migrants have an idea about what positive and negative factors and outcomes are even when they do not migrate anywhere and stay where they live. For potential migrants, social structure in the place to be migrated to, and uncertainty over available situations and potential risks, and their expectations about themselves are factors in the migration process. (Çağlayan, 2006) Because of reasons such as pressure from this uncertainty and desire for a predictable future and need for confidence, those displaced migrants preferred to be settled in places they were familiar with and which are near to places their relatives and friends live in.

1. The first factor affecting displaced attitudes towards selecting resettlement is social networks. There are many reasons for this attitude of migrants, some of them expressed below:

- Migrants feel relieved of stress, expense and discomfort arising out of migration. For instance, displaced people in Sütluce stayed in houses of their relatives when their home and garden were under construction. Their relatives supported to them with material and moral support. It is same for neighborhoods of Tecde and Gedik.
- Migrants can participate in social life by establishing relations with their acquaintances and can easily form new social networks. Migrants can easily adapt themselves to new places (Çağlayan, 2006).

2. The second factor influencing the selection of resettlement place and its effect on social status is the amount of compensation payments. For instance, Tohma re-settlers either did not received any compensation or received a small amount, whereas the re-settlers in Sütlüce and Tecde re-settlers received enough compensation to build a new life. The interviews expressed that social status depends on economic success, earning money and improving wealth. In the old habitat these displaced not experience sharp inequality, but the amount of compensation and the way of evaluating it determined the status of displaced after resettlement. The way of evaluating compensation is another factor in selecting resettlement space.

3. The third factor relates to jobs the resettled people wanted to have. The re-settlers in Tecde and Gedik stated that they do not want to engage in agriculture and livestock any more, while Sütlüce resettlers stated the opposite.

Resettlement affects both the re-settlers and the conditions of new places interactively. A person adopts various tactics in order to fit in with functions in society by actualizing his/her motivation. One of these is geographical mobility. Relocating displaced people affects a social system in terms of position and role of that person in society as producer and consumer. Relocating a displaced person is not only a problem concerning his/her adaptation to the demands of a production system and his/her working to increase the efficiency of a labor market system. A displaced person relocates not only as producer but also as a consumer, accordingly, the configuration of consumer and market change. This change in market influences decisions in a production system (Tekeli, 1975). To summarize spatial changes based on the subjects of this study: the arrival of new settlers to Tecde and Gedik has significantly affected the social system. Population density has increased dramatically. Land prices have increased. New settled people first had their houses constructed, then stores where construction materials are sold increased in number.

While almost all migrants become consumers by constructing their houses, some of them entered the market by setting up a store. Moreover, in parallel with increasing population, the number of supermarkets increased and small-scale markets were converted into mid-markets. Additionally coiffeurs, internet cafés, pharmacies, and one clothing store have been set up and begun doing business. Some new settlers have established small markets. In parallel with the growth in the building and

construction sector, the need for construction workers and carriers has increased. Displaced people who could not use their compensation efficiently because of building a home for themselves or who got small amount of compensation have been employed in construction. Some of new settlers have bought a tractor, pickup truck and minibus and started to get involved in transportation. During the last 15 years, these settlements have developed and improved. Sütlüce has developed in tandem with increasing population density. Plantations and fields have increased in number and relationships with the market have increased in accordance with increasing production. The villagers have become farmers instead of doing agriculture only for their subsistence. Sütlüce has become a significant place for apricot production in Malatya. The villagers' relations with the market have contributed to their social network. In parallel with this emerging economy, division of labor in the village has increased. Villagers have given much more importance to education in parallel with increasing population. Increase in population has affected transportation; there are hourly municipality buses between the village and city center. Cost of transport is an important factor, cheapness increasing the interaction of villagers with city and reducing transport expenses for accessing schools after primary education. Tohma residents have created a new living space for themselves, which is why Tohma is a village established for new settlers. They have satisfied the need of unskilled and low-paid workers of apricot factories in Malatya.

From transport facilities to economic capital, from characteristics of the resettlement area to qualifications for new jobs, there are many factors affecting social change and development. For the economic capital of displaced in using compensation we will evaluate the second question of this study, *“How do compensations affect people’s social welfare?”* and also its sub-question in the light of research findings.

Those compensations have affected the life of displaced people. The social development and adaptation of Tohma re-settlers who did not receive any compensation have been slow. The same does not hold true for re-settlers in Sütlüce, Tecde, and Gedik where family enterprises earn a continuous income. While cultural adaptation of the Sütlüce re-settlers has been quick, that of the Tecde and Gedik re-settlers has been slow. The social improvement and welfare of those re-settlers who used the compensation for good quality housing and buying durable household

appliances and not transferring into a labor resource increased little. At this point, the importance of the question about the way of the evaluating their compensation arises.

5.1.3. How did the Displaced Use their Compensations?

Interviews indicated that those who were property holders had better chances of achieving successful living standards in their new settlements. The way of using their compensation has been influential in their economic status in the new settlement.

Most of the Tecde and Gedik re-settlers avoided taking risks and made their investments in houses and durable household appliances. Some re-settlers invested their compensation in new businesses in accordance with their past experience and continued engaging in trade. Sütlüce re-settlers avoided taking risks investing in agriculture in spite of their expertise and invaluable practical knowledge, which is called human capital in this field. Tohma re-settlers who were not entitled to any compensation at all constitute in this respect a unique and distinctive case.

The processes of resettlement, the ways in which compensations are used, and adaptation strategies, were effective in determining the level of safety and security of the displaced. Re-settlers in Sütlüce who continued their own jobs completed their adaptation process earlier. Tohma, Tecde and Gedik re-settlers, who did not set up new businesses, chose to work in temporary and permanent jobs as unskilled workers, which provides a minimum of subsistence and did not bring substantive improvements in their living standards. Re-settlers in Sütlüce, Tecde and Gedik who transferred their compensations into investments had economic improvements. Since there is no single outcome of resettlement and the way of evaluating compensation, most of the displaced people who lived previously below or around the poverty line and were deprived from basic public services, were on the whole satisfied with the their new conditions of life.

Even though the economic outcomes of the compensation are very important for the new life of the displaced, the way of sharing compensation is another important issue that affected family relationships and demonstrated the attitudes of displaced towards human rights at the time of receiving cash compensation.

5.1.4. Did Women Take a Fair Share of the Compensation?

Sharing of compensation has been implemented in a traditional way and as one would expect, did lead to uneven allocations for women who did not receive their fair share. On the one hand most women did not register as claimants officially. On the other hand the women who did register official as claimants not tend to demand their proportion of compensation due to social pressure. The social pressure manifested as a danger of losing the family identity.

5.1.5. Compensations were Allocated on a Household Basis. Were There any Problems in the Distribution of Compensations?

There have been problems related to compensation received by a number of households. One member said that landowners attempted to register and receive compensations in his name. Yet these problems have been discussed and worked through in family meetings through traditional methods based on elders' interventions and deliberations. The problem of women's allocation as mentioned above is an important problem but most displaced women were about their lack of allocation.

Besides expropriation, displacement, compensation and selecting resettlement issues, social change after resettlement formulated in the third question, and its sub-question, is one of the main topics of this study. The sub-question expressed above will be answered below in the evaluation of Cernea and Scudder's theories related to the third main question:

3. Which processes of displacement and relocation affected family organization? What was the impact on the family structure and household organization?

The change in family organization is differentiated according to research groups that resettled in different places.

In Tohma village, due to the male members of families working in temporary or low-income jobs, they cannot meet the needs of their family, so women and children have to work. This situation, which occurred gradually, has changed family organization and interactions. In the new generation these structural changes in the family have become crystalized. The most important part of this change is a reduction of men's authority, and a change in the situation of women. The condition of male members as owners of wealth, money and power has changed because the

dependency of other members has decreased as a result of the employment of women. So the condition of women in the family has maximized their efficiency and increased their status. Family members give credence to the ideas of women because the young female family members are employed outside the family, and because they contribute to the family income, the authority of the father is reduced.

In Sütlüce village, women do not work outside the household; they are mostly housewives. Because there was no discrimination against girls in terms of education there are some girls who have graduated from university and work in skilled jobs. The patriarchal family structure continues this village but there is flexibility because of the increasing education levels. Even though they are farmers, by connection with the market the methods of production changed and the amount of income increased. With this economic improvement the situation of children changed. The children are not seen as a labor force for increasing the family income. Families emphasize education so their children will have a profession. So children become consumers rather than producers in the family.

In Tecde and Gedik, women working outside the household are not common, although some women work in summer in the period of apricot harvesting and processing to receive spending money. The patriarchal family structure continues. Some male family members work in family-run business, others work outside. Members of families not involved in a family-run businesses work outside, independent from the father authority, and become individualized, so the father's authority decreases. In recent years emphasis on education has increased and because of this, the perception about children is changing. This situation has transformed from the notion of perceiving children as a supporter of family livelihood by their labor, to consumers needing extra consumption for education.

In conclusion, the interviews demonstrated that the situation of women and children has changed in families. There is greater emphasis on their dignity. In the old situation, the father was the head of the household, owner of its wealth and also the boss. With changing methods of production, their authority has declined. Although the father retains authority, its character is changing. Women and children have become individualized. Interaction with the city center is reflected in everyday life and this reflection is especially noticeable in the new generation.

Evaluation of the resettlement process with respect to the eight risks of resettlement is summarized below.

Landlessness: “*Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people’s productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed*” (Cernea, 2004, p. 18). In the previous settlement, most of the lands were not fertile enough to rescue the villagers from poverty. That is why the villagers, except those in Gölbaşı, did not regard the expropriation of their lands and properties as a loss. The payments received were considered adequate to raise their living standards to help prepare a new life subsequent to resettlement.

Landlessness occurred accidentally. The re-settlers from Tecde and Gedik did not choose to buy land, while the other two groups did. In this case, displacement granted a chance to continue and pursue their agricultural way of life.

Homelessness: “*Loss of shelter tends to be only temporary for many re-settlers*” (Cernea, 2004, p. 20). Delays in resettlement implementations could cause short-term homelessness. “*For some, homelessness or a worsening in their housing standards remains a lingering condition*” (p. 20). Homeownership was generally a priority of the resettlement process, thus all groups had access to good quality housing. Some of these houses were built by the state, while others were constructed on serviced plots unlike the site-and services scheme.

Joblessness: “*The risk of losing wage employment is very high both in urban and rural displacements for those employed in enterprises, services, or agriculture*” (Cernea, 2004, p. 19). None of the displaced who worked in services or had a regular employment lost their jobs. Yet, *Joblessness* was considered a risk threat for a number of the Tohma, Gedik and Tecde re-settlers in the early days. Now there is no unemployment problem since there are employment opportunities for the unskilled workers. However, the conditions of work leave a lot to be desired. All of this leads to occupational marginalization. As was experienced by the re-settlers from Tecde and Gedik, those specialized in agriculture and livestock breeding are regarded as “unskilled workers” in their jobs. This however, was not true for the re-settlers in Tohma. They had fields and but the state did not provide them with adequate conditions to use the fields as sources of income.

Marginalization: Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral on a “downward mobility” path (Cernea, 2004, p. 21).

Most of the families who were wealthy before expropriation, had better incomes subsequent to expropriation. Families who had difficulties in adapting culturally to their new situation lost their social prestige and influence. However, Sütülcere-settlers have made cultural progress compatible with their economic development. Individuals who could not find an opportunity to make use of their skills in the new settlement lost social capital (or their social capital became dysfunctional). As a result, the Tohma, Tecde and Gedik re-settlers have faced problems associated with marginalization. Displaced people have not experienced psychological or social marginalization since they resettled with their relatives in a familiar neighborhood (p. 21).

Food Insecurity: Forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into temporary or chronic undernourishment, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work (Cernea, 2004, p. 21). Thanks to their solidarity, the displaced people did not experience problems related to nourishment. Those entitled to compensation could avoid this risk since they had money. Re-settlers were provided food, fuel and monetary aid. This risk has been overcome thanks to the sensitivity of project managers.

Increased Mortality: *“Massive population displacement threatens to cause serious declines in health levels. Displacement-induced social stress and psychological trauma are sometimes accompanied by the outbreak of relocation-related illnesses”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 22).

The re-settlers changed places in the city and settled in groups. They have easy access to services such as healthcare, education, transportation etc. so they have not faced the risk of enhanced mortality.

Loss of Access to Common Property and Services: *“For poor people, particularly for the landless and assetless, loss of access to the common property assets that belonged to relocated community results in significant deterioration in income and livelihood levels”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 23).

Peasants benefited from common grazing grounds for their domestic animals, and they provided their cordwood from forest, and most peasants benefited from

running water or spring water without paying a bill. *“These losses are compounded by loss of access to some public services, such as school”* (Cernea, 2004, p. 25). Poor villagers suffered from this project and received too little compensation. The highest amount of compensation was fixed for other displaced people taking all these losses into account. Moreover, displaced people resettled in neighborhoods where public services can be accessed.

Social Disarticulation: Forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric. It disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties; kinship groups become scattered as well (Cernea, 2004, p. 24).

The displaced have resettled in familiar neighborhoods where their acquaintances and relatives live. Although social fabric has been inevitably torn apart, new settlement strategies have been improvised to alleviate the problem. Most of the displaced were not satisfied with the previous social fabric, which is why many villagers considered the change in social fabric as a positive.

The evaluation of research findings through the criteria put forth by Thayer Scudder’s model, suggests that:

In the first stage (the Planning and Recruitment Stage) primarily the area of the project is examined, the decision of the project is finalized, and the decision is reported to the project area and funds are allocated. Resettlement planning to enhance the well being of potential losers of the project is considered as a subsequent stage (Scudder, 1993).

In this stage, the villagers were informed and the land whose registry and cadaster information were registered with a title deed were assigned the best possible prices by the Land Value Assessment Commission. Some of the displaced had access to sufficiently high compensations to start a new life subsequent to resettlement. Property owners and the propertyless were resettled according to their situational preferences, in a nearby place. Hence resettlement did not hamper their social networks. Problems in compensation payments were solved thanks to the efforts of the specialists who were active in the process of expropriation. Thus resettlement did not cause negative effects on the displaced and this process unfolded rather successfully.

The inhabitants of Sütlüce, who were entitled to compensations a few years before moving could anticipate, plan and alleviate their resettlement problems.

The Adjustment and Coping Stage constitutes the second stage of Scudder's model. This is the stage where resettlement and adaptation takes place. In this stage people face many physical, psychological, and socio-cultural stress factors. They have to reposition themselves and try to adapt to the new natural and social environment with the help of new neighbors and new relationship networks. In addition to all these hardships, they need additional incomes. This new source should be urgently provided. In this second stage people try to develop familiar strategies for adaptation and they show an increase in dependence on familiar work and networks.

In this stage, a re-settler's living standards generally decrease. This is because of the uncertainty of new settlements. People can make an attempt to better their future by taking risks after they recognize the features of the new place where they have settled (Scudder, 1993).

The settlers most successful through this stage were from Sütlüce, as they had tactics to overcome problems experienced in the second stage. They settled in a place they collectively knew about, in a planned way, according to their preferences, and continued to perform jobs they were familiar with. This group did not face social, cultural, human, and economic loss of capital, so they successfully worked through the second stage of settlement, and passed to the third stage. The people from Sütlüce did not spend their compensation payments on consumer durables and the things that could be considered luxuries. They acquired an income resource by buying land. Paying maximum attention to education and instruction, they allowed for the next generation to develop in a culturally meaningful way.

Those who settled in Tohma, who were deprived in both economic and cultural terms, could not work through this stage. They were also deprived of economic and human capital to cultivate the existing land. Many households of those settled in Tohma came there from eight different villages, and adaptation difficulties were experienced.

Being introspective is considered the reason for the slow improvements in households' schooling profiles. This stems first from difficulties in meeting the living expenses of children especially if they do not work. Second, this can be related to the lack of cultural capital which prevents due assessment of the strategic importance of education in society. This group had reduced school attendance and considered it a barrier to entry in the job market.

Those settled to Tecde and Gedik were between the second and third stages. Adaptation, acceptance, and compliance were put into effect. There were, however, a number of households who made it to the third stage. Yet, these households had a rather low schooling profile. The re-settlers' modest cultural capital accounted for the low priority accorded to education. Despite some changes in attitudes, their traditional habits were preserved. Urbanization seems to produce gradual changes in cultural attitudes.

Community Formation and Economic Development is the third stage of the adaptation model. Here, the re-settlers adapt to the conditions of place, become autonomous in providing their livelihoods, gain self-confidence, and develop positive perspectives. It is in this stage that they start to make investments, take risks, and to consider new opportunities. Their level of education increases; they acquire new consumption habits and consider investments outside agriculture.

The settlers to Sütlüce can be considered as being in this stage in terms of higher level of social organization, identity, and from an economic point of view. This community, with high levels of self-confidence, has an optimistic outlook for the future and has investments in different businesses.

The success of this group stems from the tactics they deployed in the adaptation process. They accorded a high priority to income generation, acknowledged the strategic importance of schooling, and carried out economic and human capital investments in these fields.

In the first phase, they did not carry out unproductive investments where they did not have adequate levels of human capital to administer. They opted for sectors where they had expertise. Subsequent to the development of their economic and human capital, they started to consider new areas of investment to diversify their economic activities. Even though those studying in university were inclined to luxury consumption in general, the households had a rather modest way of life. Actually, in spite of their relatively high standard of living, furniture and household appliances were kept to a bare minimum. Carpets and cushions constituted the most visible luxuries, but there is a university graduate in each family. The presence of a group with certain cultural capital, having the habit of reading books in their previous villages, became effective in orientating this process.

The fourth stage relates to Handing Over and Incorporation, which is *“characterized by the successful adaptation of the re-settlers and the following*

generation to the point that they are competitive for jobs and resources at the local and national levels” (Scudder, 2005, p. 32). In this stage the resettlement process reaches completion.

We do not have any group that meets the requirements of this stage of development. According to Scudder, those being able to pass to the third and fourth stages are rather rare among displaced communities. Sütlüce can be considered the community that is nearest to this stage may, and in the near future may realize this transition.

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