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**INDUCED RESETTLEMENTS AND LIVELIHOODS OF
COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF THE BUI DAM JAMA
RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITY, GHANA**

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ABSTRACT

Aim/Purpose	Study aimed to examine the impacts of the Bui-Dam Hydroelectric Power (BHP) project resettlement on communities' livelihoods. The purpose was to understand how the resettlement affected livelihood assets, activities, and capabilities of communities and households.
Background	Induced displacements and livelihoods of households and communities have received enormous scholarly attention in many academic disciplines. In this paper, we add to the contributions in this issue area, employing a case study, to examine the livelihood effects to communities involved in the Phase A of the Bui Resettlement Program in Jama, Ghana.
Methodology	In-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and observations were used to closely understand, from the perspective of stakeholders, including affected households, community leaders, and resettlement authorities, the impact of the project on livelihood capabilities, assets and activities.
Contribution	The study has shown that resettlement presents communities with both challenges and opportunities. This conclusion is important in planning future projects, because, it will allow practitioners to carefully plan with both dimensions at sight.
Findings	The study revealed that livelihood assets, including agricultural lands and fishing lake, were affected. However, farmlands were replaced while the lake remained accessible to households, posing little change in general livelihood activities. The

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	quality and adequacy of the new resources were however in question, and some households were forced to change activities. Capabilities of resettled people were not affected; however, some were rendered useless in the new location while social ties and sense of belongingness were negatively affected.
Recommendations for Practitioners	Considering the findings of this research, for future induced resettlements, we recommend that proactive measure be taken to understand the potential impacts of projects to be incorporated into planning. In addition, livelihood supports should be planned on long-term basis, to ensure that all potential impacts are pre-determined. Broadly, context-specific safeguard policies should be pursued at the local level.
Recommendation for Researchers	It is important to consider both the positive and negative impacts of induced resettlement to provide a holistic picture of how it affects households and communities. Researchers studying resettlements must therefore expand their scope of consideration to inform holistic policy actions.
Impact on Society	The study provides findings that can enhance the sustainability of community livelihoods in the face of infrastructural development activities in pursuit of economic growth.
Future Research	From the research perspective, future studies could well focus on understanding both dimensions of the impacts of various projects. Such an approach will provide valuable inputs to development planners and practitioners on how to effectively optimize project outcomes. The findings will also serve as a benchmark for people studying the same project long after all the phases are completed.
Keywords	Resettlements, Dams, Livelihoods, Community, Ghana

INTRODUCTION

Many debates and controversies surrounding dam creation are yet to be settled. This is partly because the impact of dam creation is not just a one-off experience, but it spans across time and space in both the ecosystem and in the social, economic and cultural systems. Dam creation represents one of the resource developments that significantly affect the livelihoods of a large number of people through forced or involuntary resettlement (Galipeau, 2013; Bates, 2002; International Commission on large Dams [ICOLD], 1997). In many cases, resettlement programs have predominantly focused on physical relocation rather than the social and economic development of the displaced people and other negatively affected people. However, resettlement of people, especially, long resettled communities, results in major changes in their lives such that the economic, social and cultural lifestyles are all significantly affected. In many cases, sources of income are affected, cultures adulterated and heritages lost since these things are closely related to the land being submerged by the dam (Biswas & Tortajada, 2001; World Commission on Dams [WCD], 2000). Often, resettled communities, especially in developing countries, where systems are usually not strong enough to support such processes, are rendered worse off in the long run, and livelihoods become unsustainable (Barrington, Dobbs, & Loden, 2012; WCD, 2000). While there are numerous studies (See Biswas, 2003; Tsikata, 2006; Wang, Dong, & Lassoie, 2014; WCD, 2000) on the impact of dams on the livelihoods of households and communities around the globe, little efforts have been made to carefully examine the issue strictly based on the three elements of the Livelihood Framework (see Chambers & Conway, 1992; De Satgé, Holloway, Mullins, Nchabeleng, & Ward, 2002): *Capabilities, Assets, and Activities*. This research seeks to contribute to the growing body of studies on the how resettlements, especially hydroelectric dam-induced, impacts the livelihoods of communities, employing experiences from Ghana.

In Ghana, there is a long history of dam resettlements of communities. The history can be traced to the Akosombo dam which was built from 1962-1966 (Aryeetey, 2005), and displaced communi-

ties leading to the resettlement of about 80,000 people (Barry, Obuobie, Andreini, Andah & Pluquet, 2005). However, for this paper, we focus our attention on the most recent large dam project; the Bui Dam. Like the Akosombo dam, the Bui Dam, constructed from 2009 to 2012, led to the resettlement of about 1216 people. Even though the number of communities and displaced people in the Bui resettlement programs was minimal compared to the previous projects in Ghana, some challenges were still evident (Mettle, 2011). And after the successful completion of Phase A of the resettlement, it became important to examine its effects on the livelihoods of communities, a way to understand the realities of the project. Many studies have been carried out on this project in recent years (Mettle, 2011; Obour Owusu, Agyeman, Ahenkan, & Madrid, 2016; Urban, 2015), it is still imperative to delve into the issue of livelihood sustainability to build upon the growing body of research, while also adding important dimensions by broadening and assessing the positives and negatives of the project. We, therefore, assess the impacts of the project on the livelihoods of affected communities using experiences from the Bui Hydroelectric Project (BHP) “Phase A”, Jama Resettled Community.

The study examines both the negative and positive effects of the Bui dam resettlement on the livelihood of households and communities. This, we build on the tenets of livelihoods (Oxfam, 2002; UNDP, 1997; Chambers & Conway, 1994), emphasizing how the resettlement affected both household and community assets, capabilities, and activities of households and communities (Figure 1). The case study approach, using largely qualitative methods, was used to gain a better understanding of the realities of affected communities. We argue that, dam induced resettlements have dire consequences on the livelihoods of affected communities; however, their positive roles in the social and economic lives of the people should be discounted. The study contributes to the scholarship on large dams and livelihoods and will create opportunities for further research to examine the impact of the project long after its completion. Also, the research is significant and pertinent to resettlement policies in Ghana and beyond, especially since it places emphasis on what is likely to be the condition of the people long after the resettlement is over, and the spotlight is off.

THEATRICAL APPROACH

Chambers and Conway (1992) defined livelihoods as comprising ‘capabilities’, ‘assets and ‘activities’. These three factors represent variables or pillars of livelihood as proposed by many organizations including Oxfam and Care International (Figure 1). The definition by Chambers and Conway (1992) and its tenets form the theoretical lens for this research.

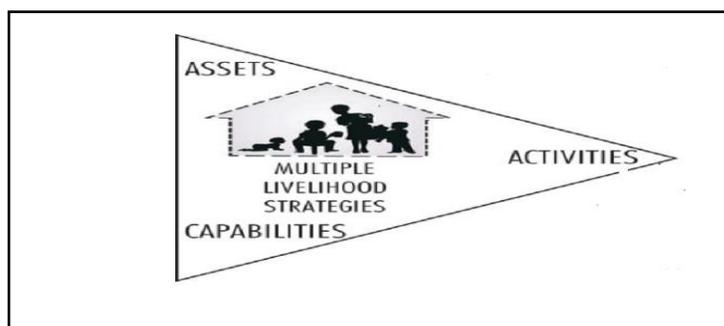


Figure 1 Livelihood Framework

Source: De Satgé et al. (2002: 2)

Household and community capabilities refer to the knowledge, skills and abilities that people draw on to secure their livelihood. These may include specialized local knowledge about the environment;

specific production and entrepreneurial skills; ability to labor which in turn is related to level of education and health status; abilities to find and use information to plan and innovate, manage, cope and adapt. capabilities enable the household to transform its assets into livelihood activities (De Satgé, Holloway, Mullins, Nchabeleng, & Ward, 2002; Lienert & Burger, 2015). Assets are the resources used for gaining a livelihood (UNDP, 1997). People draw on a set of capital assets as a basis for their livelihoods. The capitals available to individual households and communities reflect their ability to gain access to systems (the resource base, the financial system, society) through which these capitals are produced. Scoones (1998, p8) identifies five forms of assets: human, natural, financial, physical and social. Assets can also be classified into social and material. Social assets are 'intangible' such that they cannot be seen nor touched. They are the benefits that come through relationships with people, institutions, and access to resources that are determined by local rules and conventions (De Satgé et al., 2002). In the view of De Satgé et al., (2002), people are able to make claims on family members or the state. They may be entitled to a loan of cash, seed or ploughing steers from family and family members. They can claim their rights and demand support such as drought relief, basic services, pensions or disability grants from the state. Claims may also be made based on power and position. Traditional leaders may require households to contribute labour on their fields, or may demand some form of payment before granting a household access to particular resources. People can gain access to resources through local tenure and resource management systems. These systems control the rights of individuals and households to a wide range of resources such as common grazing, forest products, marine and river resources, game, medicinal herbs, grasses for weaving and thatching, firewood, water and residential and arable land (Rakodi, 2014; Ojha, et al., 2016). Material assets are tangible and as such can be seen and touched. They can be quantified (counted and measured) and are the actual physical things which people own, control or have access to, including land, water, money, credit, livestock, seed stocks, farming equipment, tools, natural resources, and infra-structure such as roads, electricity, water and sanitation. A person's assets, such as land, are not simply means with which they make a living: they also give meaning and significance to that person's world. Assets are not merely resources that are used in building livelihoods; they are assets that give them the capability to be and to act (Bebbington, cited in De Haan & Zoomers, 2005) and embark on activities.

Livelihood activities include growing a crop, fishing in a lake, working for someone else or making pots among others. Some activities may be principal, but it is unusual for a household to rely exclusively on one source of livelihood and most combine complex sets of activities to meet their livelihood objectives (UNDP, 1997). These activities are naturally the most familiar dimension of livelihoods to people and have been the focus of many development efforts in the past. Activities of households differ according to the time of year and are responsive to external shocks and stresses (De Satgé et al., 2002). Livelihood activities can maintain and enhance, or deplete and degrade, the local natural resource base. On the positive side, livelihood activities can improve productivity of renewable resources such as air and river water, organic soil fertility and trees. On the other hand, livelihood activities may contribute to desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, declining water tables, salinization, pollution and the like (UNDP, 1997). The three elements of livelihoods as described in the ensuing discussions are important for sustainable living among households and communities. The elements of livelihood interact in different ways to enhance sustenance. Chambers and Conway (1992), and many other authors (for example, De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Ellis, 1998: 2000; UNDP, 1997) have describe these interactions. *Capabilities* as specialized local knowledge about the environment, specific production, and entrepreneurial skills, are drawn on to utilize assets. *Assets* as social networks organizations, natural resources (including water bodies, forest, fertile soils and favourable climate), physical capital (including farm equipment, shelter and infrastructure); financial capital (example, income, credit, claims, savings, etc.) and so on, are adopted through livelihood strategies to embark on *Activities* like growing crops, fishing in a lake, working for someone else or making pots for example, to meet their livelihood objectives. This study examines how each of these

elements, among households and communities, were affected by the project. Examining each of these components is important in getting the broad view of the impacts of the dam on livelihoods.

STUDY SETTING AND RESEARCH APPROACH

The case study approach, as a method and an approach, was used for this study. The multi-case technique was adopted to understand to understand the livelihood effects of the BHP, and the subsequent resettlement, on households and communities, of communities. BHP is approximately 150 kilometers (km) upstream of Lake Volta. The project includes various component involving a main dam and powerhouse at Bui Gorge and two saddle dams (Mettle, 2011). (Plate 1)



Plate 1 View from the Bui Project

Source: Adopted from Mettle, 2011

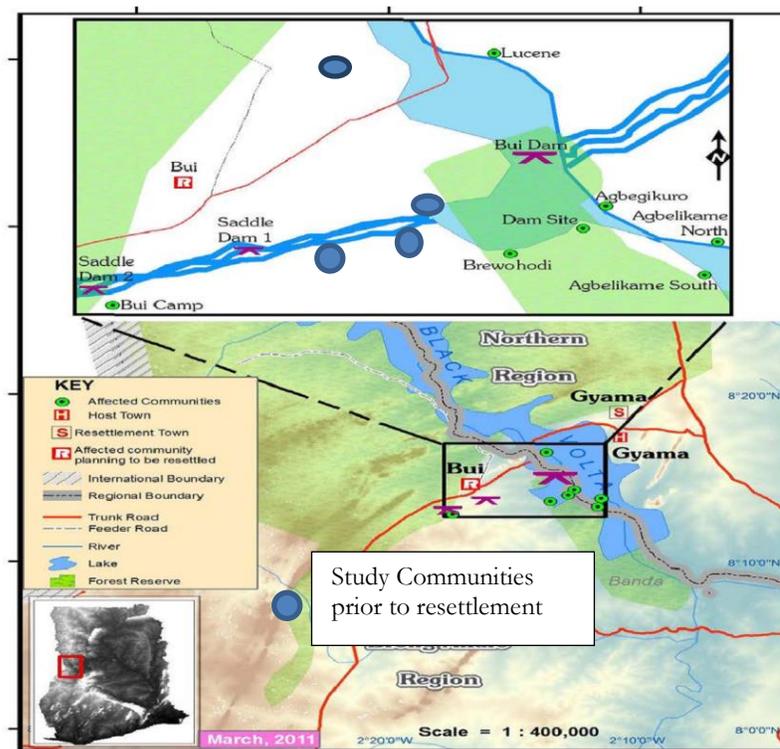


Plate 2: The Bui Resettlement Program -Location of study before Resettlement

Source: Adapted from Mettle (2011)

The dam engulfed over 440 km² of land, subjugating 21% of the area of the Bui National Park. Affected communities included indigenes and migrant settlers and were resettled in three different schemes: Phase A, B, and C. Phase A: the focus of this study, covered four communities (Agbegiku-

rom, Dam Site, Lucene, and Brewohodi) living at the construction site (Plate 2). Phase B Covered three communities (Dokokyina, Bator Akanyakrom, Bui Village) living in the area to be inundated and Phase C involved officials of the Game and Wildlife Division living at Bui Camp (see Table 1). At the time of the study, Phase A was the only completed scheme and it only made sense to focus on that because some impacts already started manifesting and advanced compared to the others. Jama served as the host community for the Phase A resettled households. Jama is in the Bole District which lies within latitude 80 101 and 80 09 1N and longitude 11 501 E and 21 451 W (Bole District Assembly, MTDP, 2010-2013). Jama had a population of about 1500 at the time of the resettlement. The Resettlement Township known as the Jama Resettlement Community had a population of 217 people out of the four affected communities (Table 1).

Table 1: Households and Population of Resettled Communities

Affected Communities	Number of Households	Number of People
Phase A		
<i>Brewohodi</i>	10	48
<i>Dam Site</i>	6	36
<i>Agbegikuro</i>	22	107
<i>Lucene</i>	4	26
Phase B		
Bui Village	42	297
Bator Akanyakrom	63	437
Dokokyina	36	165
Phase C		
Bui National Camp	36	100
Total	219	1,216

Source: Bui Power Authority, 2014

*Studies Communities italicized

The study was designed to capture data at the household and community level, thus, those units formed the units of analysis. Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of the resettled community; hence the “Jama Scheme” which was completed at the time of the study was used. Household heads and some case available adults were purposively selected for interviews at the lowest level due to their experiences of life in the old and new settlements. The use of multiple methods, a feature of the livelihoods approach, was necessary for capturing multiple dimensions of the effect of the dam on the livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). Due to the nature of issues, the blending of techniques was utilized at various stages of the study. A total of 20 households; Agbegikuro (8), Brewohodi (6), Dam Site (4) and Lucene (3), out of the 39 were interviewed. Aside from being a case study, homogeneity of responses coupled with triangulation with other sources of data (focus group) and observation, led to ending the interviews after 20 households. Details of the groups involved in the FGDs included fishermen, fishmongers, farmers, etc. Institutional interviews and household interviews, undertaken in March 2014, lasted an average of 45 minutes each and were combined with focus group discussions. FGDs were organized for males and females separately in the resettled township. Key informants interviewed included the Chief of Jama, the Paramount Chief of the Agbegikuro and leader for the Phase “A” Resettlement, the Bui Power Authority and officials of Bole District Assembly (Host District). These individuals and authorities had the special, detailed and more accurate knowledge and information, which the household members did not necessarily have and as such, helped to make the data collected authoritative and aided in triangulation. Data analysis was largely done with the help of qualitative approaches using Nvivo 11. Notes and transcripts from

the field were uploaded into the Nvivo. The scripts were scanned through for familiarization before an in-depth reading was used to highlight pre-determined themes based on the theoretical tenets of the research. The themes were then expanded with the use of strong interpretations drawn from researchers' own observations and experiences, to explain and describe the variables under study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLDS

Table 2 presents the respondents socio- economics background. In terms of gender distribution, the majority of interviewed heads were males while females made up the minority. This was same in terms of gender composition of all household members recorded in the study (Table 2).

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics of Sampled Households

Gender of Household Members (%)	
Male	53.2
Female	46.8
Total	100
Age of Household Members (%)	
0-15	5.4
16-60	38.7
61+	55.9
Total	100
Educational Level of Household Members (%)	
Kindergarten	10.9
Primary	28.4
JHS	21.4
SHS	7.3
Vocational/Technical	0.9
No Education	32
Total	100

More than half (86 percent) of the employable males were engaged in farming and fishing with fishing being the sole preserve of men while females engaged in fish mongering. The dependency ratio was 1.26, which means that every independent adult within the resettled community takes care of fewer than two people. In the aspect of education, the highest level of education among households' members was Senior High School, with about 7.3 percent reaching that level. None of the inhabitants had achieved a tertiary education at the time of the study and only 0.9 percent had vocational/technical training. The low educational background explains their weak capacity to insist on their rights and entitlements and affects their ability to restore livelihoods (Mettle, 2011). Though employment of people affected by the construction of dams was given priority, the lack of skills limited their employment to casual jobs, which were mostly temporal and ended with the completion of the dam (World Commission on Dams [CD], 2000). This study confirmed the above analogy as only two

members of the households interviewed were employed during the construction of the Bui dam, as a steel bender and a welder. These activities were only limited to construction phase of the project, and the ended ones that was completed.

RESETTLEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

Assets include both material and social elements people fall on to have a livelihood (Chambers & Conway,1992). In section 2.0, assets were categorized as material and social. Material assets are physical, tangible while social assets are ‘intangible’ and unquantifiable benefits that come through relationships with people, institutions, and access to resources that are determined by local rules and conventions. Social assets such as established relationship, access to community common property resources, as well as the green rich environment are important elements of livelihood (Chambers & Conway,1992; de Haan & Zoomers, 2005;) and must be carefully handled when dealing with communities. In the case of the Jama Resettlement community, BPA noted, that livelihood assets were duly replaced; however, the claim was based on compensations and other physical structures and services provided in the new settlement. Ultimately, the best that could be said of it was some tangible assets; which was not fully satisfactory as they were recapitalized. Households and community key informants argued that the provisions did not meet the needs of households. For example, the engineered river, along with the replaced farmlands which “supports nothing but thorns”, in the view of a respondent, and reverberated by about 70 percent of interviewees, could never be compared to, nor replace the lost assets of their previous communities. This was evident in the dwindling fortunes of inhabitants still engaged in farming and fishing. The revelation emphasizes the negative effects of dam resettlements on the ability of displaced people to meet their basic needs as a result for their disintegration from natural resources they depend on (Trussart, Messier, Roquet, & Aki, 2012; Koenig, 2001). Communities depend on natural resources, and their disruption negatively affects the sustainability of their livelihoods. This view was noted by many respondents in different ways. For example, a key informant noted, that the beautiful green environment, the serene environment, and the fresh air, which characterized their previous settlements far, surpassed the new well-cleared site, which could be best described as brown and monotonous. Another respondent indicated that the difficulty in getting access to basic materials such as firewood, food, and charcoal, bring painful memories of their old settlements. Thus, the natural assets of these inhabitants were negatively and severely affected by the resettlements while compensations focused on only material assets.

The concentration on material assets was done not only at the expense of the natural assets, but of social elements as well. This is because it disrupted patterns of social interaction and interpersonal ties (Fisher, 1999) as a respondent noted: “we used to go fishing together as a group but now everybody is struggling to meet their livelihoods due to the competition and so we hardly see one another now”. Another woman from Brewohodi had this to say: “there is no longer a sense of oneness and togetherness as there used to be, it is each one for themselves and you can no longer leave your children in the care of anyone again because everyone is struggling to make ends meet”. The resettling of the four different communities together as well as the change in location strongly affected and loosened the ties that bonded households together as one people. The experience of the Bui resettlers re-echoed the social complexities involved in establishing “socially cohesive and integrated” communities as was in the case of Akosombo (Gyau-Boakye, 2001). This confirmed the fact that, resettlements especially when forced, tears apart communities, disrupt old patterns of social interaction and interpersonal bonds, weakens and renders useless integral reciprocal help networks of indigenes, and scatters kin and other social groups (Fisher, 1999). Apart from the natural and social livelihoods assets, manufactured ones were also affected by the resettlement. The effect of the resettlement on community’s physical assets like transportation could be cited as an example. With adequate and paved roads provided in the new settlement, transportation becomes easier, creating a positive impact of the resettlement on community assets. Improved roads had made many people (46 percent) change their mode of transport from walking to the use of public vehicles which was then not

common in the area. The closeness of new community site to the host town, Jama, and Bole, the district capital, which served as the main sources of services to the communities, also made interactions easy and helped in enhancing livelihood activities.

RESETTLEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES

Three main sustainable livelihood strategies have been identified, which households pursue in the face of crisis. These are livelihood diversification (McCabe, 2003), agricultural intensification, and migration (Chambers & Conwey, 1992; De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Ellis, 1998). These strategies are related to how people cope to changes in conditions that affect their livelihoods. As in the case of the Bui Dam, the resettlement of households and communities changed their conditions, ultimately, this had impacts on livelihood activities. Figure 2 shows changes in livelihood activities among household members present before and after the resettlement.

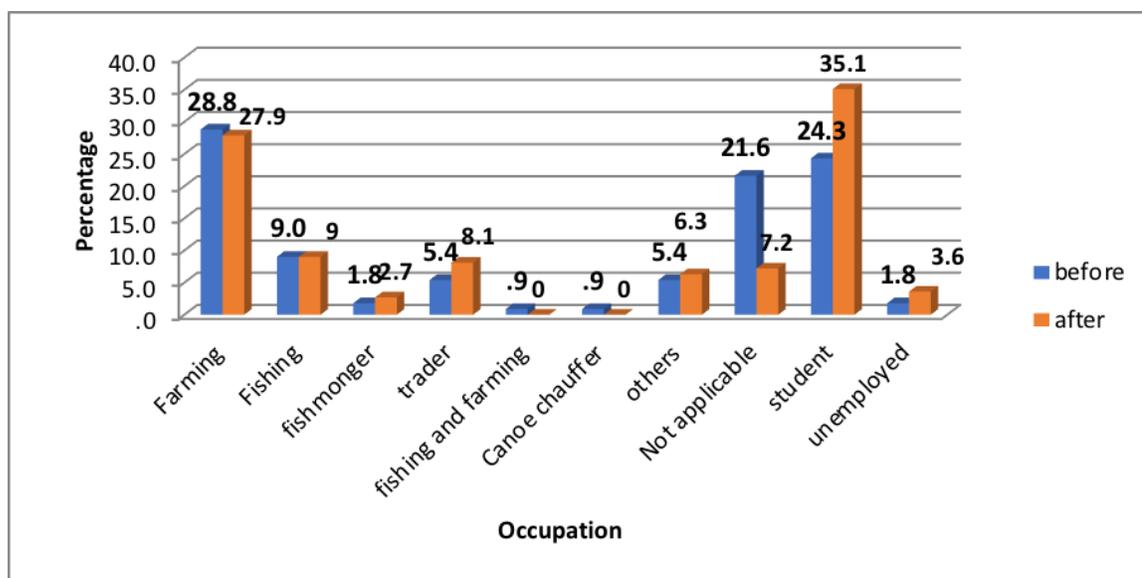


Figure 2 Occupational Changes in the Resettled Communities

Source: Authors Construct, 2018

The study revealed minimal changes to livelihood activities in resettled communities. The limited changes in the occupational activities of the households interviewed were attributed to the accessibility and availability of the natural resource assets, albeit in reduced forms, on which they relied for their livelihoods. Since livelihood-based assets were not completely lost or altered, the members of the affected communities in Phase A of the resettlement still made use of what existed, causing minimal changes to livelihood activities. Hence, communities did not largely change their livelihood activities but continued in spite of their dwindling fortunes in both farming and fishing. However, there was diversification to some extent as some households ventured into new areas, made possible by new opportunities. For example, the increase in trading activities was because of the existence of a larger market (increase in the number of people due to closeness to host town and district capital) as compared to previous settlements where communities were separated from each other. The increase in fish mongering was also attributed to the increase in the number of fishing folks around the Bui catchment area because of the creation of the dam. The presence of these fishing folks has led to the increase in the number of women who buy fish from them to resell. The study also revealed that Bui resettlement, though resulted in the unemployment of illegal miners (“galamsey” miners), it

helped eliminate or better still reduced the activity, which is illegal and had negative environmental impacts (Ba, 2014) such as the pollution of the Black Volta. The resettlement in one way helped reduce pollution of the water body, which was under threat from illegal mining activities, and hence an unintended outcome of the project. This shows a positive effect of the resettlements, though still negative in terms of perceived livelihood impact from respondents. Resettlements may, therefore, be used as a tool to curbing illegal mining, at least to some extent, in areas where the closeness of people to water sources motivate these activities as seen in the case of Bui. This could provide an insight to solving the problem of illegal mining (galamsey) which is threatening many water bodies in the country (Akosa et al., 2002 in Ba, 2014; Ba, 2014; Hilson, 2001). In addition, the number of school going age children increased accounting for the increase in a number of students after the resettlements. The increase in a number of students was also partly attributed to the closeness of the school to their new settlements (less than 10 minutes) as compared to the previous settlements, which was more than an hour walk, thus discouraging school attendance. The revelation points out another positive impact created by the resettlement, mirrored through the improved transportation in the area. Improvement in transportation also partly explains why there was an increase in people engaged in other activities as trade and about 2 percent taking up driving activities due to improved interactions. Generally, only 4 percent of households admitted to positive effects of the resettlement on their livelihood activities and finances. This could be attributed to the fact that the major occupations of these two household heads were not directly related to the natural resource base; Pito (local alcohol) brewer and a driver. These were not greatly affected, finance-wise by the change in the settlement. However, the remaining 96 percent engaged in activities, which were directly related to natural resource bases such as fishing, farming, fish mongering, and canoe chauffeuring recorded negative impacts on their incomes. This was attributed to the inability of their new farmlands to support food crops such as cassava, millet, plantain, tomatoes among others, which were the mainstays in the old settlements. Moreover, within the previous settlements, farmers were not limited by way of land and anybody could farm on any available land as long as that was not already being used. The situation in the new area could not support such freedom because farmlands given were limited in size, worsened by their infertility, as respondents lamented. This was noted by the representative of the Jama resettled community as well as about 45 percent of inhabitants interviewed. Again, crop rotation, which used to be the practiced, could no longer be adopted due to the limited land. Thus, farming households expressed their frustrations on their declining and failing finances. However, authorities debunked their claims. According to the BPA, the land allocated for farming was large enough and in the process of fallowing, and was therefore suitable for farming. Community members, highlighting how people in higher positions may be detached from the realities on the ground, however, generally debunked these claims. Also, the contradictory views show the continuous discomfort and dissatisfaction between displaced communities and authorities in resettlement activities (Takesada, Manantunge, & Herath, 2008) as evidenced by many projects of such nature. Contradictions and dissatisfaction in the case of the Bui project followed suit with that of Akosombo resettlement (Obour et al., 2016; Tsikata, 2006), thus questioning how effective learned lessons were incorporated into the new project.

RESETTLEMENT AND LIVELIHOOD CAPABILITIES

Capabilities in the view of De Satgé et al., (2002) refer to the skills, knowledge, and abilities used by individuals to transform their assets into livelihood activities. The capabilities are instrumental in turning assets into livelihood activities. The study showed that there were minimal changes household capabilities. The limited changes to this pillar of livelihood could be attributed to its subtle nature, which makes it difficult to be altered once acquired. So, even when a person's circumstance changes, like the case of a resettlement, the capabilities are unlikely to change, except for what it is used to achieve. The earlier section revealed that, apparently, changes to livelihood activities did happen, but that was not on a significant scale. The limited changes were somewhat dictated by the replacement

of agricultural lands, and accessibility to the lake created by the dam which made it possible for residents to continue farming and fishing respectively. Since the change in livelihood activities was limited, the skills, knowledge, and abilities possessed by the inhabitants were still relevant and useful in their current location. With the exception of the Canoe Chauffeuring and “Galamsey” operations, even the application of all other identified capabilities were not severely affected. The resettlement rendered some of the capabilities useless as it disrupted the natural process of them applying it to assets to create livelihood activities (Krantz, 2001; De Satgé et al, 2002). That notwithstanding, the impact of the resettlement on the resident’s capabilities, and their ability to apply their existing knowledge were not significantly affected, as it did little to change their inherent abilities. The limited effect of the resettlement on livelihood capabilities is a result of the inherent nature of expertise, such that people move with their skills, knowledge, and abilities (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Scoones, 1998).

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

In this study, we examined how the BHP affected households and communities that were displaced and resettled. Varied impacts on livelihood assets (decline in farmlands, improved access to roads, etc), activities (new trading activities) and capabilities (changes in use of capabilities due to displaced activities) have been revealed. The discussions in the paper have shown that dam-induced displacements could present both challenges and opportunities to livelihoods, and displaced communities could adopt diverse strategies to cope with the changes. The juxtaposition of both positive and negative impacts on livelihoods in this paper provides a novel approach to understanding nuances of dam resettlements and the lives of communities. The revelation of the duality of impacts (positive opportunities and negative challenges) is important in furthering studies on the subject matter and the practice of sustainable resettlements in future. From the research perspective, future studies could well focus on understanding both dimensions of impacts on various projects. Such an approach will provide valuable inputs to development planners on how to effectively optimize project impacts. The findings will also serve as benchmark for people studying the same project long after all the phases are completed. In fact, induced displacement of communities and subsequent resettlements have come to stay in the development discourse of the world. This phenomenon will continue to occur as countries pursue economic growth agenda driven by extensive infrastructure development and the need to integrate comprehensive and sustainable livelihood into these projects is highlighted by the findings of this study. Sustained household and community livelihoods will largely be achieved if impacts are well understood and taken care of in development processes. Livelihood integration should, therefore, be given a priority in dam construction resettlements and all other development-induced relocations. The important issue is, therefore, to focus on proactive measures that identify potential impacts and work towards managing the consequence that comes with them. Mechanisms to sustain livelihoods should form an integral part of resettlement planning, and must not be fixed from the onset. This is because, livelihoods can be volatile and unpredictable, and many unexpected changes are meant to unfold as people go about their daily lives. Hence, a once-of the programs to settle communities is unlikely to ensure sustainability. For example, the payment of the one-off compensation is inadequate to improve the livelihood of the affected inhabitants, and this must be repeated if needed, and even supplemented with capacity building strategies (Kalitsi, 2000). In addition, broader, social safeguard policies must be adopted to better anticipate and cater for the impacts of dam projects on communities. Kirchherr, Charles, and Walton, (2016) opined that comprehensive social safeguard policies could help militate against the negatives of dam projects in particular and infrastructural related displacement in general. The proliferation of social safeguard policies, and accompanying strategies, in the last decade, championed by the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and many international organizations further highlight the important role social safeguard policies

can play in safeguarding community livelihoods in the face of changes¹. In addition to the broader policies driven by international organizations, project specific policies and mechanism, co-constructed by all project stakeholders as part of dam inducement resettlement could help militate against the ills of such initiatives.

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¹ <https://blogs.worldbank.org/category/tags/social-safeguards>

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