

**PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY BASED RURAL LAND
DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN MALAWI: THE CASE OF WOMEN FROM
THYOLO DISTRICT**

M.A. (DEVELOPMENT STUDIES) THESIS

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**UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
CHANCELLOR COLLEGE**

JULY, 2011

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By

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Submitted to the Faculty of Social Science, in
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Master of Arts (Development Studies)

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JULY, 2011

DECLARATION

I, Beatrice Patricia Phiri – Kumwenda, hereby declare that the text of this thesis entitled: Participation of women in the Community Based Rural Land development project in Malawi: The case of women from Thyolo District, is substantially my own work. Where other information has been used, it has been acknowledged.

Beatrice Patricia Phiri – Kumwenda

Signature

Date

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

We declare that this thesis is the student's own work. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been submitted with our approval.

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Second Supervisor

DEDICATION

To my children –Zumbe, Malumbo and Mtende for their unfailing and untiring support.

To Akuka (Cecilia Nellie Nankhoma Chikaluma) who tirelessly fought against the economic hurdles of this world to see her last born child attain the greatest gift of all –Education!

To my brothers, sisters, relatives and all in-laws who supported me against all odds.

Hey! If GOD says yes, nobody can say no! For with GOD nothing is impossible (Luke 1: 37),

For I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the LORD, thoughts of peace, and not evil, to give you an expected end.(Jeremiah 29: 11.)

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To all others who wished me well, I say thank you very much.

ABSTRACT

Shortage of land is a major contributor to poverty and food insecurity in Malawi. This problem is deep and more severe in female headed than male headed households. In order to address this problem, the Government of Malawi is implementing the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP), using a new approach to land redistribution based on market assisted and community driven processes. The expectation is that through this initiative more women will be motivated and inspired to participate. This thesis examines whether women are taking the opportunity that this project is offering. The overall aim is to provide a better understanding of the factors that influence women's decision to participate in land resettlement programs.

Predominantly qualitative methods were used in this study. A questionnaire survey was used to obtain information on individual respondents. Qualitative methods were used to gain insights into reasons for relocating, holding back from relocating to new areas as well as withdrawal from the new settlement areas. The study found that women relocated because of the perceived benefits such as getting more land, cash grants and farm inputs. Those that did not relocate were not convinced with the potential benefits from the project; had fears of losing their ancestral land; were apprehensive about hardships in a new environment and possible loss of kin support.

However, the few that had relocated withdrew because they felt that the perceived potential benefits from the project were not met and had experienced hardships in settling in the new environment.

The use of social action theory has revealed the value of rational choice which individuals have when making decisions to relocate and settle in new areas. This implies that to improve land resettlement for sustainable livelihoods, enacting gender sensitive policy alone is insufficient to influence change in people's attitudes and choices. The study has shown that greater attention also needs to be paid to the interactions between the aspirations of the people to be relocated, the actions of the programme management, government policy regarding the resettlement processes, socio-economic conditions in the home village, and the local environment where the people are going to be resettled.

The study concludes that making decisions to participate in any new initiative is about the triumph of rationality over all other forms of action.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BGs	Beneficiary Groups
CBRLDP	Community Based Rural Land Development Project
ECLA	Economic Commission for Latin America
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FHH	Female Headed Households
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoM	Government of Malawi
IDA	International Development Aid
LDCs	Least Developing Countries
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
KMs	Kilometers
NSO	National Statistical Office
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Poverty in Malawi is widespread and deep among rural smallholders. Shortage of land is a major contributor to poverty and food insecurity in Malawi and this is deeper and more severe in female than male headed households. In order to address this problem, the Government is implementing the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP). This is a new approach to land redistribution based on market assisted and community driven processes. Female-headed households are some of the intended beneficiaries of the project.

1.1 Background to the Study

Land is an asset of great importance to the Malawi economy as a source of income, food, employment and export earnings. Access to land is of special importance for many poor people with limited opportunities for gaining off- farm incomes.

In addition to its economic attributes, land has great social and symbolic value as a place of settlement, and location of burial sites and sacred wood- lands which have symbolic and ritual significance in the lives of communities (Kishindo, 2006a). For most people in rural Malawi, access to and control over land is crucial for constructing their livelihood strategies (Takane, 2007). Because of its economic, social and symbolic value, land is regarded by many Malawians as a basic right whether or not they are in paid employment. Scarcity of land, however, makes the universal exercise of this right impractical.

The total area of land in Malawi is about 118,484 square kilometers of which 94,276 square kilometers is land and the rest is water (National statistics Office (NSO), 2009a, 2009b). The second Integrated Household Survey and Population and Housing Census reports indicate that an estimated 56% of the land is considered arable (NSO, 2005a and 2009b). Malawi has a predominantly agricultural economy and land is a key factor of production for agriculture (Government of Malawi (GoM), 2004a, 2005b, and Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007). The Malawi Growth and Development Strategy shows that the agricultural sector contributes 37 % of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and more than 90% of foreign exchange earnings; accounts for 64% of total income; and employs over 80% of the rural population(GoM, 2006a).

The agriculture sector consists of smallholder and estate sub-sectors. The smallholder sub-sector uses customary land and produces about 70 percent of national production of food crops with maize as the main one, as well as other crops including tobacco and

groundnuts for export (GoM, 2004a and 2005b). However, statistics show that 55% of the smallholder farmers had less than one hectare of cultivable land in 1998 (GoM, 2002a). The inadequacy of land, combined with low levels of agricultural technology used in the smallholder sector contribute to recurrent food insecurity and poverty in rural households.

The second Integrated Household Survey and the Welfare Monitoring Survey reports, further revealed that 52% of Malawians live below the poverty line, defined as the expenditure needed to afford minimum nutritional requirements and a basket of basic non-food goods and services; 22% are ultra poor – that is, about one in every five people lives in dire poverty such that they cannot even afford to meet the minimum standard for daily recommended food requirements (NSO, 2005a; 2005c and 2009a). In addition, the Malawi Poverty Strategy Paper and the Malawi Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment indicate that poverty in Malawi is worse in rural areas where 56% live in poverty compared to 25% of the people in the urban areas and is widespread and deep among rural smallholders (GoM 2002b and Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007).

Income measures of poverty also indicate that more than half of the population (52%) lives below the poverty line and about one fifth (22%) is living in ultra poverty (Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007.) The report highlights that poverty continues to be much higher in rural areas, and the South is still the poorest region and that poverty and ultra poverty is more common in female-headed households.

The Population and Housing Census report shows that women head about 25% of Malawian households, about 59% of people living in female-headed households are poor and more are in the rural areas. Poor female-headed households generally have a larger dependency ratio of 1.44, are among the households that fail to eat an average of two meals per day (NSO, 2009b). The Malawi poverty and Vulnerability Assessment report has shown that in female-headed households, people consume 14 % less per person than in male-headed household (Republic of Malawi and World Bank report, 2007). This could largely be because female-headed households have largely less incomes than male-headed households.

Household income here is taken as an aggregation of income from wages and salaries, agricultural activities, nonfarm agricultural enterprises, property income and current transfers. In this regard, the Malawi Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment report shows that female-headed households have low incomes with an average of MK34, 000. per annum as compared to males which have an average of MK56, 000 per annum.

Male-headed households also have extra income from salaries and wages while females only get their income from agricultural activities and they have a low per capita of MK72, 499.99 as opposed to males with MK107, 595.40 (Republic of Malawi and World Bank report, 2007).

Holdein et al. (2006) reported that, female-headed households (FHH) comprise 42% of households with less than 0.5 hectare; 34% of households with holdings between 0.5 and 0.99 hectare; and 24% of households with holdings between 1 and 1.49 hectare.

Only 8% have holdings more than 3 hectare. These female headed households are vulnerable to food insecurity and low incomes.

The land shortage has also been aggravated by the increase in population. Results of the Population and Housing Census of 2008 show that in Malawi there are 13,077,160 million people and the population density was 139 persons per square kilometer of arable land. The annual population growth rate is estimated at 2.8 %.(NSO, 2009b). Almost 90% of the population lives in rural areas, and is mostly engaged in smallholder, rain fed agriculture. The majority of households cultivate very small landholdings of less than 0.5 hectares, largely for subsistence (Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007).

Through a combination of rapid population growth and state policies that facilitated the transfer of customary land to private ownership, some parts of the country, especially in the southern region, are experiencing serious land shortages (Kishindo and Mvula, 2008). This coupled with the inequitable distribution of land, has resulted into high demand for land among the land – poor, majority of which are women, while at the same time , estate land on many estates is poorly utilized.

The Malawi Poverty Strategy Paper, the Malawi Economic Growth Strategy and the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy note that Malawi's agricultural performance is below its potential due to shortage of productive land and therefore proposes that land reform is very vital to make more land available for smallholder farmers (GoM, 2002b; 2004b; 2006a).

The Malawi Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment report recommends that boosting smallholder agricultural production is a key driver of broad based wealth creation and poverty reduction. The report further recommends that one way is to improve access to agricultural land by making large areas of agricultural land that are currently idle or underutilized by large estates available to poor land less, or land-poor farmers, through rental or sale (Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007).

In order to address the inequitable distribution of land in the country, the Government of Malawi, with financial support from the International Development Agency (IDA), is implementing a Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP). The project popularly known as “Kudzigulila Malo” is a new approach to land redistribution based on market assisted and community driven processes.

The CBRLDP advocates for a targeted land transfer and voluntary resettlement scheme, as well as a social development fund to facilitate resettlement. This is done in order to provide a long-term solution for prevention of a land crisis. This project is based on the recognition that current land holdings of less than 0.5 hectare per household are inadequate. The strategy is, therefore, to resettle landless and land-poor households¹ on privately owned land where the owners are willing to sell the land (GoM and World Bank, 2003). Thus the priority of the CBRLDP is to redistribute the unutilized and underutilized land to land poor households.

¹ Landless and land poor households are those with the least amount of land of 0.5 and less than 0.5 hectares. These households have the lowest income, least wealth and have no means to secure annual food.

The project is being piloted in four districts of Mulanje, Thyolo, Mangochi and Machinga over a period of five years from 2004 to 2009. The objective of CBRLDP is to increase the incomes of about 15,000 poor rural families by implementing a decentralized, community-based and voluntary approach to land reform in the four pilot districts.

Specifically the project is providing land to the landless and land-poor beneficiary groups from the four pilot districts for agricultural production purposes. The project aims to improve land delivery systems of accessing, titling and registration; provide security of land tenure; increase agricultural productivity; and increase incomes (GoM and World Bank, 2004).

Potential beneficiaries organize themselves into beneficiary groups. These groups are treated as sub-projects for land acquisition and farm development. The criteria for qualification are that applicants should be landless or landshort; experiencing recurrent food insecurity; willing to relocate to wherever land may be found; and possessing adequate labour to make it possible for them to cultivate larger holdings. The project recommend that the beneficiary groups should include the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups such as women, orphans and poor displaced farm workers. Once the Beneficiary Group's (BG) application has been approved after going through a number of processes, it is provided with grant resources for relocation and farm development. The project goal is that 30% of households relocated should be female-headed (GoM, 2006b and 2006c).

The Community Based Rural Land Development Project is in effect offering an opportunity to land poor households to acquire land on the basis of market as opposed to customary principles.

The study focuses on Thyolo district which is one of the pilot districts. It is a land pressure area. According to recent statistics, the population density stands at 342 per square kilometer and an average land holding of 0.6 hectare per household in the smallholder sector. Thirty percent (30%) of households are female headed (NSO, 2008 and 2009b). The small land holding sizes are attributed to difficult terrain and transfer of large amounts of land from customary tenure to freehold during the colonial era.

These transfers left little land for smallholder cultivation. The shortage of land under customary tenure has created a situation whereby food insecurity is a permanent feature of rural households in Thyolo as they fail to produce enough food on their small holdings. The Multiple Cluster Indicator Survey report shows that 37% of the Children aged less than five years in Thyolo are stunted due to long term chronic malnutrition. Wasting is at 2%, while 17% of children years are under weight. Particularly affected by the land shortage are women who generally are not able to seek off-farm employment in urban areas like their male counterparts (NSO,2008).

1.2 Problem Statement

The CBRLDP offers an opportunity to landless women to acquire land to enable them to achieve food and income security through the production of subsistence and cash crop. According to project plans, 30% of households relocated by the completion of phase 1 of the project were expected to be those that are female headed. Female headed households are those headed by widows, divorced and never married women. The midterm evaluation carried out in March 2007, however, observed that there was low relocation of women which at the time was about 20%.

It was also observed that post relocation withdrawals among female headed households were very common. The slow uptake of the opportunity to relocate and post relocation withdrawals prompted me to investigate the causes of what appeared to be irrational behaviour. Of specific interest was why women from Thyolo, a known land pressure area, with its attendant negative consequences on household well being did not respond more positively to the economic opportunity being offered by the project.

1.3 Objective of the Research

The main objective of the study on which this thesis is based was to understand the factors that influence women's decision to participate as beneficiaries of the CBRLDP.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were:

1. To assess the level of women's awareness of the project
2. To identify their sources of information about the CBRLDP.
3. To assess the extent of their awareness of potential benefits of the project
4. To identify factors that influence women's participation in the CBRLDP.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The question of female participation within land resettlement programmes is of much relevance in Malawi, where the majority of rural dwellers and land-poor are female. This study unearths the multitude of factors that influence decisions of women to participate in development activities as well as in relocation to new areas. Most studies report that lack of legal enforcement on the rights of women, as well as lack of resources inhibit women to participate in development as well as land resettlement programs. However, the CBRLDP has offered economic opportunities together with set targets for women to participate in the land resettlement, but still the participation of women is low. This suggests that the economic argument is not sufficient for women's participation in resettlement project.

The findings of this study make an important contribution to the growing body of knowledge on female participation in development projects by highlighting the complexity of the context in which women make important decisions affecting their economic and social well being.

1.5 Organisation of the Study

Chapter one is the introduction. This chapter introduces the whole topic of land and its relevance to the economy of Malawi as well as a factor of production for agriculture for alleviation of food insecurity and poverty. Women are likely to have inadequate land for their subsistence farming and hence are vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty. One of the remedies to this situation is the CBRLDP. Chapter two reviews literature on land reform and land resettlement and the involvement of women in them. Social action theory, which informs the analysis of the findings, is discussed in the chapter.

Chapter three contains a description of the methodology that was followed to generate the results. The methods described include key informant interviews, focus group interviews and document review. How the data was analysed is also discussed. Chapter four presents the results and discussions of the research findings. The last chapter, chapter five summarises the main findings on the basis of which a conclusion is arrived at. It also highlights areas needing further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand the factors affecting women's decision to participate in land resettlement programmes, related literature on land reform, land resettlement and women's participation and their experiences were reviewed. In addition, theories of social action were also reviewed and used to understand the context in which women make decisions to relocate to new settlement areas.

2.1 Land Reform

Land reform is a programme whereby land rights are reorganized for the advantage and benefit of the landless or near land less. It usually entails a redistribution of the rights of ownership and / or use of land away from large landowners and in favor of cultivators with very limited or no landholdings (Kishindo, 2006b). Land reform is widely regarded as a prerequisite for successful rural development and hence, poverty alleviation.

In most countries, the highly unequal structure of landownership is probably the single most important determinant of the existing highly inequitable distribution of rural income and wealth. Alden (2006) argues that the problem of rural poverty goes beyond the increase in farm yields. It cannot be resolved without a basic transformation of property relations in rural areas through land reforms. Alden noted that, when land is very unevenly distributed, as in many parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa, rural peasants can have little hope for economic advancement. Economists and other development specialists agree widely that there is need for land reform. For instance, in Asia, land reform holds the key to agricultural development. In addition, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) has repeatedly identified land reform as a necessary precondition for agricultural and rural progress (Alden, 2006).

Alden further indicates that agriculture and rural development which benefit the masses of people can only succeed in most third world nations through a joint effort by the governments and all farmers and not just the large farmers. The first step in any such effort is the provision of secure tenure rights to the individual farmer through land reform. It should be appreciated that a small farmer's attachment to his/her own land is very profound. It is closely bound up with his/her inner most feelings of self esteem and freedom from coercion. When the farmer has no land and / or is driven off the land, not only is the material wellbeing damaged, but more importantly, his sense of self esteem and the desire for self and family improvement can also be permanently destroyed.

It is for these human reasons as well as for reasons of greater agricultural output that land reform is often proposed as a necessary first condition for agricultural development in many Least Developing Countries.

According to Alden (2006), land reform can take many forms. Land ownership may be transferred to tenants who already work on the land by breaking up large land holdings into smaller holdings for redistribution to former tenants. This strategy is often referred to as 'land to the tiller' programme. Cuba, Ethiopia, Japan and Taiwan used this approach. The effect of such a programme is that former tenants become owners of their parcels of land and can make independent investment decisions. In some cases estates have been expropriated by the states and converted into collective farm. The idea is to give poor people access to land.

The other form of land reform is the purchase of large estates for new settlement. This is the willing seller, willing buyer approach. This is mostly preferred by the World Bank and other International Aid Donors. The rationale is that the current land owner should be willing to sell the land and the people must have the money to buy the land. This is a pure capitalistic approach. Kenya and South Africa adopted this approach. This has the disadvantage that people will sell the useless piece of land and retain the good pieces of land since people look at land as their heritage. This type of reform programme has been very slow in the countries where it is being implemented (Alden, 2006)

It assumes that somebody is willing to sell and that somebody is willing to buy land. The reality is that those that are willing and able to buy are people with access to financial resources. Unless they are assisted by the state, poor people will effectively be excluded from the benefits of the land reform.

2.2. Land Resettlement

Access to land is seen as a prerequisite for the provision of opportunities to sustainable means of livelihoods and the enhancement of dignity, well being and economic empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups. Throughout history, enterprising individuals, families and communities have sought new land for agricultural settlement. This population movement has been spontaneous. In modern times, governments in developing countries sponsor settlement schemes as one variety of mechanisms to achieve economic, social and political goals (Scudder 1985:122; Chambers 1969:18).

In Malawi, resettlement schemes were used to redistribute population from land pressure areas to potentially highly productive, low pressure areas and ultimately to achieve agriculture – based socioeconomic advancement (Kishindo 1996). Governments have also used land resettlement to ease population pressure, and also to provide high potential land to those who would use it productively. Resettlement has also been used to promote long term development strategies to alter the ratio between population and land (Panchurst, 2006).

In addition, resettlement has been justified as a means of relieving population pressure and addressing the problem of land shortage, as in the Indonesian ‘transmigration’.

Land resettlement is often proposed as a necessary first condition for agricultural development in many least developing countries (LDCs). Walker (2002;2003) argues that land resettlement could help achieve a more equitable land ownership among people, balance unequal wealth distribution and in so doing boost economic health and productivity of a nation. South Africa was one such country that could benefit from land resettlement.

Historically, resettlement schemes relied on government to take over large estates, subdivide them, and allocate land to new settlers who are landless and land poor; to reallocate state or parastatal farms for settlement; to change existing land use practices as in irrigation schemes; incorporating the existing settlers into new agricultural production systems; or to settle people onto unallocated state land which in theory had no pre-existing settlement. Government assistance to resettled people typically lasts a few years, after which settlers are expected to become self – reliant. In practice self reliance has been difficult to achieve.

Wolfgang (2001) observed that, generally there is inability to balance need with suitability on many resettlement areas. Top-down approaches tend to perpetuate dependency on government. Tulner and Hulme (1990) notes that socially, new land settlement schemes are one of the most complex of all development innovations, entailing not only the creation of new agriculture schemes, homes, infrastructure and services but also new sets of social relationships and the rapid modification of existing cultural value.

In addition, Peters (1997, 2004) noted that, land tenure and land resettlement is a social relation and that relations over land have therefore to be seen as ‘embedded’ in broader matrices of social, cultural, economic and political relations.

According to Colson (1971), the colonial governments decision to relocate the Gwembe Tonga in order to make way for the development of the Kariba dam, in what is now Zambia, was resisted by the people because it threatened their basic necessities and their accustomed way of life as it involved abandoning child betrothals; stopping planting cassava and hunting game; building of separate pens for goats and men registering as tax payers. This resulted into violence and withdrawal from the settlement areas when the people were forced to comply. Scudder (1985) argues that settlement schemes underperform and fail to achieve their objectives because inadequate attention is paid to settler aspirations and interests, and reactions of the host community. The dynamics of settler – host community relations appear to be left to chance.

As Kishindo and Mvula (2008) observes in their study of resettled families in Machinga, Malawi, host community hostility creates a sense of insecurity in the minds of the settlers which may compel them to leave the new lands and relocate home. Resettlement does not automatically translate into greater agricultural productivity. Walker (2002; 2003; 2005) reports variations in how the resettled people cope with new environments. Chimhowu (2002) also reports variations in the levels of diversification in the livelihoods of the resettled people in Hurugwe district of Zimbabwe. Poor households showed the least diversity, although more land provided immediate relief to livelihoods under stress and allowed some households to accumulate assets.

A majority of households still had inadequate incomes to stay out of poverty. In the absence of adequate institutional support from the state, resettled households were unable to secure key socioeconomic services and infrastructure. This affected their ability to pull themselves out of poverty.

Cernea (1985) observes that in most cases, evidence has shown that risks that are associated with resettlement are overlooked and this results in culminated deprivations and severe impoverishment. In their studies of Malawi's CBRLDP, Kishindo, (2006) and Ng'ong'ola, (2006) also observed that settlers experienced hostility from members of the host community and from former labourers on the redistributed estates. This is because the laborers and the people in the surrounding villages seem to be losers since their land is distributed to new settlers and most often without considering allocating some to them.

Holden et al. (2006), confirm the findings of Kishindo (2006) and Ng'ong'ola (2006) on the difficulties experienced by resettled households. They highlight the experience of families who had relocated from Thyolo to Machinga, only to return home after a few months because they never felt accepted by the host community. This created a sense of insecurity in the new immigrants. It would appear that generally, resettlement programmes have failed to fulfill their intended purpose. Scudder and Colson (1982), in their study on the social effects of resettling people in order to make way for the dams in Volta, Kariba and Aswan, suggested that 'rural communities' undergoing resettlement respond in the same general fashion irrespective of their socio-cultural background and of the policy of the resettlement authorities.

According to Colson (1971), both cultural factors and government resettlement policies are crucial to understanding resettlement and their interaction determines the outcome of the resettlement process. It can be argued that resettlement must be seen as a process that involves complex interactions between the aspirations of the local people, the actions of the management of the resettlement project, government policy, socio-economic conditions in the home village, and the local environment (cf Scudder 1985:136). Odgaard (2003) again states that the appropriate analytical approach to understanding land is not one specified 'in terms of rules and laws' but 'land rights from the perspective of social relationships and as outcomes of processes of negotiation'.

2.3 Female Participation in Land Resettlement Programmes

Women encounter complex challenges in land resettlement programmes which ultimately affect their participation. Colson (1960;1971) reports that the colonial governments projects to resettle the Gwembe Tonga of Zambia ignored women and treated their concerns as unimportant. In her view, women were just farmers wives with no entitlement to land.

Walker (2002) on the South African experiences on land reform observes that, beneficiaries were envisaged as households, with men playing the dominant role as household heads, although officials were encouraged to target 'female headed household' within the programme to honor gender equity commitments. The use of the 'head of family concept', usually a male as the basis for land reallocation, promotes the exclusion of women from the resettlement programs.

The fact that male spouses are considered the head of the family leaves women out in all matters concerning land resettlement.

Walker (2002; 2005) further argues that, officials also tried to ensure that women are represented in project committees and in the new legal entities that were set up to own the redistribution of land. However, these legal entities had problems in their functioning after the transfer of land and the withdrawal of officials from the project, and the continued effectiveness of many of them, including with regard to the participation of women was in doubt.

The study also observed that, while some gender activists saw the awarding of the grant to individuals as an advance that could improve women's independent access to land, there were real concerns that most women were not able to afford 'own' contribution or negotiate the application and design process without considerable support from government and the NGO sector.

In addition, economic restructuring and land distribution policies have often excluded women because bureaucrats are almost gender insensitive. The land market still remains inaccessible to women for lack of financial resources. Women's rights to property as a basic individual right remains unrecognized in many countries. Argawal, (1994, 1995, 2002 and 2003) observes that the status of women in all societies is directly linked to their right to access, ownership and control of land. In her study of women and land resettlement in India, she notes that this link has been well recognized by the

government as is evident in their request to allot 40% of surplus land (i.e. land acquired by the government from households owning land more than the specified ceiling) to women alone, and to allot the rest jointly in the names of the husband and wife.

She observes, however that, despite the noble intentions, the truth is that the process of understanding the relationship between land and woman and its incorporation into public policy in India has been extremely slow. In fact, even up to today it remains an issue of marginal concern.

There has been a neglect of women's land-related concerns by both governmental and non-governmental institutions and this also mirrors a gap within academic scholarship, where the relationship between women and property has remained virtually unattended. Chiweza (2008), using an example of land as a form of property confirms that the interplay between statutory and customary property and inheritance law in Malawi creates a precarious property and inheritance position for women.

Jacobs (2002; 2007), notes that issues of women's participation in land resettlement programmes have not been recognized fully in the agrarian reforms. In her study in Brazil's land resettlement program, Jacobs, (citing Deere, 2003) observes that due to the strength of the (mainly urban) women's movement, the 1988 Constitution establishes an explicit right for women to obtain land tenure concessions or titles within agrarian reform and guarantees equality between husband and wife.

By the mid 1990s, however, only 12.6% of agrarian reform beneficiaries were women. Jacobs notes that, Deere and León's study (2001) indicates that gender progressive agricultural and property legislation has been least applied in Brazil. One impediment is that registration of names of both spouses on documents is optional, so the husband in nearly all cases continues to represent the household leaving the woman out in the agrarian reforms.

Deere and Leon have also extensively documented the marginalization of women from most Latin American agrarian reforms (e.g. Deere and Leon, 2001; Deere, 2003). Agrarian reforms and wide social changes have taken place in Nicaragua. It is reported that under the Sandinista government from 1981, land reform was undertaken and much land was expropriated from large estates. This agrarian reform was one of the most progressive worldwide in its attempts to integrate women as beneficiaries. It recognized women's rights to be individually selected as beneficiaries without applying the 'head of household' criteria so common in agrarian reforms.

Deere and Leon further reported that a 1981 Cooperatives Act in Nicaragua recognized equal rights of women to participate in cooperatives without sex discrimination, but their incorporation into the cooperative was very low. They argue that although priority for land reform was given to female heads of household, statistics indicate that between 1979-89, nearly 10% of direct land reform beneficiaries were female: 11% of cooperative members and 8% of those allotted individual parcels.

These figures are still fairly low and although most women who did gain land through cooperative membership, full integration into a cooperative was nearly impossible if a adult man resided in the home, since in practice parcels continued to be allotted to household 'heads' (Deere, 2003; Deere and León, 2001). Thus most women benefiting were themselves household heads. Additionally, inheritance rights had not been granted to cooperative members' widows.

Where women were full members of state enterprises, they could gain access to land parcels through these means, but as was seen elsewhere, most women were part-time or seasonal workers. Individual land titles were issued in the name of the applicant not the household; therefore nearly all beneficiaries were male.

Goebel (2002) reports that women's perspectives and needs were marginalized in the discussions that shaped land reform in Zimbabwe's resettlement programmes. Women's insecurity to their entitlements to resettlement land deepened by the Land Commission's recommendations of privatization and granting of deed titles which jeopardized some of the current advantages for women in resettlement, especially those accruing to widows.

Viewed broadly, the land resettlement programme in Malawi is generally the same as those in Southern African countries such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland. There is no systematic or coherent articulation of the gender component in the programmes, and that some of the unanswered questions relate to the constraints and structural problems faced by women in terms of access, ownership and control of land.

It has been observed that the land debate has focused on women's access in the communal land tenure systems rather than the other tenure regimes, largely because that is where most women are located.

However, with respect to other tenure regimes where market forces are expected to intervene, there has been skepticism because the free market is not gender neutral and women generally have poor social-economic status.

In conclusion, a number of factors appear to contribute to women's failure to benefit from agrarian reforms in proportion to their contribution to agriculture. Such factors lay both within state agencies *and* social movements which have failed to prioritise women's rights. It has been observed that various resettlement programs have not achieved their intended goals and that the participation of women in these programmes has been very low. Equitable inclusion within land resettlement programmes could, potentially, offer a range of advantages for women, and possibly for many men.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

This study utilized the social action theory in order to understand women's decision making. In this context the relevant decision is whether or not to participate in the land resettlement programme which potentially provides an escape from recurrent food insecurity and poverty.

Few sociologists such as Goffman(1959, 1967), Hughes(1958) and Becker (1963) as reported by Bilton et al.(1996) would claim that a person's behaviour is a simple direct effect of mechanical causes, whether from inside (instincts, genetics) or from outside (environment, social climate). On the other hand, many sociologists such as Durkheim and Parson have been committed to explaining the way people behave in terms of external circumstances and influences from society.

Sociologists argue that people cannot act just as they please because there are always social constraints and limited possibilities. Equally, there is no total "free will" because individuals are made into social actors by growing up in society. The question is how far individuals as social actors are able to re-make social situations and re-form their own social identity (Bilton et al, 1996).

Social action theories give varying accounts of the ways in which social actors make social life, and how the actor has the ability to be creative and competent in doing so. Social Action Theories remind individuals that social life cannot continue at all without being creatively remade by people acting and interacting (Macionis, 2003). Varieties of social action theories range from Durkheim and Parsons' theory of action, symbolic Interactionism theory of action, Weber's *verstehen* theory of action, Phenomenology theory of action, and ethnomethodology theory of action. From these varieties of social action theories, there is quite a variety of ways in which the creative actor is conceived.

According to Bilton et al (1996), Durkheim and Parsons emphasise how society pre-exists the individual. They argue that individual meanings, goals and rational motives for intended actions are derived from established culture, values and belief systems in the society or social group. They emphasise that predetermined social roles and powerful belief-systems socialize the actor into conformity to the existing culture which is stronger and longer – lasting than any individual. Durkheim and Parson's theory agree with the symbolic interactionist theories of Action which say that, individual meanings and identity are constructed through social interaction, or imposed through powerful shared symbols and labels. They advocate that individuals' actions are influenced by face to face interactions and by the processes of labeling and the negotiation of social identity.

The symbolic interactionist's view is that an actor is a creative, reflexive self and although socialization shapes human social identity and develops human capacity to play roles and interact with others, once mature, human beings can re-cast their identity and negotiate how to behave in social settings. Supporting the symbolic interactionists is the phenomenology theories and ethnomethodology theories. While as phenomenology theories emphasize that individuals derive their meanings from a common stock and are used in a common- sense way to construct actions, ethnomethodology theories emphasize that individual actions are accounts of their everyday life by which actors make sense of their setting and achieve order within it. Their argument is that individuals have routine social practices which sustain order and meaning in social settings. Phenomenology and ethnomethodology place more emphasis on the tacit skills and knowledge and social skills which actors use with fully realizing it.

Weber's *verstehen*² theory of action as indicated by Bilton et al (1996) is particularly important in this discussion. It emphasizes intentions held by an actor in relation to a separate act as well as goals for rational action. In this theory Weber distinguished different types of motivated actions. He rated as the most 'understandable' type those actions which are in nature of rational expedience. Less 'rational' actions are typed by Weber in terms of the pursuit of 'absolute ends', as flowing from sentiments, or as 'traditional'. These types of 'action' are constructed operationally in terms of a scale of rationality and irrationality.

Based on the scale of rationality, according to Weber, individuals are creative actors, agents whose actions determine both structure of society and the road down which history travels. Weber further notes that, there are existing structural circumstances which are constraints within which actors have to choose how to act; however, it is their perception of these constraints that matters.

Here Weber emphasizes the interpretative understanding of human beings and the meaning they themselves attach to their actions. This is the sociological approach he uses to understand human behavior. According to Bilton et al (1996), in his sociological approach, Weber incorporated the problem of understanding which, as he was prone to emphasize, was one type of sociology among other possibilities. He therefore called his perspective 'interpretative' or 'understanding' sociology. It is characteristic of his rational and positivist position that he transformed the concept of understanding.

² A German term usually translated as understanding'. Employed by Weber to define his approach to the study of social life, namely the interpretative of human agents and the meaning they themselves attach to their actions (Bilton et al, 1996)

For Weber, ‘understanding’ remained a unique approach of the moral and cultural sciences, which deals with man rather than with other animals or with lifeless nature. Man can ‘understand’ or attempt to ‘understand’ his own intentions through introspection, and he may interpret the motives of other men’s conduct in terms of their professed or ascribed intentions.

Weber argues that, it is the unique ability of human beings to interpret the world around them and to choose to act in the light of these theories. Rather than being blown about by structural forces outside their control, human beings have the capacity to chart their own progress through the waters of life. They emphasize on human potential for goal-oriented rational action, and tell us that actors are forced to be increasingly rational in their pursuit of increasingly mundane and worldly goals.

In addition, human behavior, according to Weber, is oriented towards values – that is, it is guided by ideas, beliefs, principles, and so on, and not simply by automatic programmed responses. But this is, of course dependent upon human being’s special ability for reasoning, reflecting upon themselves, their behaviour, their experiences, and their environments – in short, their capacity for *conscious and self-conscious thinking and creativity*.

As social actors, all human beings are highly learned in respect of knowledge which they possess, and apply, in the production and reproduction of day-to-day social encounters’. Social life, then, is characterized by humans, both collectively and individually, investing events, actions and experiences with conscious meaning, purpose

and interpretation, at whatever level of significance, whether that be in their food production, their child rearing practices, their leisure activities, their disposal of the dead, or whatever.

Weber's theory of social action is deemed to be appropriate for this study. By using the *verstehen* method, according to Bilton et al (1996), Weber exploits the humanity and socialness of the sociologist. Because sociologists are social actors too, they should put themselves in the place of those they seek to understand and come to appreciate the reasons for their actions. As opposed to the other theorists of social action who focused on society, Weber puts emphasis on the human beings.

The subject in Weber's theory is the individual just as it is in this study: in this present study, it is the woman who is able to decide to relocate or not. Weber emphasizes the individual acts; as well as the understanding of the motive of the actor and the beliefs available to the actor. Thus, the unit of analysis is the individual human being, who is filled with knowledge, self interest and power to maximize his / her goals needs and interests. To be a human being is therefore to be a purposive agent who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (Giddens 1984 as cited by Bilton et.al. 1996).

Furthermore, Weber argues that, human beings are characterized by **agency**, that is, the potential capacity for influencing events and for behaving independently of the defining constraints of the society.

They are what Giddens (1984) as cited by Bilton et.al., has called (more or less) ‘knowledgeable agents’ who construct perceptions of the social world in which they are located, know a great deal about circumstances and consequences of what they do in their day –to- day lives, and can articulate what they do and their reasons for doing it. Being aware of their circumstances and influences upon them, they can meaningfully entertain the possibility of exercising choice.

Weber classifies social action into four different types, each distinguished by particular motivations, or goals of actors:

- Traditional action occurs when actors choose to do things because they’ve done so.
- Affective action occurs when actors cannot help but do something or other for emotional reasons;
- Value-oriented action occurs when one principle or purpose overrides all others
- Rational action occurs when actors weigh up, or *calculate*, the most *efficient* ways of achieving specific ends – when they say I ‘II do this because I want **that**’, I’ll do this because I reckon it’s the most efficient way of getting *that*.(Bilton et.al, 1996)

According to Weber, making decisions is about the triumph of rationality over all other forms of action. Weber’s views support what Bryant and White (1980) argued that, decisions on whether or not to become involved in a project depend on how readily such activity will accomplish a particular goal whether in form of income, prestige, status ,

security, ideals ; benefits expected from such participation are compared with the cost in terms of time and effort and people will participate willingly when benefits are perceived to outweigh costs; and the extent of coercion or other social pressures that are brought to bear on members of the community.

The social action theory according to Weber shows that, as conscious agents, human beings endeavor to deal with varied and frequently conflicting responses from others so as to develop a coherent sense of self or identity. Thus, those responses are not simply absorbed or imposed- they are filtered, evaluated, accommodated, cunningly manipulated, or even ignored. For instance, human beings do not simply or invariably take on board the views or evaluations of any other social actors whom they interact: they are, often consciously, selective in according importance and legitimacy to some while granting little or none to others.

This study analyzed the effect of human actors as they act creatively, because they try to achieve particular goals, and in doing so make choices among alternative causes of action.

It is within this context that the research tried to understand the factors that influence women's decision to participate in a land resettlement program as beneficiaries. The theory of social action by Weber, helped to analyse why women are not taking the opportunities that the CBRLDP is offering.

The articulation of how human beings make decisions by Weber helped this study to analyse the factors that influence decisions taken by women to relocate or not to relocate to new settlement areas. The chapter which follows presents the methodology that was followed in this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study Design

The study was conceived as a qualitative study. Qualitative methods were deemed to be appropriate because the study sought to comprehend the attitudes, challenges, perceptions and social values that determine the ability of women to make decisions to participate in the land resettlement program. Qualitative research also helped the researcher to understand the interactions, processes through which women were able to acquire knowledge about the project (Bryman, 2001). Quantifiable data was also generated essentially related to proportions of women participating in the project or its committees.

Desk research preceded the field research, and continued after field research. It was used to complement field work, analysis and writing up of the results. Various pieces of literature and publications on women and land resettlement, documentary reviews as well as evaluations of the CBRLDP were reviewed.

Desk research was intended to ascertain existing knowledge regarding the participation of women in the land reform programmes, the prevailing land situation and issues as well as the trends and statistics relating to women's participation in land reform.

The field research component was intended to provide an in-depth understanding of the factors that influence participation of women in development projects , and specifically, land resettlement.

3.2 Study Area

The study was carried out in Thyolo district. Thyolo district is a land pressure area with an average landholding of 0.6 hectares. Some households have less than 0.2 hectares (NSO, 2005a and 2005c). Such land poor households experience food insecurity and are dependent on piece work for cash incomes, to meet their daily needs. Those that work in the surrounding tea estates are unable to negotiate their wages since they are employed as unskilled laborers.

The prevalence of female headed households in this area is between 31% - 45% (Ngo'ngo'la, 2006), which is higher as compared to the national percentage of female headed households which is 30%. It was for this reason that Thyolo was chosen as one of the pilot project areas for the CBRLDP.

The project expected that 335 households would relocate from Thyolo to Machinga. At the time of field research, however, only 6 beneficiary groups (123 households) had

relocated to Machinga. This represents a relocation rate of 37%. Of the relocated 37%, 15% were registered as female headed households³ and 22% were male headed households. It was learnt that most of the female headed households had left behind their husbands who were working in the estates and in the factories in Blantyre. These women effectively were operating two homes; one in Thyolo and the other in the resettled area. When field visits were made to Machinga, it was learnt that some of the women had remarried in Machinga; some had withdrawn to live with their families in Thyolo; while some had returned to thyolo to visit relatives or harvest crops they had left behind. As such only 23 female headed households representing 18% of the households that had relocated, were actually available for interviews during the research visits.

3.3 Study Sites

Within Thyolo district visits were made to Bvumbwe and Ntambanyama areas covering Chimbalanga, Njobvu, Zinga, Bodza, Jailosi, Bauleni, Kasembereka, Pisikopi and Mmasayi villages. These are some of the areas which were targeted by the project because of the acuteness of the land pressure problem. The researcher went on to conduct interviews with the resettled groups in Machinga district in T.A Chiwalo's area. The trusts visited were Kalungu- Chuma Chilimthaka Trust and Khama Lipindula Trust. These were the trusts to which relocated households from Thyolo belonged. The purpose was to get views of why they decided to relocate from their home area to settle in the new land resettlements.

³ Those that registered in the group as females and did not indicate that they will relocate with their spouses. Some were widows and some had divorced.

3.3. Methods of Data Collection

3.3.1. Primary Sources

3.3.1.1. Individual interviews

Individual interviews were conducted with 40 women both in Thyolo and also those that relocated to Machinga district with the aim of getting in-depth understanding of women's participation in the project. Of the 40 interviewed, 23 were those that had relocated and 17 had remained in the home village. Ten of the women interviewed were heads of households. The remainder belonged to male – headed households. In the case of those women who had relocated, the interest centered on what had motivated them to relocate. For those who had remained behind, the focus of the interviews was on why they had chosen not to participate in the project.

The women who had withdrawn from the project were individually interviewed. It was difficult to get those women who had withdrawn to come forward because they feared the project would have them prosecuted for absconding with the grant payment. It was necessary to interview the women who had withdrawn from the project for insights into the factors that influenced their change of mind.

The identification of those women who had relocated was done by using records at the district lands office and also using the knowledge of village chiefs. It was not necessary to sample relocated households since the number was already small; but for those who did not relocate, sampling was done by using the simple random sampling method.

Thus, houses within Chimbalanga village were selected with reference to the Chief's house as the centre point. The interview was done with all those residing in households which had even numbers during the selection, keeping special attention to the direction from where the selection/ counting started from.

3.3. 1. 2. Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were carried out with the Project Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, the Lands Program Managers of Machinga and Thyolo; the Administrative Assistant for Thyolo Lands Office and the Lands Clerk of Thyolo District Assembly. The purpose was to gather specific information regarding the expectations of the project on participation of women and reasons for their low participation. Group Village Heads Chimbalanga and Njobvu- Chimbeta from the sending communities were interviewed for the purpose of getting in-depth knowledge about the existing customary practices and the local histories that influence women to relocate to new settlement areas, as well as their personal view of the project. Village heads in the receiving communities, which come under TA Chiwalo of Machinga, were interviewed for the purpose of getting information on how the resettlers were received by the local community in the relocated areas.

Leaders of the beneficiary groups were interviewed to solicit information on the requirements for one to join the group and how were they encouraging women to join the Trusts. The key informants were also asked to explain the role they played in informing the people about the project.

3.3.1.3. Focus group discussions (FGDs)

Focus group discussions were conducted in order to understand and explore in depth the reasons why the women were not relocating to new settlement areas where there is assurance of improving their household food security and improving their livelihoods. The FGDs offered an opportunity for the participants to discuss the various reasons for low participation of women in the CBRLDP. Of much interest and importance were the way men groups and women groups discussed the reasons why women were not relocating to new settlement areas. Participants argued and identified the most important reasons for non- participation.

The focus group discussions supplemented and validated the responses obtained in individual interviews. Participants in the FGDs were selected using a Simple Random Sampling method (Bryman, 2001). The criteria was that the participants should be adults with own household, had heard about CBRLDP, but opted not to participate.

Focus group discussions were also held with males for the purpose of soliciting their views on why the women were not relocating and these views added value and meaning to the results from the females, since they presented the reasons from their own perspectives which in some instances were totally different from the views of the women. This made the researcher probe more and have an in depth understanding on the relationships among women and men in the study area, and how these relationships influenced women's decision to relocate to new settlement areas.

The FGDs were conducted separately for males and females. This set up was necessary in order to isolate issues of gender relations and to give each group the chance and freedom to express their views and explain the problems they face (Bryman, 2001). Twenty-four focus group discussions were held in different villages in Thyolo and Machinga with the greater number done in Thyolo.

Fourteen focus group discussions (one in Machinga and thirteen in Thyolo) of average participants of 8 - 10 women each were conducted and 10 focus group discussions (two in Machinga and eight in Thyolo) of average of 8 - 10 men each were also conducted in the study sites as shown in Appendix D .One focus group discussions with males was done in each village while as for women, the number of focus group discussions depended on the number of women that were available in the village; consequently in some villages the number is more than in other villages.

In some resettlement trusts, there were no focus group discussions for women since all women in that trust participated in the individual interviews. Discussions in the FGDs were moderated by the researcher herself using a series of guiding themes for the discussions. The issues discussed included the major sources of information about the project; understanding of the benefits and what the specific benefits were; and reasons for not relocating when they were aware of the potential benefits. The researcher took notes from the FGDs and in addition, exact phrases and statements made by the participants were captured.

In most instances these were captured in Chichewa, which was the language spoken by the participants and translated into English. Reactions and actions of group members were also noted and final conclusions were recorded against the theme / topic that was introduced. The notes taken during the discussions were transcribed by expanding them to the fullest possible records soon after the FGD was over.

Major themes were isolated and the meanings which were attached to the themes were also isolated and kept in a separate folder which was not used for note taking during discussions. FGDs supplemented well the key informant interviews, as well as the individual interviews in gathering reliable and valid data. These formed the primary sources of information.

3.3.2. Secondary Sources

A number of documents were reviewed. These included policy documents, evaluation reports, and independent reviews of the project. The purpose was to get information on the overall implementation of the project as well as the reviews that were made regarding the progress of the project. These formed the secondary sources of data for this research. The list of the documents that were reviewed is attached in appendix C.

3.4. Data Analysis

Data from the individual interviews was analyzed manually since there was not much descriptive information. Qualitative information from field reports on focus group discussions and key informants' interviews was analyzed using content analysis.

Content analysis was used because the researcher wanted to make some meaning of what was gathered (Bryman, 2001). Analysis of the data from FGDs was done daily. This was important and useful as it enabled the researcher to focus quickly on main issues that were recurring and then explore the main issues more closely. Daily and continuous analysis also helped the researcher to examine the results of the discussions early enough and be able to check if the information required to meet the objectives of the study was actually being collected. Since a number of people were interviewed and different sources of data collection were used, triangulation was done for the purposes of making sure that data collected was valid and reliable (Bryman, 2001).

Firstly the data was prepared by organising and reducing it into various forms through coding, then the codes were combined to come up with patterns that are emerging from key issues, and then core consistencies and meanings were identified. Content analysis was done together with process-tracking whereby the researcher focused on the processes that were carried out in order for one to qualify as a beneficiary of CBRLDP, as well as looking at the factors influencing women's decision to relocate to new areas rather than just looking at how many have relocated. Process tracking was aimed at elucidating the internal dynamics of the project and the relationship between the project and the issues under study. By understanding the details and dynamics of the context in which women make decisions to relocate to new resettlement areas, it was possible to isolate key issues and themes of the influencing factors that determine women's participation in the land resettlement program. (Bryman, 2001)

3.5. Limitation of the Study

This research was supposed to be carried out in the villages where the beneficiaries were originally from (Thyolo) and the resettled areas (Machinga). It was planned that in both sites an equal number of individual interviews as well as FGDs would be done so that the results would come from a uniform sample from both sites.

During the first visit, data was collected from Group Village Head Chimbalanga in Thyolo and a similar visit was made to T.A Chiwalo in Machinga where the people from Chimbalanga have settled. It was however discovered that many settlers had returned to Thyolo to harvest their crops from their gardens in their original villages. When a subsequent visit was made to Machinga, it was found that most people had withdrawn; the few that were found were the ones who had participated in the first visits. Data collection was solely concentrated in Thyolo district: no visit was made again to the resettled areas because most people especially women had withdrawn and returned to Thyolo. In Thyolo, it was also difficult to find those who had withdrawn from Machinga. They did not come even when they were summoned by the chief. In the circumstances, I decided to go randomly to other villages that did not relocate but were aware of the project and were in the process of relocating. The findings that have been presented therefore have not come from a uniform sample from both sites.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The results of the study will be presented and discussed by following the objectives as laid down in chapter one . It begins with the detailed presentation on the sources of information, since all the respondents were those who had heard about the project. This is followed by the discussion on the potential benefits of the project and proceeds to end with a detailed presentation on the factors inhibiting women's participation in the project.

4.1. Awareness of the Project

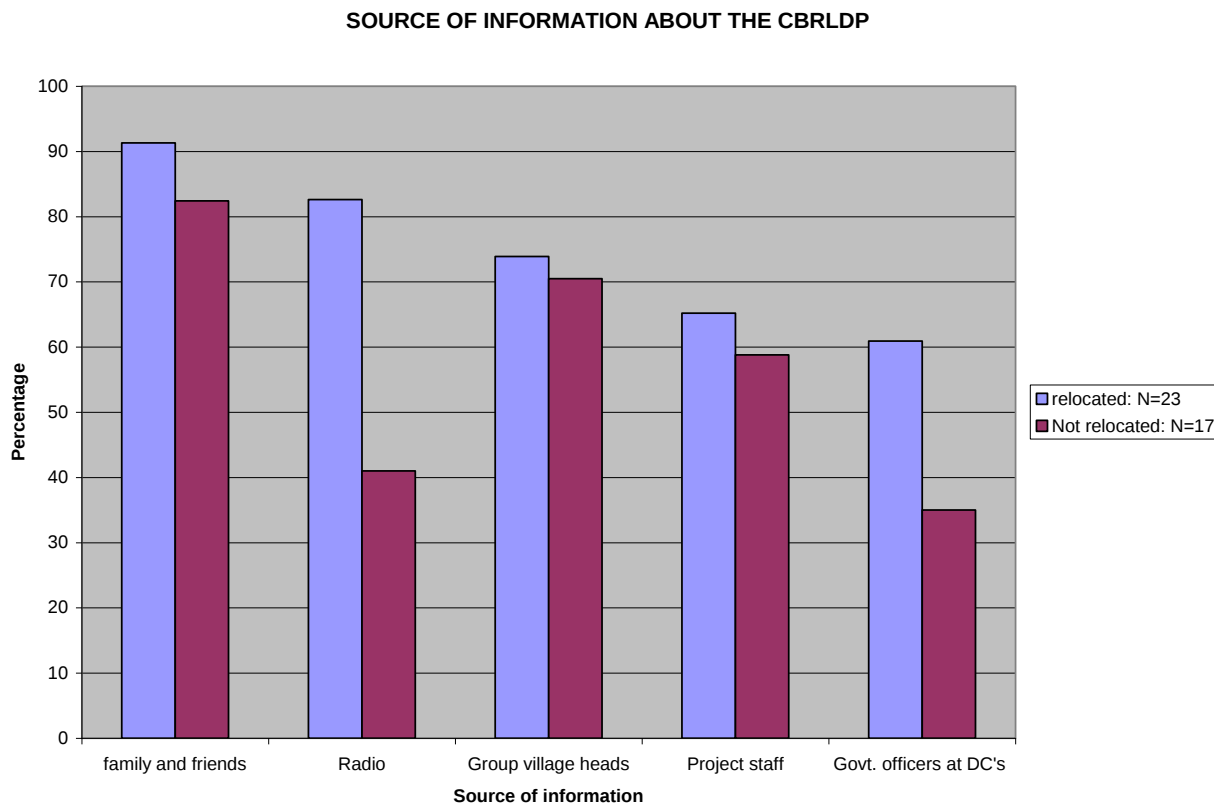
Investigations into why some women in the sending communities had not joined the project started with inquiring if the communities were aware of the project. All the participants in the FGDs as well as the individuals interviewed responded that they were all aware of the CBRLDP. Thus 40 individual women and 24 FGDs with average of 8 – 10 people each, were all aware about the CBRLDP. This finding from the study indicates that all the respondents were knowledgeable about the CBRLDP.

This finding could also suggest that all the people in the sending communities were aware of the project. The non participation of the other households did not come as a result of lack of awareness. Thus, being aware of the project did not influence their decisions to relocate to new settlement areas. Therefore the researcher went further to investigate the sources from which the people got the information about the project. The researcher went further to investigate if the people were aware about the benefits that the project is offering and how the people have responded to the benefits of the project.

4.2. Sources of Information on the Project

Figure 1 (page 45) and Table 1 (page 471) show the source of information about the CBRLDP. The results reveal that often there was more than one source of information about the project. These sources included the network of family and friends; radio; village heads; project officers and district assembly staff. Below is a summary of the results from the individual interviews as shown from the figure below.

Fig. 1: Source of Information about the CBRLDP



82.4 % of those that did not relocate reported friends and family relatives as their major source of information about the CBRLDP, followed by Group Village Heads. These were mentioned by nearly 70% of the respondents; 58% heard it from the sensitization meetings by the project staff; 41% from the radio; and 35% from District Assembly officials. Those who relocated to Machinga also reported family relatives as their major source of information (91%); however, unlike those that did not relocate, the relocated women indicated the radio as their second major source of information (82.6%);

followed by the Group Village Headmen (73.9%); project staff sensitization meetings (65%) and lastly officials from the District Assembly (60.9%).

The second source of information for those that relocated was the radio while for those that did not relocate was from the village heads. The difference in the second major source of information between those that relocated and those that did not relocate shows a bearing on how the source of information can influence one to make a decision to relocate. For those that relocated, the findings show that the radio provided good supplementary information to the women apart from that which they got from family relatives and hence they were able to get convinced to relocate to new resettlement areas. However, the findings show that women did not attend sensitization meetings which were conducted by project staff. It may be because they were busy with other household chores, or that they believed they could be well represented by the men and also get well detailed information about the project by those friends and relatives who attended the sensitization meetings.

The major source of information about the project as reported by individual women was from family and friends, seconded by the radio and this tally with the results from women focus group discussions (table 1), while in men focus group discussions, the consensus was that sensitization campaigns by project staff was their main source of information followed by the radio.

Table 1: Source of information about the project from FGDs by Gender

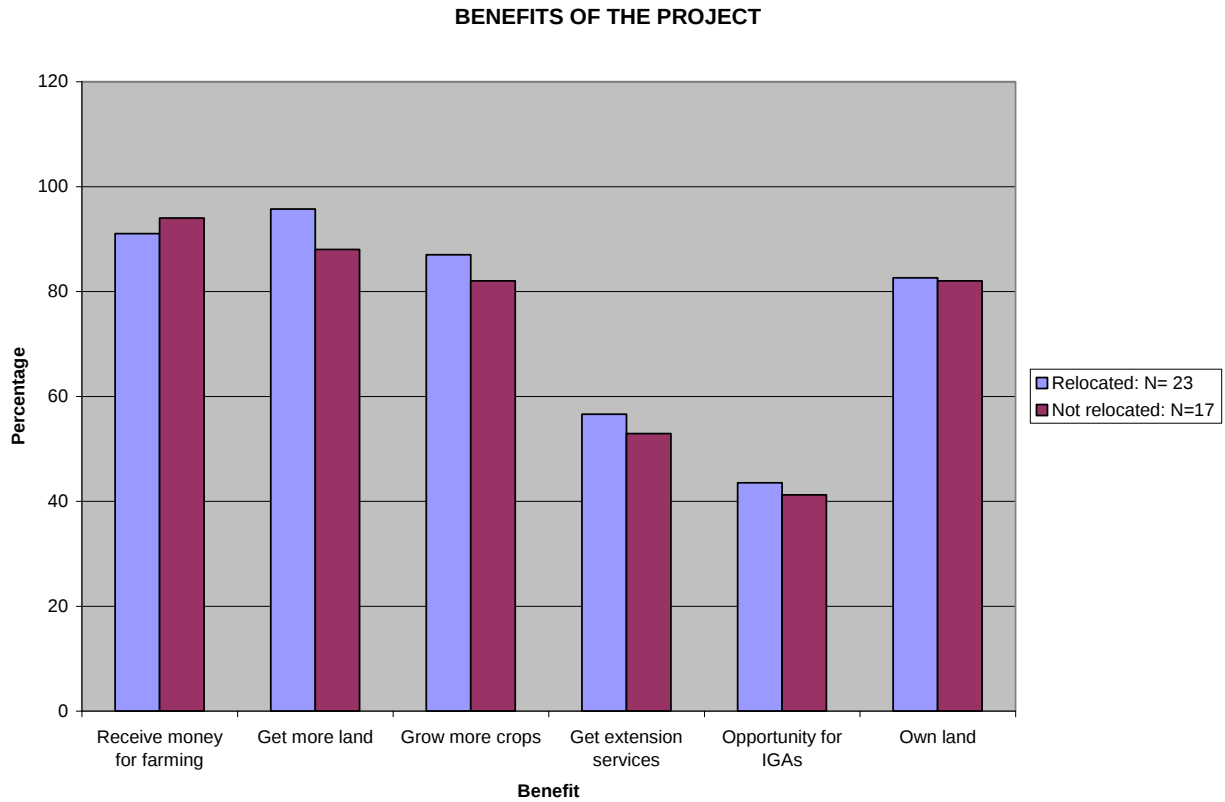
SOURCE	MEN	WOMEN
Family relatives and friends	√	√√√√√√
Sensitisation meetings by project staff	√√√√	√√
Radio	√√√	√√√
Group village headmen	√	√√
District Assembly officers	√	√

Note: The ticks represent number of FGDs who gave that response.

4.3. Benefits from the Project

After establishing that all respondents were aware of the project, the researcher went further to inquire if they heard of any benefits of this project. Respondents were allowed to mention more than one benefit if they heard of several benefits accruing from the CBRLDP. These benefits included getting more land; receiving money for farming; growing more crops; own land; get extension services and have opportunity for income generating activities (IGAs). Results of the individual interviews are summarized below.

Fig: 2: Benefits of the Project



Those who relocated reported that the potential benefits of the CBRLDP included acquiring more land (95.7%); followed by receiving money for farming (91%); grow more crops (85%); and owning land for themselves (81%). According to women who did not relocate, benefits of the project included receiving money for farming (94%); getting more land (88%), owning land for themselves (80%); as well as growing more crops (82%) respectively, getting extension services (52.9%) and an opportunity for income generating activities (42.5%).

These tally with results from women FGDs, only that the issues of opportunity for IGAs and extension services were not mentioned in the women FGDs. For men FGDs an additional benefit was that they could have a lot of food and also surplus for sale because there was a lot of land to grow a variety of crops including cash crops like tobacco. The issue of having own land featured highly as shown in the table 2 below.

Table 2: Benefits from the project from FGDs by Gender

BENEFIT	MEN	WOMEN
Own land for yourself	√√√	√√√√√
Receive money for farming	√√	√√√√
Grow more crops	√√	√√
Have a lot of food	√	√
Get more land	√	√
Get extension services		
Opportunity for IGAs	√	√

Note: The ticks represent number of FGDs who gave that response.

The above responses clearly show that the understanding of the potential benefits of the project was the same among all the respondents. Those who did not relocate to new areas were well aware of the benefits which they could get from participating in the project.

4.4. Reasons for relocating to new resettlement areas.

The results reveal that there were several reasons which contributed to the relocation of some women to the resettlement areas. Families relocated because they had not enough land to cultivate and they were convinced of the benefits which were being promised. One respondent emphasised this fact: *“I relocated because I had not enough land in Thyolo to produce food for the whole year, but now I am able to have food for the whole year and am able to cultivate different crops such as maize, groundnuts, soya beans, pigeon peas. I was convinced of the benefits which the project was promising”* (Female interviewee, Machinga 2008).

Another respondent concurred with this view and had this to say: *“Now I am able to have food all the year round. I also have some livestock although am not engaged in any IGA to supplement my income”* (Female interviewee, Kalungu Trust, Machinga, 2008). Some elderly women especially widows, were convinced by their sons to relocate to new areas and that the sons would be helping them to settle on the new land.

One respondent acknowledges this fact and had this to say: *“We had not enough land for our family. I relocated because my elder son encouraged me and promised to help me with farming. I did not participate in the decision to relocate because I did not want to take risks.”* (Female interviewee, Khamalipindula Trust, Machinga 2008).

The results above (Fig 2, and table 2) have shown that women relocated because they had inadequate land for their farming and were convinced of the benefits which were being promised by the project. Other reasons for relocating were that the women were assured of getting help from relatives in time of need. Women who relocated saw that the benefits of having a lot of land and growing more crops outweighed the costs of staying in the original home. However, those that relocated were less than 20 percent of the targeted beneficiaries. This indicates that more women did not relocate to new areas as expected by the project. Reasons for not relocating are discussed in the section that follows.

4.5. Reasons for not relocating to new resettlement areas.

After establishing that there was awareness of the potential benefits accruing from the project among those who relocated as well as those who did not relocate, the research then went on to find out why women were not relocating to new settlement areas when opportunities of acquiring more land as well as receiving resources such as money to help in their farming were readily available in the project. Respondents were encouraged to give as many reasons as possible. The reasons given were numerous and varied as they were given from the women who did not relocate , also from those women who relocated to new resettlement areas as well as the women and men in the FGDs. This is reflecting a wide range and often interlocking factors that influence people to make decisions. The various reasons for not relocating given in individual interviews, key informant interviews and FGDs are synthesized and discussed in detail below.

4.5.1. Fear of losing ancestral land

Some women did not relocate because they feared that they would lose their ancestral land. *“The village heads did not elaborate well on the project. They said that those who will go to the resettlement areas should never come back because their land will be given to those that have remained behind, therefore, we were afraid of losing our ancestor’s land”* (Women FGD, Thyolo, 2008).

One village head frankly admitted that he encourages the people to relocate but when they do so, they should know that their land in Thyolo will automatically be allocated to someone else. Another village head wondered, *“can a chief be a chief without people?”*. This suggests that, some chiefs may indeed deliberately influence their people indirectly not to relocate. The status of village heads is enhanced by the numerical strength of their village, and any loss of members has the potential to reduce such status.

Some women therefore feared that the pieces of land which they had inherited from their mothers and grandmothers could be lost if they relocated. In the event that something wrong happened in the resettlement area and they wished to return, it would be difficult to reclaim the land. This confirms the findings of an independent evaluation by Price Waterhouse Coopers (2007) that some relocated groups have no chance of returning to their places of origin, if they experience problems in their new settlement areas.

In most cases, their original land has been redistributed among the remaining family members or other households.

In the case of divorce, separation, or hardship, resulting in individuals being forced to consider returning to the vacated areas, re-integration could be highly problematic. Two points to be noted here are the sentimental value attached to the inherited land; and the uncertainty of permanent settlement on land provided by the project (Kishindo and Mvula, 2008). Something could go wrong, and people would need to return home, and home is represented by a piece of land one can lay legitimate claim to. As Colson (1971) observed that people are prepared to experiment with new regions, but only if the old land survives as a hedge against failure. They see their home communities as a refuge to which they would return if new lands proved unsuitable.

4.5.2. Fear of settling in new environment

In addition to fear of losing ancestor's land, the study has also established that, the women did not relocate because of fear of unfamiliar environment. One key informant observes that: *“some women just want to be in their villages and do not want to take risks of settling in a new are. The women are used to the life which they were leading with their parents. The women also have an inner feeling that if they leave for new places it will mean abandoning their dead relatives. These women consider themselves as custodians of their villages* (Key informant interviewee, Thyolo, 2008).

Most of the potential women beneficiaries were born and grew up in the villages that they are living in and rarely left the village for long periods. Whether married or not, they lived with their husbands in their maternal villages and expected their daughters and their husbands to live in the villages as well.

They are likely to have cultivated the same parcels of land over several generations, and came to know what crops can grow on the land. Relocation raised the fear that the crops which they used to grow in their areas would not do well in the relocated areas and therefore would not be able to survive in times of crop failure. Women lamented that, *“it is very difficult to cope with an entirely new situation. Yes, the piece of land which we have not adequate to produce food for the whole year. We are even failing to build a shelter for sanitation around our homes because there is no space, but we cannot relocate to new areas which are very far away from our homes.”* (Women FGD, Thyolo, 2008).

Also rumours that were circulating that settlers would be sold to some unknown people; their blood would be pumped out of them and sold; or that they would be fed to wild animals instilled fear in some women. This fear made some women reluctant to leave the security of their villages. One respondent emphasized this fact and said: *“I heard of the fears that were being talked about. Rumours were that we will be eaten by wild animals, and we will be sold to white people,* (Female interviewee, Machinga 2008). Another respondent concurred with this statement and said: *“Most of us women were misinformed about the evils which we were going to meet in the new lands.”* (Female interviewee, Machinga 2008).

4.5.3. Fear of hardships

Some women opted not to relocate for fear of hardships when they settle in the new area. One village head went further to observe that *“most women are afraid of how they are*

going to start on a new land in terms of clearing new land, building permanent structure to live in, therefore, they just opted to stay home and continue cultivating on the small piece of land which they have.”(Male key informant interview). They anticipated that there would be heavy workloads, and other work such as digging pit latrines, cutting down trees, and building a house.

This fear was true because, the land which was available for purchase by the beneficiary groups was supposed to be former agricultural estates, which presupposes that some development in terms of for example, clearing of the land to be ready for cultivation of crops had already been done. The reality in the estates, however, was that many of the estates were either underdeveloped or undeveloped, and most of them were overgrown with bush due to neglect. The relocated people therefore were forced to start clearing the land as they do in newly uncultivated land. This was a heavy task which women alone could not manage. Kishindo and Mvula (2008) noted that unless female – headed households could hire labour, or persuade their male kin to do it for them; they might not be able to clear enough land to establish their gardens. As one woman observed: *“I am old and all my male children are not with me, who is going to help me in the new areas to clear land and construct a house for me to live in”*. (Female interviewee, Thyolo, 2008).

Another woman who was caring for her old parents acknowledges this fact and said: *“I am caring for my old mother, and I am a widow. Who is going to help me to clear new land and look after my old mother in a new land”* (Female interviewee, Thyolo, 2008).

Another respondent stressed that: “ *I did not want to relocate to new areas for fear of hardships in a new land. Therefore, I just remained here at home and I am doing some businesses. I have pigs, goats and am doing some IGAs* ” (Female interviewee, Group Village Head Chimbalanga, Thyolo, 2008).

The study established that women who survived in the new lands were those that were not originally from Thyolo; those that were married; those that relocated with their sons; and those that had found men and got married in the new settlement areas. One of the key informants observed that: “ *women do not want to take risks, also due to the multiple roles and responsibilities of women at home, most of them do not relocate. Some are taking care of their old parents and hence cannot move to other places. Those who relocate are the ones who are not originally from Thyolo. These settle very well in the new areas but those who are originally from Thyolo only move out because of the grants, but when the grants are finished, they withdraw and come back to their original homes.* (Key informant interviewee, Thyolo, 2008).

4.5.4. Fear of losing cultural identity

Some women did not relocate because they did not want to abandon their cultural practices mostly, the initiation ceremonies and their remembrance of the dead, locally known as “sadaka”. In most Malawian ethnic groups women are valued as custodians of culture and so relocating to new areas would mean that there would be few women to conduct cultural activities.

It was reported that women who had relocated to new lands tended to return “home” order to attend to cultural activities such as initiation ceremonies, commemoration of the dead, evening feasts as they prepare for the wedding.

Relocation to distant places would make it difficult for women to properly take care of their ancestral graves. Traditionally, the grave yards are supposed to be cleared of bush as often as possible to avoid bush fires, and general maintenance. On some days they also conduct remembrance activities for their dead relatives. This shows that there is attachment of great value to the lands which they inherited as well as honoring their dead ancestors and relatives (cf Kishindo, 2006).

Kishindo and Mvula (2008) noted that ancestral graves in a village symbolize one’s links to it or claim to citizenship of that village. Hence relocation to new lands would mean losing part of their social identity. This observation collaborates Colson’s, (1960, 1971) observation that the Gwembe –Tonga of Zambia regarded relocation as unwarranted interference with their independence and identity.

4.5.5. Fear of lack of support from relatives

Relocation could potentially disrupt social support networks. One respondent acknowledged this fact: *if I move from here to Machinga and leave behind the rest of my relations, I will suffer a lot since there will be nobody to turn to in times of need. I prefer to relocate to areas within my original home so that I am not isolated from relatives who can assist me.* (Female interviewee, Thyolo, 2008).

One key informant noted that: *“The women feel very secure in their home area inspite of experiencing hardships because of the social relations which are there such that in times of need, they get help from their relatives and friends.”* (Female key informant interviewee Thyolo, 2008).

Women generally prefer to remain close to their relatives and considered Mangochi and Machinga where land was available as too far. Moving to areas close to their original homes has also the advantage of maintaining social relationships, because distances are short for return visits to be made without incurring additional costs. In times of illness or bereavement, those who relocate very far from their home villages might not be able to get the support of their kin.

The importance of retaining ties with kin was also recognized by Kishindo (1996). The study found that settlers at Limphasa settlement scheme in northern Malawi retained very close ties with their home village to which they made annual or more frequent visits depending on the distance, and to which sent money and property accumulated during their stay at the scheme.

4.5.6. Lack of essential social services

One of the factors influencing economic well being of communities is their access to and availability of social and economic services. These basic services, such as health and education, also have an important impact on the rate of development of a community and

its potential for economic and social growth. Realities of access to social and economic facilities in the resettlement areas as reported in the independent evaluation by Price Waterhouse Coopers (2007) is that basic social and economic facilities were not easily accessible to the beneficiary groups due to long distances.

The beneficiary groups, while clearly benefiting from better land access, were however now worse off in terms of access to health and education services, markets, and portable water. One key informant acknowledges this fact: *“As a village head I have received this project very well and I believe it will assist the people. However, in the resettlement areas, there are no facilities like water, school, market, hospital; people are located in estates far away from roads and hospitals. Therefore it is difficult for people to get settled”*. (Male key informant, interviewee, Machinga).

News of lack of amenities like boreholes, tended to affect the women’s decision to relocate. An evaluation report observed that there was inadequate water for domestic consumption in the receiving communities due to the influx of beneficiary groups which had far exceeded the capacity of originally constructed boreholes (Price waterhouse Coopers, 2007).

According to Ng’ong’ola (2006) and Price waterhouse Coopers (2007), women have to walk between 0.5 km- 2km to access potable water. Health facilities were also inadequate as illustrated by this statement: *“social facilities like markets, hospitals, school should be provided. At the moment when one is sick or the woman is expecting,*

they have to come back home here in good time for assistance.” (Female interviewee, Thyolo, 2008). Health facilities were are more than 5 – 10 kms away from the resettled areas. Schools and markets were also very far away from the resettled areas. The expectation that the social amenities would be provided by other government ministries did not materialise.

Kishindo and Mvula (2008) reported that the non- existence of basic social services in some of the resettled areas was a source of frustration for many relocated households, and a contributing factor to non participation for potential beneficiaries, especially women. According to their findings, women tended to be reluctant to relocate to areas where hospitals, schools, maize mills, and produce markets are not accessible.

4.5.7. Lack of opportunities for Income Generating Activities

Women who used to work as casual labourers in the tea estates, or who were involved in IGAs, such as selling farm produce like tomatoes, sugar cane both at home and their local trading centre found it difficult to relocate. In the case of women from Chimbalanga, many of whom earned a living as petty traders at Bvumbwe did not find the prospect of relocating attractive. Their earnings from trading was adequate for many of them to meet their food requirements. Women whose husbands were working in the tea estates or in Limbe did not relocate. Inadequacy of land for own production of food was compensated for by regular cash earnings which could be used to buy food.

4.5.8. Lack of adequate information on the project

As indicated in Fig. 1 (page 45) and table 1 (page 47), most women got the knowledge of the project from family relatives and friends. While the project was doing its best to explain its objectives, the effort seems to have been limited and women who would be the potential beneficiaries got secondary information about the project as such it was difficult for them to really appreciate what the project was all about. This resulted into inadequate understanding of the project aims as well as misrepresentation of the project which in turn brought negative rumours about the whole project. Some of the issues that were not properly explained were the period of financial support from the project, and whether one would be accepted back in the village after relocation.

These results have shown that, the decision to relocate is made in the context of social, cultural, and socio-economic factors and that decision to relocate and settle permanently in a new place is itself the result of a combination of these. The weight attached to a particular factor or a combination of them is specific to an individual or sometimes to a group of people who have strong networks among them.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The planners of the CBRLDP had envisaged that female- headed households, which is the category most vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty, would enthusiastically participate in the resettlement project. It specifically required that beneficiary groups include female headed households so that by the end of the pilot phase 30% of relocated households would be female – headed. However, the results of this study show that female headed households have been slow to seize the opportunity to acquire more land and improve their socioeconomic status due to a number of reasons.

The major finding of this study is that the decision to relocate and settle permanently in a new place is one that is not made easily. Many factors – personal, cultural, social and economic – are taken into account. It has been shown in this study that women participate on the basis of a rational assessment of the potential benefits likely to accrue to them as individual and their families. This has been demonstrated by the fact that women were well aware of the existence of the project as well as potential benefits accruing from it, but still did not relocate to the new settlement areas because of perceived losses understood in personal, cultural, social and socio-economic terms.

The largely potential economic benefits accruing from participating in the project were not a sufficient condition for relocation. It is, therefore, important to note that, human behavior is distinctive in being informed by an orientation to values – that is, it is guided by ideas, beliefs and principles and not simply by automatic programmed responses. By not participating in the CBRLRP, the women have demonstrated what Giddens (1984) as cited in Bilton et al. (1996), indicated that human beings are knowledgeable agents who construct perceptions of the social world in which they are located, know a great deal about circumstances and consequences of what they do in their day –to- day lives, and can articulate what they do and their reasons for doing it. Therefore women being aware of their circumstances and influences upon them, they have meaningfully exercised their choice by not taking the risk of relocating to new areas.

The use of social action theory has revealed the value of rational choice which individuals have when making the decision to relocate and settle in new lands. The low participation of female – headed households is a manifestation that women as individuals are able to construct perceptions of the social world in which they are located, know a great deal about circumstances and consequences of what they do in their day –to- day lives, and can articulate what they do and their reasons for doing it. Being aware of their circumstances and influences upon them, they were able to exercise choice and that choice resulted into their non- relocation to new settlement areas.

The study has revealed that more needs to be done in the area of participation of women in relocation programmes. It would be interesting to find out if the responses would remain low if land was found within their own women' districts; and whether the factors identified in this study as influencing decision-making would still apply.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Individual Interviews Questionnaire

Participation of Women in the Community based rural Land Development Project in Malawi: A case study of Thyolo District

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN WHO HAVE NOT RELOCATED FROM THYOLO

PART I: Respondents Identification

Name

Age

Occupation

Level of education

Size of land holding

Source of income

1. How did you acquire the land you are holding
2. Are you able to produce enough food from one harvest to another?
3. How do you sustain yourself in times of hunger or any other need

PART II: Awareness of the Project

4. Are you aware of Kudzigulira Malo Project?
5. How did you come to know about it?
6. Were women consulted on issues relating to the project? if yes; how often

PART III: Benefits of the CBRLDP

7. Are you aware of the potential benefits of participating in the project? if yes; why are you not participating in the project
8. Have some of those who relocated to Machinga come back? What could be the reasons for their return

PART I: Inhibiting Factors for women to participate in the project

9. How is the process of identification of participating households done
10. How is the selection to the beneficiary group done
11. What is the criteria for selection
12. What are the factors that have inhibited you to participate in the project
13. Do you have any responsibilities in the village
14. What should be done to encourage women to participate in the project

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN WHO HAVE RELOCATED FROM THYOLO TO MACHINGA

PART I: RESPONDENT'S IDENTIFICATION

Name

Age

Occupation

Level of education

Size of land holding

Source of income

15. How did you acquire the land you are holding

16. Are you able to produce enough food from one harvest to another?

17. How do you sustain yourself in times of hunger or any other need

PART II: Awareness of the Project

18. Are you aware of Kudzigulira Malo Project?

19. How did you come to know about it?

20. Were women consulted on issues relating to the project? if yes; how often

21. What motivated you to participate in the project?

PART III: Benefits of the CBRLDP

21. What are the potential benefits of participating in the project?

22. Are you realizing them

23. How has the project helped you in terms of meeting your needs for your livelihood

24. Have some of those who resettled here in Machinga gone back to Thyolo? What could be the reasons for their return

PART IV: Inhibiting Factors for women to participate in the project

25. How is the process of identification of participating households done
26. How is the selection to the beneficiary group done
27. What is the criteria for selection
28. In your household, who made the decisions to relocate
29. Why is that most women did not participate in the relocation.
30. What could be the factors that have inhibited the women to participate in the project
31. Have you faced any problems since you relocated
32. To what extent did the following influenced your decision to relocate
 - the village head
 - maternal uncles – mwini mbumba
 - any other influential people
33. What should be done to encourage women to participate in the project

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

1. Respondent's Identification

Name

Sex

Position held

District

2. How long have you been involved in the project?
3. How is the awareness of the project done to the people?
4. What are the sources for reaching your targeted population?
5. What was the assumption of participation of women from the project's side?
6. How many men and women are taking part in the village committees and at what levels?
7. Do you think the project is targeting and reaching the right people? why.
8. What has been the level of women's participation in the project?
9. What mechanisms were put in place to deliberately encourage women to participate in the project e.g. in beneficiary selection,
10. How do you intervene to allow more women to participate?
11. What have been the hindrances / difficulties on your side concerning the participation of women in the project.
12. How is the project ensuring that there is equity to the women that are participating?
13. How do you ensure that issues concerning women are constantly being addressed the project?
14. How often are the participating women being consulted in issues relating to the progress of the project.
15. What should be done to promote women's participation in the project?

16. What should the women themselves do to be engaged in the project?
17. What should the community do to enhance women's participation?
18. What is the role of the Chief in this project?
19. Any other comments and observations as regards women's involvement in the project.

Appendix B: Checklist

Focus Group Discussions, Key Informants

Participation of Women in the Community Based Rural Land Development Project in Malawi: A Case study of Thyolo District.

PART I: Awareness of the Project

1. When did you come to know about this project?
2. How did you come to know about it?
3. Are there any criteria for the selection of the participants?
4. Were people expressing interest to join the project?
5. What is the number of men and women who expressed interest to join the project?

PART II: Sources of Information about the Project

6. What are the different sources from where men and women get the information about the Kuzigulira Malo project.
7. How was the invitation to different meetings done.
8. What are the existing channels of information in the village.
9. How do women access information in this village.

PART III : Benefits of the CBRLDP

10. What are the potential benefits of participating in the project.
11. What are the different types of benefits that are available in this project.
12. Are you convinced of these benefits.

13.How many expressed interest to join the project.

14.How many decided to withdraw .

15.What were the reasons.

PART IV : Inhibiting factors for Women to Relocate

16. What is the history of land ownership and land resettlement in the area.

17.How was the process of identification of participating households done.

18.What is the role of the Community Oversight Committee in beneficiary identification.

19.Was there any biasness in the implementation of the processes for acquiring land.

20. Whose responsibility is it for women to relocate to new areas.

21.How are people related in the villages.

22.What are their various occupations in terms of economic activities as well as sustainable livelihoods.

23.How easy is it for women to relocate and settle in new areas.

24.What are the kinds of social relationships that are existing in the community.

25.What is the influence of the social relations in making decisions to relocate.

26.What are the various support networks that are present in the village.

27.Are people free to come back and repossess their original land.

28.What problems do women face in new resettlement areas.

29.What are the different kinds of responsibilities that women have within their communities.

30. Were there any influences from the chief and / or mwini mbumba which contributed to the women's non- participation.

31. What should be done so that more women participate in this project.

Appendix C: Reviewed Documents

- The project Appraisal Document for the Community Based rural Land Development project.
- Community Based rural Land development project – Independent evaluation phase II, Interim report.
- Community Based Rural Land Development Project: Project Implementation Manual.
- Community based Rural Land Development Project: Monitoring and Evaluation Framework.
- The Community Based Rural Land Development Project: Mid – term review report.
- Socio-economic Evaluation of the Community based rural Land development project in Malawi: Case Studies of Beneficiary groups in Machinga, Mangochi, Mulanje and Thyolo districts.
- Other independent reviews and evaluations of the CBRLDP conducted by Kishindo, and Ngo'ngo'la.

Appendix D: List of Villages and Trusts

Table 3: List of villages and Trusts together with number of focus group discussions held.

Name of village	Number of focus group discussions held		
	Men	Women	Total
Kalungu- Chuma Chilimthaka trust	1	-	1
Khama Lipindula trust.	1	1	2
Chimbalanga,	1	1	2
Njobvu	1	-	1
Zinga,	1	2	3
Bodza,	1	3	4
Jailosi - Bauleni,	1	2	3
Kasembereka	1	1	2
Pisikopi	1	3	4
Mmasayi.	1	1	2
TOTAL	10	14	24